THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON.

It does not fall to every one's share to have the books cited; and some of them are rarely to be seen in New England: besides, the collating many things thus together will save both time and pains to such as have libraries and want leisure to search them. — PAUL DUDLEY, 1731.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM SHIRLEY.

ARMS OVER THE PROVINCE HOUSE PORCH. — CROSS FROM LOUISBURG CHAPEL. — ARMS IN KING'S CHAPEL. SHIRLEY HALL, LATER GOVERNOR EUSTIS'S HOUSE, ROXBURY.

THE

MEMORIAL

HISTORY OF BOSTON,

INCLUDING

SUFFOLK COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS.

1630—1880.

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By JUSTIN WINSOR,

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INTRODUCTION.

ESTATES AND SITES. — The picturesque aspect of the town in the colonial and provincial periods has been set forth in the preceding and the present volumes. To supplement those chapters, and to place the local traditions of the sites which the Bostonian of the provincial period inherited, and to mark the transmission of some of the more interesting land titles, the Editor offers the following study. The Town Records, ante-dating the Book of Possessions, indicate allotments and transfers of which it is not always possible to fix the locality. With the aid of the Book of Possessions and the contemporary records of the town, and by documents preserved in the Registry of Deeds, it is not difficult to make a nearly perfect plot of the Peninsula, as its inhabitants knew it, in home lots and neighborhoods.[1] The definition of bounds in these earlier records are not sufficiently exact to make us sure of the shapes of the lots, but their positions relative to one another, and to the modern landmarks, can be made out with considerable precision; and it is to this extent only that the following descriptions go. In this study the Editor

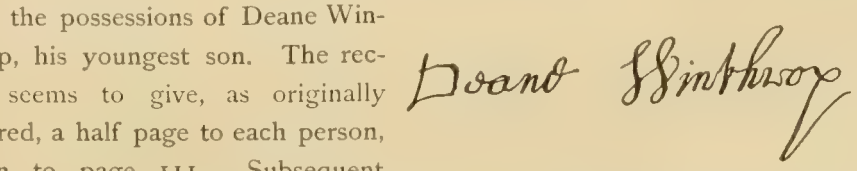
[1] There are none of the *original deeds* preserved in the Suffolk Registry of an earlier date of record than 1705, and those of the earliest years are in a very bad condition, in bundles which had not apparently been opened for many years when the Editor examined them, the papers being matted together with mould. Among them were found some of dates in the preceding century, the documents having not been presented earlier for record. Though the Registry is not an office of deposit, it is desirable that such early records as are left in its keeping should be better cared for. The engrossed records for 1766 and 1768 are missing from the Suffolk Registry, not being returned from Canada, whither they were removed during the Revolution. Up to 1862 about six thousand plans had been recorded. The *original papers* in the Probate Office are admirably arranged and in good condition. The earliest bear date about 1635–36. In the City Clerk's office the files of the *original papers* — consisting of minutes, reports, petitions, warrants, leases, and all other papers used in the meetings of the town or of the selectmen — are very imperfect before 1734, and such as remain are scrapped in two volumes. After 1734 they are tied up in bundles, generally by years, though they are in some confusion. There is great need of their being properly arranged and indexed. When this is done, they will yield much that the historian of Boston must appropriate. The Editor has made such use of them as he could.

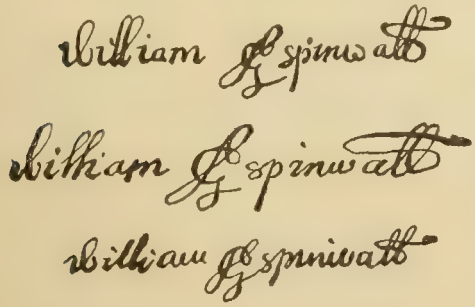
has freely availed himself of work in this direction which others have done. Mr. Uriel H. Crocker kindly placed in his hands the map already mentioned in the first volume. Mr. George Lamb has made, on a larger scale, a map to embody his interpretation of the Book of Possessions; and this plan was bought a year or two since by the City, and is now in the Public Library. It is not accompanied by descriptions, as is the case with Mr. Crocker's, but it has references to pages of the Book of Possessions. It is further developed than Mr. Crocker's in the regions of the town appropriated to pasturage and tillage; but Mr. Crocker's manuscripts give data for this part, and they have the further advantage of assisting to a considerable degree in tracing the transmissions of the estates. The Editor has also availed himself of some of the late Mr. N. I. Bowditch's results as given in the "Gleaner" articles, published in the *Boston Transcript* in 1855–56; and Mr. William H. Whitmore has kindly favored him with advance sheets of the new issue of these papers, printed for the city. Of the other printed sources of modern investigators he must needs mention particularly S. A. Drake's *Landmarks*, Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, and the topographical notes to the *Sewall Papers*, understood to be due to Mr. Whitmore, one of the editors.[1]

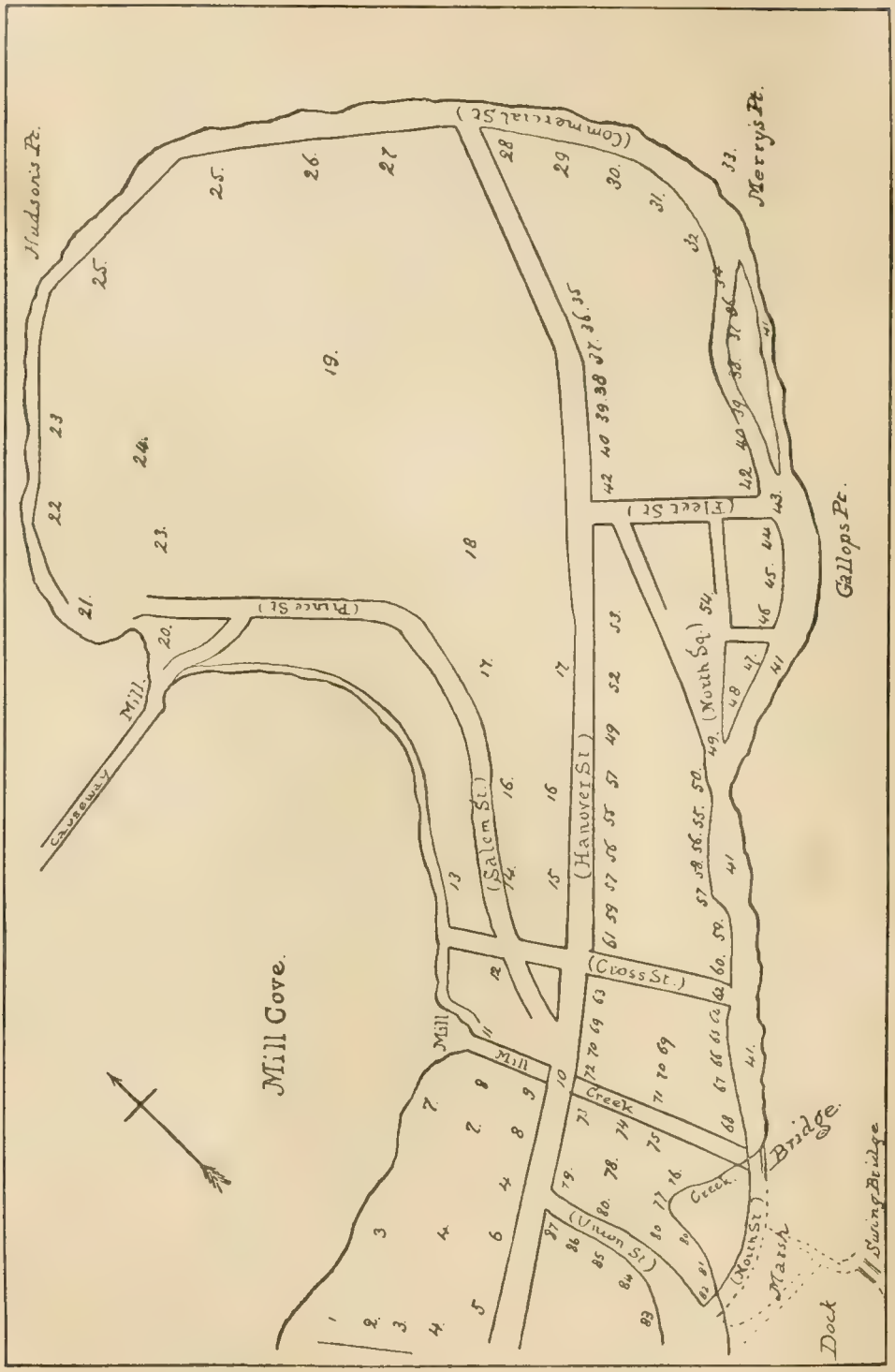
The plan of the streets has been taken from the survey published by Bonner in 1722, with such changes and omissions as seemed to adapt it to the condition of the town at the earlier period. For the reader's convenience, present names have been given (in parentheses) to the streets, which are represented disproportionately wide. A repetition of the same figures on the plan signifies the general direction of the lot's extension. Dotted lines indicate later continuations of streets or causeways. Some sections from the original Bonner map of 1722 are also introduced as showing the condition in the early part of the succeeding century.

[1] The Editor regrets that the printed volume of *Suffolk Deeds*, liber i., was not published in time to be of use to him. Mr. John T. Hassam, who has written a valuable introduction to it, kindly placed the proofs of that part of it in the Editor's hands. In this he says that nineteen record volumes had been filled up to 1700; 193 up to 1800; and to this day 1,510 volumes have been filled. This first volume comes down to April 7, 1654. It opens with two letters in cypher, of which the printed volume is to have a reduced fac-simile and a translation by Mr. William P. Upham, of Salem. This gentleman says the system of short-hand is that of John Willis of London, as made known in 1602, and substantially the same with the marginal notes of Lechford to his *Plaine Dealing*, as seen in his MS. copy preserved in the Historical Society's Library. The first letter is about Hansard Knolles, from (Mr. Upham conjectures) Governor John Underhill, of Dover, to Governor Winthrop; and this is followed by a copy of a letter from Knolles, retracting certain accusations he had made against the Massachusetts Colony. Their dates were probably 1639. The Editor takes this occasion to acknowledge Mr. Hassam's courtesy in making various suggestions about the text of this Introduction.

Of the Book of Possessions, which is in some sort the foundation of all titles of real estate within the old town limits, an abstract or abbreviated copy was printed in the appendix to Drake's *History of Boston*, in 1856; and it has since been printed entire in the *Second Report of the Record Commissioners*. The first leaf (as at present bound) is missing; and, if it was not a part of the original cover, it probably contained the possessions of Governor Winthrop and of some of his family, for the third page begins with the possessions of Deane Winthrop, his youngest son. The record seems to give, as originally entered, a half page to each person, down to page 111. Subsequent entries were intercalated in different ink and writing, sometimes with dates attesting time of entry. New names were entered on pages subsequent to page 111. The exact date of the original compilation nowhere appears. Snow, *History of Boston*, p. 128, says it "seems to embrace the period 1640–50." Dr. Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, places it "about the year 1643." Mr. Whitmore, in his introduction to the *Second Report of the Record Commissioners*, gave the evidence which seemed to him then to indicate the "summer of 1652" as the date; but in his chapter in the first volume of this history he determines upon 1645 as about the date. Chief-Justice Gray, in Boston *versus* Richardson (13 Allen, 146, 151), fixes it between 1639 and 1646. Mr. Uriel H. Crocker, in two communications in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* (Nov. 21, 1877, and Dec. 15, 1877), gives his reasons for fixing the date in 1643 or 1644; and relies largely upon the similarity of the accompanying signatures of the Recorder to prove that it was Aspinwall who made the original entries, about which a doubt had been expressed, and that he continued to make entries till 1651, when he was succeeded by Edward Rawson. Of these signatures the first is of 1638, when he was Secretary of the Rhode Island Colony. The second is from Suffolk Deeds, i. p. 60. The third is from the Book of Possessions, p. 33. Mr. Hassam has established still more clearly Aspinwall's connection with this record, from the handwriting of a letter known to be his, preserved in the *Massachusetts Archives*, lxxxviii. 384. Aspinwall







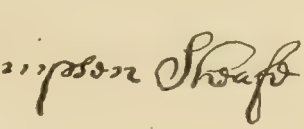
PLAN A. (NORTH END.)

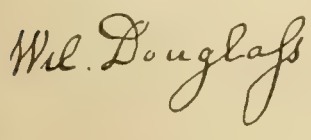
held the office from 1644 to 1651; and Mr. Hassam considers that though the Book of Possessions may not have been begun so early as 1634, — certainly not in the existing copy of it, — it was most likely in pursuance of an order of the General Court of April 1 of that year that it was compiled. (*Suffolk Deeds*, lib. i., Introduction.)

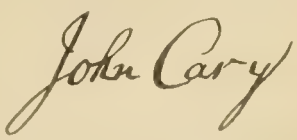
NOTE. — In the following notes a few abbreviations have been used: *a.*, for acre; *g.*, for garden; *h.*, for house; *l.*, for lot; and *y.*, for yard.

PLAN A. — **1.** Robert Nash, one a. **2.** Edward Gibbons, h. and l. **3.** John Smith, h. and g. **4.** John Davies, h. and g.; sold in 1645 to John Trotman, and his wife Katherine conveyed it same day to Thomas Hawkins, who at a later day kept here, on Hanover Street, the Star Inn. (See Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 606.) He mortgaged the property to Governor Bradstreet in 1650. From Hawkins's house went "the old hie way over the little bridge [near 11] behind the watter mile to the ferry to Charlestown." One Watters obstructing this old way with a fence in 1652, he was ordered to remove it; but in 1650 Hawkins was allowed to fence in a part of it temporarily. **5.** Gabriel Fish, h. and y. **6.** Valentine Hill, l.; perhaps later John Kinrick's.

7. James Johnson, glover, upland and marsh; sold to Thomas Hawkins, baker and innholder, in 1662. In 1671–72 this lot and No. 4, by assignments and foreclosure of mortgages, came into the possession of Sampson Sheaffe, and from him the estate passed to William Stoughton, the Lieut.-Governor, who, though a Dorchester man, possessed a large property in real estate hereabout when he died, in 1701, including the Blue-Ball estate (Plan B., No. 87). This last, as well as the present lot, No. 7, fell to Stoughton's niece Mehitabel, wife of Captain Thomas Cooper; and when the Captain died, in 1705, this lot was valued at £650. His widow afterwards married Peter Sergeant, and again, in 1714, Simeon Stoddard; and as Mrs. Stoddard she died in 1738, and her son by her first husband, Rev. William Cooper, of the Brattle-Square Church, sold the lot in 1743 to Dr. William Douglass, a physician and author, who had come from Scotland in 1716, and wrote a *Summary of New England History;* and when Douglass died in 1754, mention is made of his mansion-house in Green Dragon Lane, which was a passage in the direction of the present Union Street, and upon which his house abutted. Douglass was a good deal exercised over the taxes he was called upon to pay; and Drake, *Boston*, p. 623, sets forth his querulous communication to the assessors. (See also *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1877, p. 118.) Ten years later, Catharine Kerr, the sister of Douglass, conveyed it to the St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasons, and it afterwards became celebrated as the Green Dragon Tavern. Shurtleff considers that it was in the yard in the rear, which bordered upon the mill-pond, that Franklin, as a boy, built the wharf which he describes in his *Autobiography*. The house had probably been built in Stoughton's day, and it was kept as an inn by Alexander Smith, who died in it in 1696. To him succeeded Hannah Bishop, and in 1697 John Cary took it, and in a petition in 1705 he speaks of having kept it several years. In 1734 Joseph Kidder was the landlord. It acquired the widest reputation after the Revolutionary troubles began, when the "Green Dragon" became the rallying-place of the patriots. (Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 613.) Opposite the "Green Dragon" John







Borland owned property, which in 1714 he conveyed to Daniel Johonnot, where the latter seems to have had his Distil House. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1852, p. 357.

8. Thomas Hawkins, ½ a. **9.** John Button, l.

10. The bridge, the draw of which was changed from one to two leaves in 1653, and the bridge was rebuilt in 1659. The repairs on it are a matter of constant entry in the town records. In 1650 it was ordered that the spare land about the bridge should be wharfed by the neighbors for the common landing of property.

11. The "old way" begun, which in 1649 was laid out, a rod broad, from the south side of the water mill, along the shore to the Mill Hill. Mr. Hassam informs me that after this way was discontinued the town, in 1666, granted a portion of it to Major William Phillips. (*Town Records*, ii. 26.) In 1826 the Supreme Court, in the case of Rust *v.* Boston Mill-Corporation (6 Pickering, 158), ordered a plan drawn, which shows this "old way." Mr. Hassam has recently secured its deposit in the Registry of Deeds.

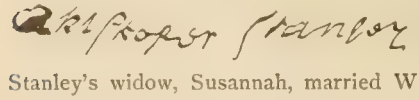
12. Zaccheus Bosworth, l. hereabout. Also probably in this neighborhood, but not easily placed, the houses and gardens of Bartholomew Cheever, John Arnold, John Jackson, and a lot of Robert Hull, the blacksmith. **13.** John Ruggles, 1637, had h , plot,

and g. "near the new mylne." If the same who was afterwards of Roxbury, his will, 1657, is printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1858, p. 343. Just north of this point, with its rear upon the cove, the Baptists built their first meeting-house in 1679, which was replaced by a larger one, also of wood, in 1771. Still further round the cove, on the site of the present Baldwin Place, the Second Baptist Church built their house in 1746, — a small structure which continued well into this century.

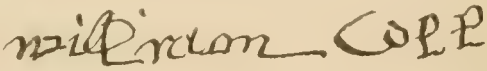
14. William Wilson, 2½ a. **15.** Richard Parker. **16.** Thomas Meekins, hereabout. Beer Lane was later cut through this region, and in 1735 Samuel Turrell and other abutters petitioned to have it paved. It is the present Parmenter Street.

17. William Hudson, Sr., 5 a.; sold to Thomas Buttolph, who again, in 1646, sold to Christopher Lawson, and Lawson sold it in part to William Phillips, who granted his purchase to his wife Susan for life; and the rest was broken up into small lots, Richard Bennett and others holding it. **18.** William Davis, the apothecary.

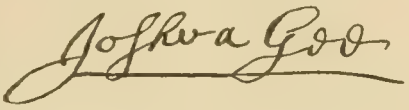
19. Christopher Stanley's pasture, which extended west to Salem Street, and was defined on the other sides pretty nearly by Charter, Hanover, and Prince streets. He was a tailor, and left by will, 1646, the first bequest to the town for the support of schools. (See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg*, Jan. 1850, p. 52.) Stanley's widow, Susannah, married William Phillips, who confirmed to her the house Stanley left her, "with the great pasture." (*Register*, Oct. 1851, p. 447.) A northerly part of this lot passed, in 1665, through Richard Dumer, to John Hull, the mint-master; and in 1683 he died, and his daughter Hannah and her husband, Judge Sewall, conveyed Hull Street in 1701–5 to the town.



20. Thomas Buttolph, ½ a. **21.** William Copp, shoemaker. A small cove lay south, with marsh stretching further east. The annexed autograph is from his will in 1669, in which he calls himself sick and weak: a cordwainer by occupation: and he leaves the enjoyment of the house to his wife "Gooddeth." In his inventory his house, outhouses, orchard, garden, and land



about the house are valued at £80. (See also *Sewall Papers*, ii. 408.) Early in the next century Joshua Gee had a ship-yard, as Mr. Hassam places it, on the southwest side of Prince Street; and the Gee mansion stood on the southwest corner of Salem and Prince streets. Gee also owned adjacent lands, which fell in 1722–23 to his sons Joshua and Ebenezer (d. 1730), and finally wholly to Rev. Joshua Gee, who died in 1748, when the estate was divided according to a document which "Gleaner" calls one of the most important in the Probate Office.



22. John Button, the miller. **23**. John Shaw, who seems to have surrounded the wind-mill lot. There was a bluff here above the beach where the way ran. **24**. The wind-mill.

A SECTION OF BONNER'S MAP, 1722.

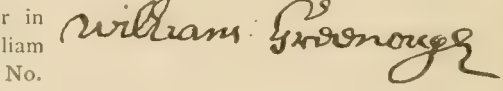
25. Valentine Hill. Here, at Hudson's Point, was the ferry to Charlestown, and Francis Hudson, the ferryman, was allowed to wharf out here in 1652 "before his ground;" and Thomas Broughton had a like privilege hereabout the same year; and when this privilege was continued a year later, the expression is "to wharf or make a

barrocadd before his land at Center Haven." Southerly from this point, on the brow of the hill, the town purchased of John Baker and Daniel Turrell in 1659 the beginning of the present Copp's Hill Burying-ground, and in 1711 added a part of Judge Sewall's pasture, to the southwest. (Shurtleff, *Desc. of Boston*, p. 199; *Gleaner Articles*, No. 14.) Hull Street adjacent was not paved till 1735, when Edward Pell and other abutters petitioned for leave to pave it.

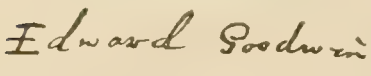
26. Nicholas Parker, 2 a.; allowed to wharf out in 1651. He had built a house here before 1646, when a footway was laid out from it through the gardens to the "mill lane or street;" and along the shore in 1650 "a way of a rod broad" was laid out from the battery to the ferry. Well in from the shore in this lot, after Salem and Charter streets were laid out, on the westerly corner of them, there was a brick house which Daniel Turrell and Samuel Wakefield with their wives sold to Lady Phips in November, 1687.

Only a few days before Sewall records that news had come of her husband being dubbed Sir William Phips at Windsor Castle. The Governor later added to this estate from adjacent lots.

27. Thomas Buttolph, 4½ a. Christopher Stanley in 1644 was allowed to wharf near Winnissimet ferry. Along this water front (Nos. 25 to 27) there were various ship-yards established later in the colonial and in the early provincial period. They appear in Bonner's map in 1722. Captain William Greenough's yard was nearly opposite No. 27. Greenough's descendants are traced in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1863, p. 167.



28. Edward Goodwin, h. and small lot. **29.** John Sweet, 1¼ a. and h.; sold to William Wicks in 1644; wharfed out the previous year. **30.** Isaac Grosse, brewer, h. and g.; sold to Thomas Anker. Grosse's will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1853, p. 228. **31.** Walter Merry, who gave his name to the point, h.; sold to John Seabury, seaman, in 1639; and then passed successively to John Wilson and to Alexander Adams in 1645, who was allowed, in 1646, to wharf out, maintaining along the shore a highway for a cart.

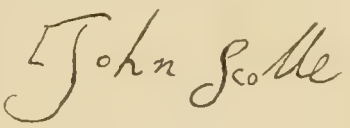


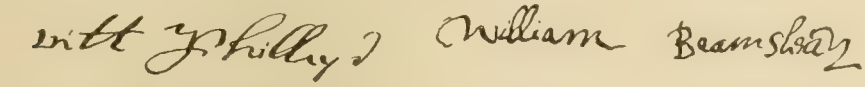
32. Walter Merry, ½ a., who built "a roof over the highway on the sea-bancke" to the annoyance of the selectmen; and when Hanover Street was extended in the rear in 1644, he was allowed the cost of fencing on that side. He was ordered to keep a highway open on the shore sixteen feet broad, in 1646, and sold the property the same year to William Douglass, who in turn sold it to Henry Brown, mariner, in 1648, with what is called Anker's shop. **33.** The North Battery was built out here in 1646, and repaired in 1656.

34. John Sweet, seeming to connect in the rear with his lot at 29. Perhaps this was the lot Governor Bellingham was permitted to wharf before in 1648, "if it did not prejudice the battery," when it was described as between Merry and William Winbourne; and somewhere near was a house which Sampson Shore sold to Christopher Lawson in 1646, when he wharfed out before it.

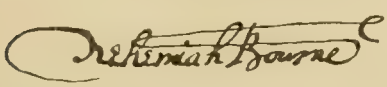
35. Isaac Grosse. In the provincial period not far from this spot stood the Salutation Inn, which gave a name to an alley running by it, connecting Hanover with North Street. John Brooking owned it, and his widow sold it in 1692 to Sir William Phips. (*Sewall*

Papers, i. 222.) John Scollay, hiring of Lady Phips in 1697, kept it. Samuel Green was the host in 1731. It became famous later, when William Campbell kept it in 1773, and it was a rallying-place for the patriots. **36.** William Phillips; sold to William Beamsley, who wharfed out in 1650, and whose will, 1658, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1855, p. 37. **37.** Anne Tuttle. It was on the rear of this lot, on the lower corner of the present Clark and Hanover streets, that the New North Church was built in 1714,—





a small wooden building, enlarged in 1730, and giving place to the present edifice in 1802. The land was then bought of Colonel Thomas Hutchinson for £455.



38. Nehemiah Bourne, shipwright, who built here in 1641 the "Trial," the first large vessel built in Boston. John Richards was using this yard in 1688. Bourne had come over in 1638; previously living at Charlestown and Dorchester, had come to Boston in 1641. The "Trial" made her first voyage to the Azores and West Indies under the command of Thomas Coitmore. On her next voyage, to

Bilboa and Malaga, she was commanded by Thomas Graves, and returned to Boston, March 23, 1643–44. Bourne went again to England, and served as major of a regiment in the Parliamentary army; but was once more in Boston in 1645, returning to England the next year, and became rear-admiral in the Parliament's navy. There is an account of Bourne in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1873.

39. Edward Bendall, h.; sold to Captain Thomas Hawkins in 1645, who is supposed to have built the house, which became later the Ship Tavern, which stood till 1866. John Vyal kept it in 1663, and it is associated with some stirring events. Hawkins's shipyard was on the opposite water front, and he built here as early as 1645 the ship "Seafort," of four hundred tons. Hawkins's inventory is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1855, p. 343.

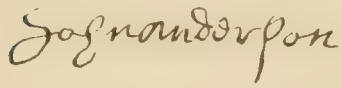
40. Edward Bendall; sold to Anchor Ainsworth, and subsequent owners were Joseph Phippeni, 1647, George Mitchell, John Baker. Baker's will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1861, p. 124.

41. The way along the shore from the dock to Gallop's Point had been laid out "as it is begun" in 1643, and in 1650 it appears that "the way formerly granted of a rod in breadth from Gallop's Point to the Battery, being interrupted by Mrs. Hawkins her house [39], it shall turn up from the water side through Mrs. Hawkins her garden, and soe by Mr. Winthrop's house, between Major Borne's house and his garden [38], before Mr. Holiok's, to the Battery,"—marking some changes in ownership.

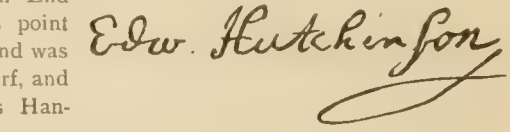
42. Major Thomas Savage, h. and g.; wharfed out in 1643. This or another house on the spot became later the King's Head Tavern, which was burned in 1691, and rebuilt. Drake says that James Davenport kept it in 1755, and his widow in 1758; but

in 1754 Davenport, who had kept the Globe Tavern, petitioned to keep the Bunch of Grapes, formerly known as Castle Tavern, near Scarlet's Wharf, which had been a licensed

house for forty or fifty years. There is an account of Davenport in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1879, p. 31. In this it appears that he was born at Dorchester, March 1, 1693, and died in 1759. His first wife was a daughter of Onesephorus Tileston, and his second wife was a sister of Benjamin Franklin. He had twenty-two children. A little way from Bennet Street, on the northerly side (it is shown on Bonner's map), stood the North Grammar School, erected in 1713. Recompence Wadsworth was the first master; and there is on the files of the city clerk an interesting testimonial to his fidelity, signed by Increase Mather and other ministers of the town.



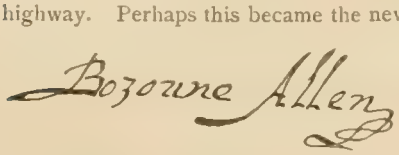
43. John Anderson, 1652, was allowed to wharf before the end of the lane, and to take wharfage of strangers but not of townspeople. **44.** Edmund Grosse. His will, 1655, is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* July, 1858, p. 273. He sold the lot to John Anderson, shipwright, in 1647. It seems to have been on this lot that Judge Edward Hutchinson later built him a house, which late in the eighteenth century became the North End Coffee House. It was opposite this point that the principal wharf of the North End was later built, known first as Clark's Wharf, and subsequently as Hancock's, — Thomas Hancock being the principal proprietor.



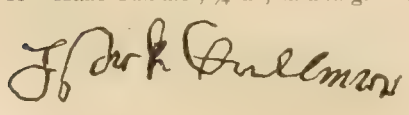
45. Samuel Cole, h. and g.; sold in 1645 to George Halsall, who in 1646 had liberty "to set down a causey ten foot square, from his wharfe to low-watter marke, and that passingers shall come and goe free to it;" and shortly after he was permitted "to imploy a passag boatt betweene his wharfe and the ships wher the ships rid, and is to take a penny for each person." **46.** Isaac Cullimer, 1¼ a.; allowed to wharf out in 1643.

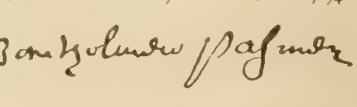
47. Thomas Clarke, h. and warehouse; and he is called of Dorchester, merchant, when in 1644 he granted a part of it to Christopher Stanley, which part is perhaps the identical "p'cell of land lying neere to the water side," which Stanley named in his will, two years later, as a bequest, "for the maintenance of the free schoole," and which the town in 1649 sold to William Phillips, in consideration of 13*s.* 4*d.* "per annum forever, to the use of the schole." This Thomas Clarke was a prominent merchant, and his inventory, in 1678, shows various estates in Boston. His shop goods are appraised at £756; the house where Elizabeth Stevens lives, £300; the one Mr. Woodmansy lived in, £150; orchard behind it, £100; land at lower end of the Common, £70; the house occupied by his son-in-law, Thomas Baker, £75; the house Edward Shippin lives in, £700.

48. Thomas Joy, carpenter, ½ a.; h. with another h. adjoining. He is called of Hingham when, in 1648, he bonded this estate to Major Savage, with its house, "near the new meeting-house in Boston." This second church, at 54, is usually considered as built two years later, in 1650; and in this last year a committee was appointed "to lay out the high wayes by the new meetinge house." Mention is made of his cellar "by the water side," in 1642; and in 1644, when it is said to be in the highway. Perhaps this became the new house which, in 1647, he sold to Bozoone Allen, of Hingham, with adjoining wharf. Allen calls himself of Boston in his will, 1652. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1851, p. 299. Joy built the town-house, and in the final settlement in January, 1661, he received £680.

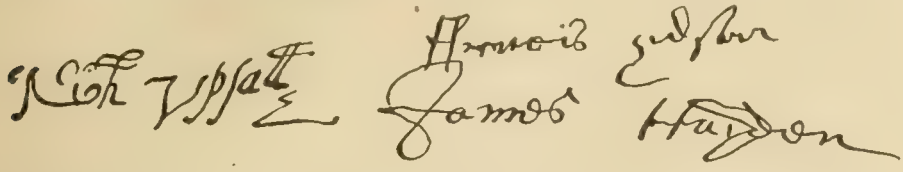


49. Isaac Cullimer, ¾ a.; h. and g. **50.** Bartholomew Pasmer, or Passmore, ¼ a.;





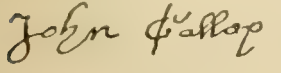
h. and g.; sold to John Sweet in 1650. It was here, on the corner of North and Richmond streets, that Nicholas Upsall kept the Red Lion Inn, and near here the devastating fire of Nov. 27, 1676, broke out in one Wakefield's house. Upsall's will is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1861, p. 251; and an account of him in *Register*, January, 1880. **51**. Francis Hudson, ½ a. He and James Hayden were farmers of the



Charlestown ferry in 1648. **52**. Richard Rawlins, plasterer, h.; probably bought of Peter Johnson the Dutchman, in 1638; and when Hanover Street was extended in 1644, it took a part of his corn-field behind his house, for which he was compensated. These had lands hereabout later: Thomas Clark, Mark Hands, Henry Lampray, Edward Breck, William Burnell, Henry Paine, George Dell, Thomas Ryder, — some of them doubtless sharing in the breaking up of Stanley's pasture.

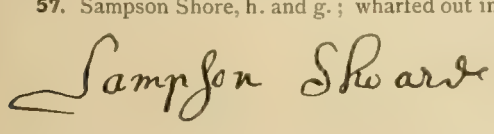
53. Thomas Joy, 1 a. Upon this lot William Clark (see his account of his family in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1879, pp. 19, 226), a prominent merchant of the provincial period, well known in public affairs and not always fortunate in his private ventures, built and lived in a house which became famous. It stood fronting the square, very nearly where Prince Street now comes into it, on the easterly corner. It was next the residence of Sir Charles Henry Frankland, the royal collector of customs, and of whose history there is something told elsewhere in this volume. Further to the east, and occupying the space intervening between the converging streets, was the estate on which Thomas Hutchinson, about 1710, erected, with its front on Garden Court leading from the Square, the sumptuous house in which his son, Governor Thomas Hutchinson, was born and lived. The autograph is of the elder Hutchinson. **54**. The second meeting-house, on Clark's Square, as it was then called, built in 1650, burned in 1676, and rebuilt in 1677.

55. John Gallop, h. and g.; fined in 1636 for obstructing the highway on the sea-bank with his "payles;" allowed to wharf out in 1643; after his death, his widow Mehitabel, in 1649, conveyed a part of it to John Synderland. He signed his will (printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1853, p. 227) by his mark. About on the line of this estate a passage from the water front to the present Hanover Street was opened, and in Bonner's map, 1722, is marked as Wood Lane, the modern Richmond Street. Near the present northerly corner on Hanover Street the New Brick Church was built in 1721, and stood till it was rebuilt in 1845.



56. Matthew Chaffie, ship-carpenter, h. and g.; sold in part to John Capen, of Dorchester, in 1649. Chaffie's lot extended back to what was the end of Hanover Street in 1643, when it was ordered that the way be continued further, two rods broad, "from the west corner of Matthew Chafeth's garden unto the little howse by the swamp," which Christopher Stanley had just bought of the town, "and from thence to the windmill as directly as the land will beare."

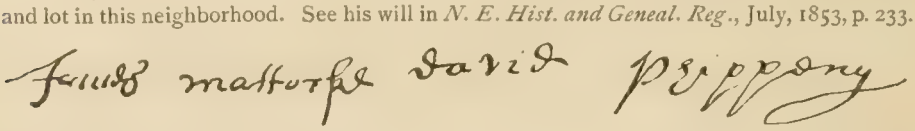
57. Sampson Shore, h. and g.; wharfed out in 1643; sold to Edward Goodwin in 1648; later to Nathaniel Adams. **58**. Edward Wells, h. and g.; sold to David Sellick in 1647. **59**. John Hill; wharfed out in 1643. This estate afterwards came into the possession of George Burrill, and passed to his heirs.



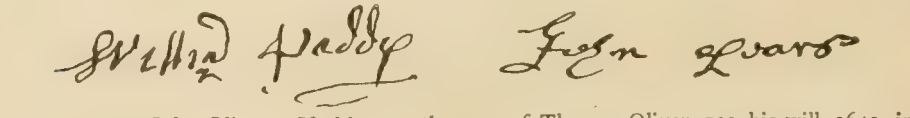
60. John Mylom, cooper, h., g., and shop; sold to John Phillips, biscuit-maker, in 1648. It was upon this lot that one of the oldest buildings in Boston existed, half way up Cross Street, to our day. Phillips, who had come from Dorchester, became a deacon of the Second Church in 1650, added to his estate adjacent lands, and built the stone house; which, when it was torn down in 1864, was considered the oldest building in Boston. It has been described by Mr. Bynner in Vol. I. Phillips died in 1682. Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 667, has traced its history to our day. Phillips, before he died, sold the part of his lot next the water-side to Captain Christopher Clarke. **61.** William Werdall, h. and g. This lot afterwards passed to John Turrell and his heirs.

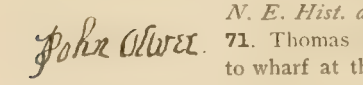
62. This lane was laid out in 1636, from the water-side "up the balke or meare that goes up from the end of John Mylom's house, next William Aspinwall's ground, and to goe along to the Mylne Cove, a rod and a halfe broade." Mylom was allowed, in 1647, to wharf before the eastern end of it. At the beginning of the next century it was called Coney's Lane. *Sewall Papers*, ii. 211.

63. Valentine Hill. **64.** Valentine Hill; sold to Barnabas Fawer, in 1646, who was to maintain a cart-way by the wharf before his door, and whose will, 1654, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1851, p. 305. **65.** Valentine Hill; sold to James Mattock in 1646, whose will, 1666, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1861, p. 325. David Phippeny had a house and lot in this neighborhood. See his will in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1853, p. 233.



66. Valentine Hill; sold to Arthur Perry. **67.** Valentine Hill; sold to Richard Straine, in 1648; then passed to Paul Allistre, with a wharf in front; then to Robert Nanney, in 1650. His autograph is from his will, 1663, printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1858, p. 155. Near the bridge over the creek, Hill sold, in 1651, a lot to William Aubrey, "for the use of the undertakers of the iron works in New England." A lane which later passed through this lot and 70 (the present North Centre Street) was called Paddy's Lane, from Captain William Paddy, a citizen of prominence, who lived upon it, and died in 1658. His will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1854, p. 355; also see 1877, p. 321. **68.** John Peirce. **69.** John Oliver. If this was the son of Thomas Oliver, see his will, 1641, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1849, p. 266. **70.** John Knight. **71.** Thomas Marshall. **72.** Joshua Scottow was allowed, in 1651, to wharf at the northeast end of the mill bridge. He had bought the marsh at that time of James Nash, of Weymouth, to whom John Mylom had sold it.





73. John Mylom; sold to Thomas Marshall, 1648. **74.** John Mylom, h.; sold in part in 1650 to Robert Nash, the butcher. **75.** John Mylom; sold to Governor Leverett. **76.** Lewis Kidby, fisherman, 1639; granted house lot on the marsh next to John Lowe. **77.** John Lowe, upland, surrounded by marsh; called a wheelwright, when it was granted to him in 1636–37. **78.** Marsh held in common-age, part of which was granted in 1646 to John Mylom, who sold it to James Hawkins in 1648.

79. Thomas Marshall, shoemaker, h. and g. He offered to the town in 1652 a highway to shorten the way to the bridge (10), but withdrew his offer. The present Marshall Street, however, would indicate that the short cut was eventually established.

80. Richard Bellingham's marsh, including what came to him under an order, 1644, granting him such of the town's marsh as was undisposed of, "for the continuance of peace and love, in consideration of a quiet resignation of all claim unto the wast before his house." The Governor sold this marsh in equal parts to Joshua Scottow and Christopher Lawson. Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, ch. lvii., shows how in the southerly part of this marsh, near the corner of Merchants Row and North Market Street, stood for many years the well-known Triangular Warehouse.

81. Henry Symons, h.; sold to Christopher Lawson; and by him in 1645 to David Sellick, with wharf and lane before it; to Robert Nanney in 1646. This wharf was bought by John Shawe, the butcher. **82.** John Hill, h. Somewhere in this vicinity in 1656 Thomas Savage built his new house, "between the drawbridge and the conduit." On the opposite side of the present North Street from this lot was an irregular piece of ground, partly reclaimed from the marsh, with a wooden building on it which was consumed in the fire of 1679, to be followed next year by the

John: Shawe

FROM BONNER'S MAP, 1722.

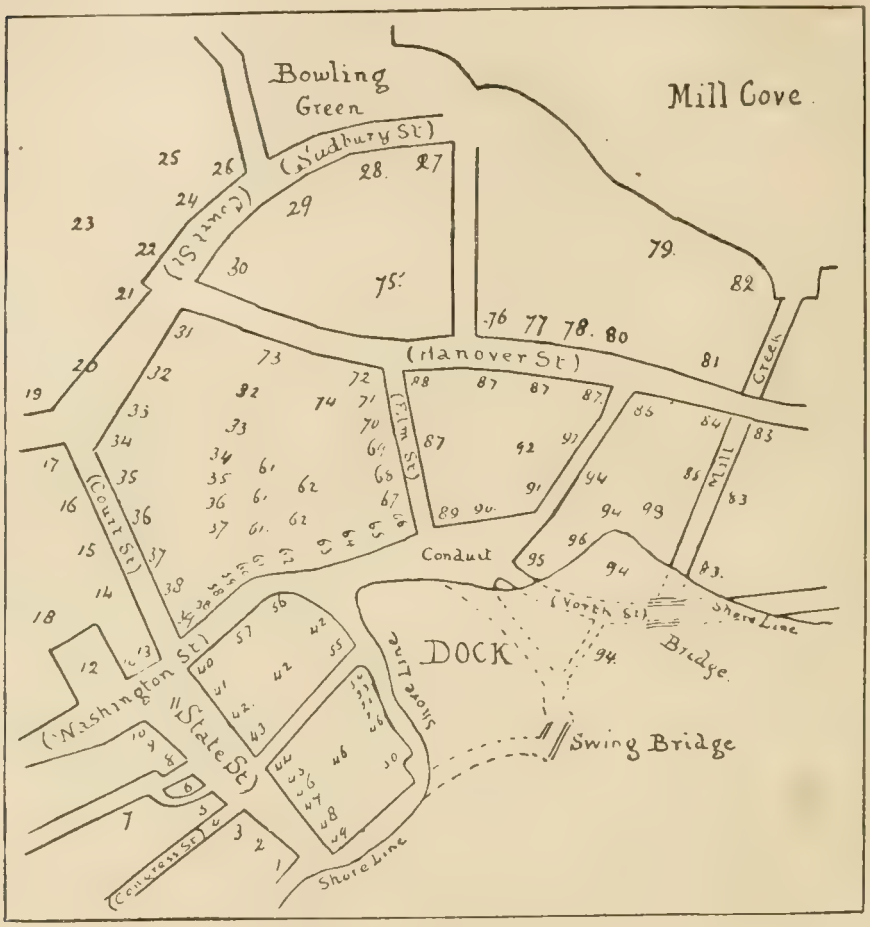
rough-cast structure, which, standing to our day, has been known as the "Old Feather-Store." Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 645, thinks the lot was originally a part of Symons's (No. 81), who dying in 1643, his widow Susannah married, about 1644, Isaac Walker, who conveyed it to their daughter Susannah, born 1646, who in 1668 married Mr. Thomas Stanbury, who built the old building, which was taken down in 1860. The subsequent history of the building is told by Shurtleff.

83. John Button, the miller, 1 a., 3 h., g. and y. There was in later years some controversy as to whether the land opposite this lot and the town dock was public property.

John Button Miller

See depositions in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1864, p. 68. **84.** Nicholas Willis, the mercer, h. and g.; sold in 1648 to Christopher Clarke, a mariner. **85.** Thomas

Painter, h. and g. **86**. George Barrell the cooper, not ½ a., h.; bought part of Painter in 1688, and part of Everill. See his will in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1848, p. 383. **87**. James Everill, h. See Plan B. 87.



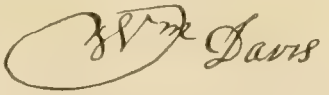
PLAN B. THE DOCK, ETC.

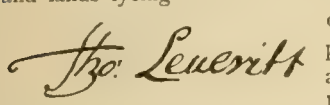
PLAN B. **1**. William Hudson, Sr., h. and g. He was allowed to keep an ordinary in 1640; and in 1643 a "harbor for boats" was ordered to be made in the marsh near by. This lot is at the corner of Kilby Street. After Hudson's death it passed to Francis Smith, and later to Governor Leverett. Here in the provincial days stood the Bunch-of-Grapes Tavern, with a sign of three bunches of the fruit; and Drake says two of the bunches now hang over the door of a store in North Market Street. The same writer gives its landlords as Francis Holmes (1712), William Coffin (1731), Joshua Barker (1749), Colonel Joseph Ingersoll (1764). Samuel Holbrook seems to have owned part of it, at least, before 1724, when his widow sold a moiety to Thomas Waite. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1877, p. 423.) Goelet's Journal (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1870, p. 53) mentions Weatherhead as the keeper in 1750, and says it is "noted for the best punch house in Boston, and resorted by most the gent^{n} merch^{ts} and masters vessels."

This passage by the shore was known as Mackerel Lane, and remained very narrow until the great fire of 1760 swept everything away, when it was widened and named Kilby

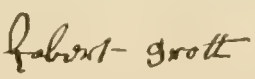
Street, in compliment to Christopher Kilby, a wealthy Boston merchant (see *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 48), who lived long in London as agent for the town and colony, and was now living in New York. He was very liberal to the sufferers by the fire. The committee for laying out the widened street were Andrew Oliver, Thomas Hancock, Joshua Henshaw, and John Scollay; and their report is on file.

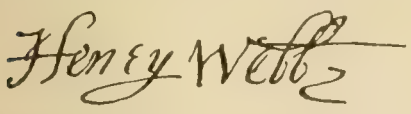
2. William Davis, Sr., h. **3.** Governor Winthrop's marsh, reaching up to the street, just east of Congress Street. **4.** Elder Thomas Leverett, h. and g. When he died, in 1650, this estate is described as "old houses and lands lyeing neare the old meeting-house in Boston, £50." This lot extended back on the line of the present Congress Street; and on a portion of it, opposite the junction of Congress Street and Exchange Place (lately Lindall Street), the Quakers built a meeting-house in 1709, and had their burial-ground in the rear. Interments took place, though rarely, in this ground till 1815, and in 1826 the bodies, such as could be found, were removed, chiefly to Lynn. See Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, 231. Leverett's property also took in the present Exchange Building lot. The upper part of Leverett's lot afterwards became the home of Andrew Belcher, a wealthy merchant, who lived here in 1691, and was the father of Governor Belcher. For a note on Andrew Belcher's family connections, see *Sewall Papers*, iii. 160; and *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1873, p. 239. Andrew Belcher died in 1717. East of him was the land which Governor Leverett sold to Jeremiah Dummer, a goldsmith, in 1677, the father of Lieut.-Governor William Dummer, and of Jeremiah, — the last being born on this spot.

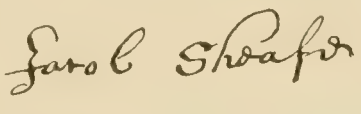




5. Robert Scott, small lot, h. It was somewhere between 5 and 7, fronting on the Court where Isaac Addington, the Colonial Secretary later lived. **6.** The old meeting-house, where Brazer's Building is. Taken down or disused in 1640. James Everill seems to have owned the property in 1651–56, when he was enjoined to make safe a cellar on the spot. **7.** Robert Scott and Henry Webb, gardens. **8.** Henry Webb, h., with William Corser just south of him on the lane. The will of Henry Webb, 1660, is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1856, p. 177. His daughter Margaret, widow

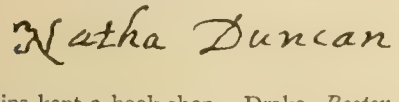


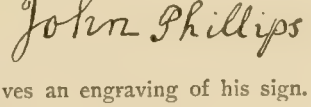




of Jacob Sheaffe (whose inventory is given in *Register*, Jan. 1856, p. 84), inherited the "Mansion," and his grandchild, Elizabeth Sheaffe, his warehouse "now let out to build."

9. Mrs. Hudson, h. She died in 1651, and left £10 to the school. At this date she had two houses on this lot occupied by Nathaniel Duncan and John Tincker. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1850, p. 54.) Near this spot, in the next century, John

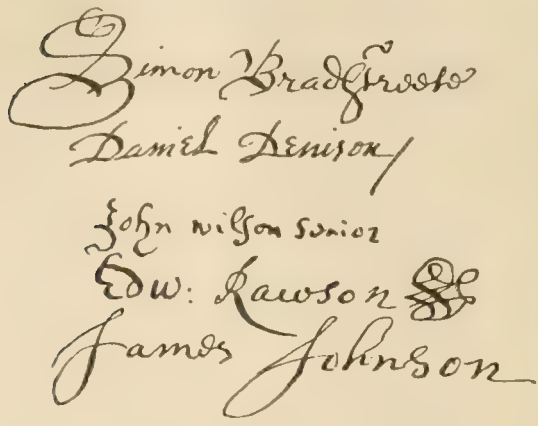




Phillips kept a book-shop. Drake, *Boston*, p. 566, gives an engraving of his sign. He died March 30, 1763. See Boston *News-Letter*, April 28, 1763.

10. Major Robert Keayne, h. and g. This public-spirited and somewhat eccentric citizen was a prominent merchant. Annexed are the signatures of the "overseers" of his remarkable will (an abstract is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1852, p. 89, etc.), appended to a petition to the colony government in 1667, on file at the State House (*Mass. Archives*, "Estates," vol. i.). The most extended account of

Keayne is found in Whitman's *Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, of which Keayne was the leading charter member. On this spot in the provincial times Daniel Henchman kept his well-known book-shop; and in this shop, later, Henry Knox was brought up. Nicholas Boone also kept a book-shop on this lot in the early part of the eighteenth century.



11. The open market-stead, where later, in 1657–58, the "Town and State House" was built, — the colony excusing the town from current payment of rates in consideration. (June 10, 1658, *Mass. Archives*, "Towns," i. 108.) The money had largely been received under Robert Keayne's will. There is, however, in the possession of the Hon. Joseph M. Wightman a subscription paper, of which that gentleman has kindly furnished a fac-simile [1] to the Editor, and which reads as follows: —

"Whearas thear is given a considerabl sum by Capt. Keyne towars the Bulding of a towne house, wch sum will not ataine the Bulding wch he mentioneth in his will. Now considering the usefullnes of such a structur, we whoes names are underwritten doe ingag o^r^ selves, o^r^ heyres, executors for to give towards the abouse house and alsoe a condit in the market place the severall sums under written."

Then follow about one hundred and twenty names, including —

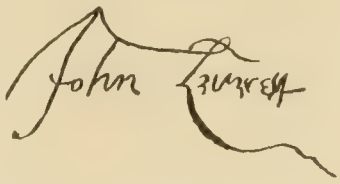
		£	s
p^d^	John Endecott	2 –	10 – 00
	Ri. Bellingham in country pay	10 –	00 – 00 p^d^
p^d^	Edward Tynge in corne	10 –	00 – 00 p^d^
p^d^	John Evered in goods and corne	10 –	00 – 00 p^d^
p^d^	46^li^ Peter Oliver in goods and provisions	10 –	00 – 00
p^d^	James Oliver, provided ther be a condit withal, in goods and provisions, equly	12 –	00 – 00 p^d^
	Will Payne in goods or provisions	15 –	00 – 00
p^d^	Sarah Parker in provisions	05 –	00 – 00 p^d^
paid	Theodor Atkinson will give in hats	05 –	00 – 00 p^d^
paid	John Hull in English goods five lbs.	05 –	00 – 00 p^d^
paid	Samuel Hutchinson in wethers	5 –	00 – 00 p^d^
paid	Hezekiah Usher will pay in Englishe goods or equivalent twentye poundes, proviso: y^t^ y^e^ market house bee erected in y^e^ markett place & a cunditt	20 –	00 – 00
paid	Thomas Littele, three days worke,	00 –	10 – 00
	Georg Browne a bushel wheate	00 –	04 – 00
paid	William Paddy	12 –	00 – 00
paid	Henry Shrimpton tenn pounds	10 –	00 – 00
paid	Thomas Baker in iron worke	1 –	00 – 00
paid	John Biggs in shingle or work	2 –	00 – 00

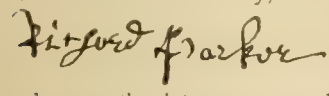
The colony and the county subsequently shared with Boston the expense of repairs, the building being of wood. It was destroyed in the fire of 1711, and the next year a

[1] This fac-simile, together with other papers relating to the matter, preserved in the Historical Society's Cabinet, can be found appended to an address delivered by Mr. Wightman in 1862, on laying the corner-stone of the present City Hall. See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1858.

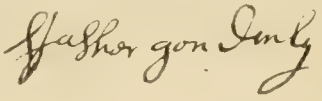
building of brick took its place. All but the walls of this building were burned in 1747 (*Historical Magazine*, Sept. 1868), and many of the original papers, which we might expect to find now at the State House, were probably then consumed. (*Sewall Papers*, i. 161.)

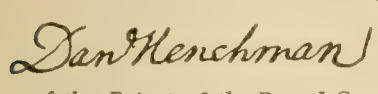
12. Richard Harding's lot, on which, in 1640, the new building for the First Church was built. It was burned in 1711, and rebuilt. **13.** Governor John Leverett, h. and g.; where Sears Building now is. **14.** Richard Parker, h., y., and barn. **15.** Prison and yard, where the Court House now is. **16.** Richard Tapping, h.; sold to Nathaniel Williams; again in 1649 to Richard Critchley or Croychley, who married the widow of William Dinely, the barber-surgeon, whose sad fate, in 1639, is described in Mr. Scudder's chapter, in Vol. I., and who left to his widow and children the next lot. A son of Dinely, named John, survived him;



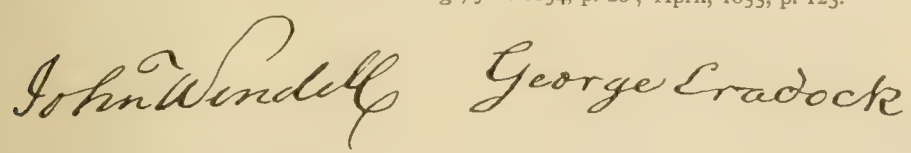


and the infant with the name of sad remembrance, who came after the father's death, — Fathergone Dinely, administered on his elder brother's estate. Between 16 and 17, on the lot now covered by the Adams Express Company's building, lived Colonel Daniel Henchman, the bookseller and bookbinder, with whom Thomas Hancock served his time, and whose daughter Hancock married. She, Lydia Hancock, gave the estate to the Brattle-Street Church in 1765, for a parsonage. See *Gleaner Articles*, No. 38; and comments, in 84, 88, 94 of the *Report of the Record Commissioners* containing them. James Otis at one time lived in the house.





17. Croychley for Dinely heirs. On this lot, in the flourishing days of Governor Shirley, lived one of the best known Boston merchants, John Wendell; and under his roof, in 1759, George Cradock had his office as Royal Collector of Customs. For the Cradock connections see *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1854, p. 28; April, 1855, p. 123.



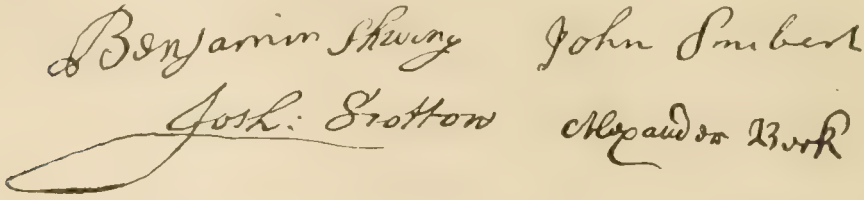
18. Richard Truesdall, h. and g. Sargent, *Dealings with the Dead*, ii. 567, says that Benjamin Faneuil, brother of Peter, had his town residence on this lot at a later day. **19** to **26**; see Plan F., 5 to 11. **27.** Nathaniel Chapell, h. and g. **28.** John Cole, h. and g. **29.** John Mellows, mariner, h. and g. For his family see *Sewall Papers*, ii. 210. The annexed signature is from his will, 1674.

30. Edmund Jackson, h. and g. It was on this corner that the Orange Tree Inn stood during the provincial period. While it was kept in 1712 by Jonathan Wardwell, he set up here the earliest hackney coach stand. Drake says that Mrs. Wardwell kept it in 1724. **31.** Jeremy Houtchin, h., g., orchard, and tan-pits; sold in 1646 to Roger Fletcher, late of London.

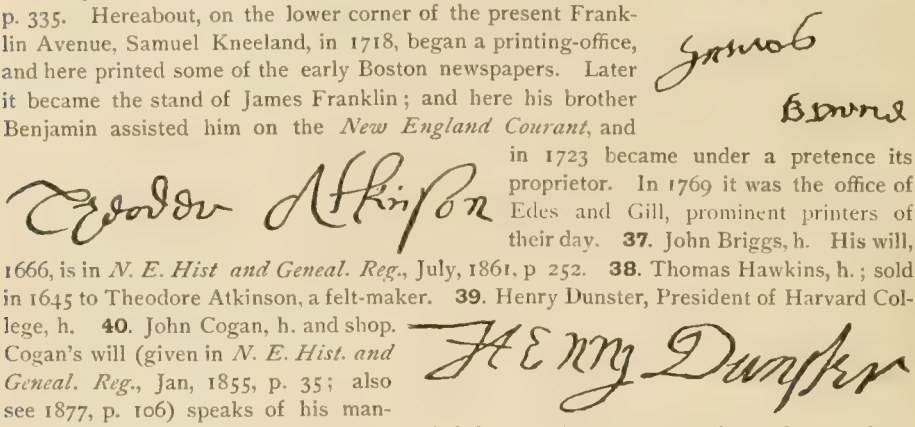
32. William Wilson, joiner, with considerable back land. Soon after the middle of the next century the building known to our own day as Concert Hall was built. The estate

then extended to Hanover Street. Gilbert and Louis Deblois, braziers, conveyed it in 1754 to Stephen Deblois, who in 1769 sold it to William Turner; and later it passed to the Amory family. Drake's *Boston*, p. 641.

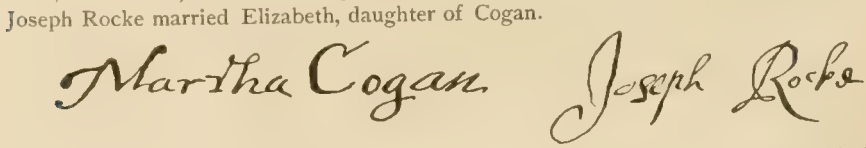
33. Benjamin Thwing, h. It was about at this point that Smibert the painter lived in 1743, and Brattle Street was subsequently cut off in part from the estate of the artist. **34**. Joshua Scottow, h. **35**. Alexander Beck, h.



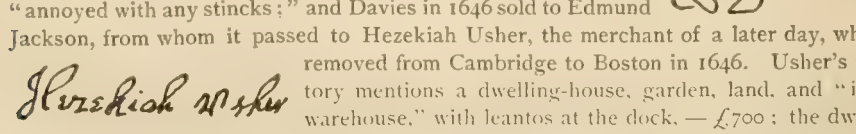
36. James Brown, h. His will, 1651, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1853, p. 335. Hereabout, on the lower corner of the present Franklin Avenue, Samuel Kneeland, in 1718, began a printing-office, and here printed some of the early Boston newspapers. Later it became the stand of James Franklin; and here his brother Benjamin assisted him on the *New England Courant*, and in 1723 became under a pretence its proprietor. In 1769 it was the office of Edes and Gill, prominent printers of their day. **37**. John Briggs, h. His will, 1666, is in *N. E. Hist and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1861, p 252. **38**. Thomas Hawkins, h.; sold in 1645 to Theodore Atkinson, a felt-maker. **39**. Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, h. **40**. John Cogan, h. and shop. Cogan's will (given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan, 1855, p. 35; also see 1877, p. 106) speaks of his mansion-house and the h. adjoining (occupied by Goodman Bomstead), and two shops adjoining. One third of the property descended to his widow Martha, who had survived



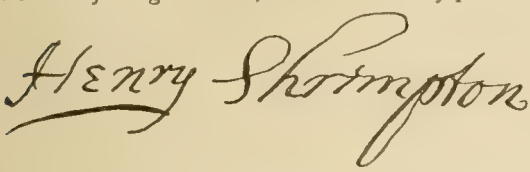
Governor Winthrop as his fourth wife. She was a sister of Increase Nowell of Charlestown, and widow, when Winthrop married her, of Thomas Coitmore, of the same town. Joseph Rocke married Elizabeth, daughter of Cogan.

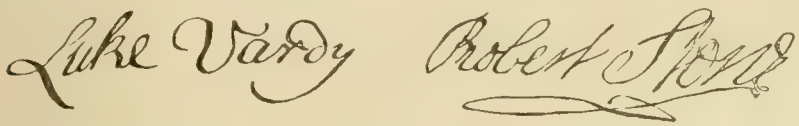


41, **42**. Rev. John Wilson, h., 2 g., y., and barn, bounding south on Wilson's Lane, now widened and called Devonshire Street. Wilson's will is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1862, p. 343. In 1641 he sold 41 to Sergeant John Davies the joiner, and provided that he should not be "annoyed with any stincks;" and Davies in 1646 sold to Edmund Jackson, from whom it passed to Hezekiah Usher, the merchant of a later day, who had removed from Cambridge to Boston in 1646. Usher's inventory mentions a dwelling-house, garden, land, and "inward warehouse," with leantos at the dock, — £700; the dwelling-house that John Usher lives in, and "outward warehouse" by the town dock, — £570. His descendants are traced in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1869, p. 410.



43. Anthony Stoddard, linendraper, who in 1644 was suffered to open his "shop window board" two feet into the street, and who bounded east on the "new street" (Exchange Street). In 1644 he sold the northerly part, fronting on the new street, to James Mattock the cooper, and in the same year this portion passed successively to John Synderland and to John Parker the carpenter. In 1646, Stoddard, John Leverett joining with him, sold the southerly part to Henry Shrimpton, brazier. His will, 1666, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1861, p. 76. It was on this corner that the Royal Exchange Tavern stood at a later day. Luke Vardy kept it in 1727, and he was succeeded in 1747 by Robert Stone, and in his time it was a resort of the British officers stationed in the town. It was in this house, in 1728, that the altercation began which ended in the first duel fought in Boston, when Benjamin Woodbridge was killed by Henry Phillips. See Shurtleff's *Boston*, p. 222, and Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume.

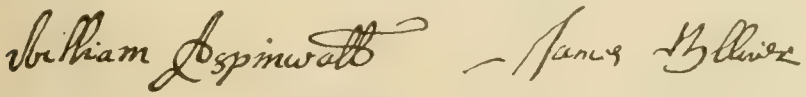




44. Valentine Hill; sold to William Davies, and he in 1645 to Anthony Stoddard. This was the site of the States Arms Tavern, and just before the Revolution the royal Custom-house was here, Bartholomew Green living in the chambers over it. **45**. William Davies, Jr., h.

46. William Pierce, along the line of the present 'Change Avenue. (See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1878, p. 319.) On the site forming the lower corner of this avenue, after the middle of the next century, John Mein kept the London Bookstore, the most considerable in the town; and here he started the earliest circulating library. Opposite the northerly end of this estate, where it abutted on the dock, on land reclaimed from the tide, Peter Faneuil built, in 1742, the famous hall, whose history is told in a chapter of the present volume.

47. William Aspinwall, h.; sold to Valentine Hill, who conveyed it to David Sellick in 1641, when it had a barber's shop adjacent to the house. Sellick died in 1654. **48**. Valentine Hill; sold in 1641 to Mary Friend; later owned by James Oliver.

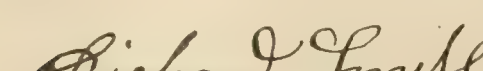


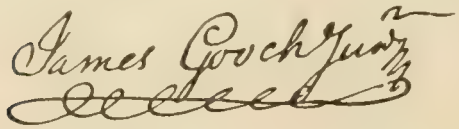
49. Edward Tyng, h., brewhouse, warehouse, with wharf in front, which he sold in 1651 to James Everill, describing it as "my wharf against the end of the great street," and along which on the south went the "town's way down upon the flats," — which corresponds to the present State Street below Merchants Row; and this street was then

designated as "Mr. Hill's highway twenty feet broad," which followed the shore of the Cove to the present Dock Square. Somewhere on the water front of Tyng's estate there were wharves occupied by Thomas Venner,[1] and another that Henry Webb was allowed

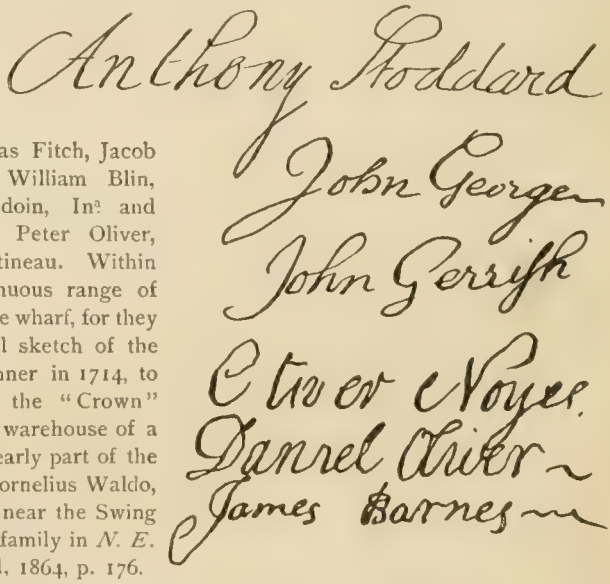
[1] He is styled a wine-cooper, and was later of Salem. Returning to England, he became a Fifth-Monarchy preacher, and engaged in an insurrection; was executed in 1661.

"to enjoy" in 1647, having bought it of Tyng. In the next century the rich Huguenot merchant, Andrew Faneuil, had his warehouse where Tyng's wharf stood, the present lower corner of Merchants Row. This was in 1732; and later, in 1743, Richard Smith kept here the Admiral Vernon Tavern. In 1750 there seems to have been a change, for in the State Archives there is a petition from Smith to be licensed to keep the Crown Coffee House "at the lower end of King Street," which had been a licensed house for nearly forty years. At the same date James Gooch, Jr., took possession of the "Vernon's Head," as his petition calls it. Smith's predecessor in the "Crown" was widow Anna Swords, and the estate was then owned by Governor Belcher. Robert Shelcock kept it in 1751. It stood at the lower corner of Chatham Row, projecting into the street. It was the first house on Long Wharf, which, after the flats had been filled in below Merchants Row, was projected by Oliver Noyes and others in 1707. Noyes was a selectman and a citizen of prominence;





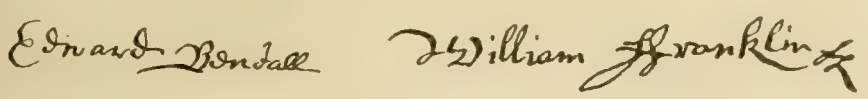
and the town, within a year or two, adopted his plan to build a pier to low-water mark. There is among the papers in the City Clerk's office the original agreement, dated 1709, of sundry merchants for carrying out this project, from which the annexed signatures are taken. In June, 1734, a petition of the proprietors of the wharf to be allowed to extend it from ten to fourteen feet is signed by James Allen, Samuel Sewall, Thomas Fitch, Jacob Wendell, Andrew Faneuil, William Blin, John Gerrish, James Bowdoin, In° and Thomas Hill, Andrew and Peter Oliver, Habijah Savage and S. Boutineau. Within the next few years a continuous range of warehouses extended down the wharf, for they are delineated in the original sketch of the water front as made by Bonner in 1714, to be mentioned later. Near the "Crown" were the counting-house and warehouse of a noted mercantile firm of the early part of the last century, — Samuel and Cornelius Waldo, — later on Merchants Row, near the Swing Bridge. See a note on the family in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1864, p. 176.



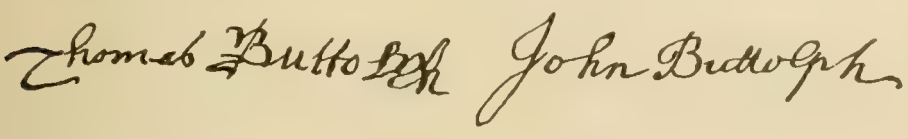
50. Valentine Hill; sold in 1645 to Samuel Cole, who had before this kept a house of entertainment somewhere along the water front in this vicinity. Cole's will, 1666, is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1861, p. 249. This is, too, the nearest point on the original shore to the spot where, in the provincial times, on land reclaimed from the dock, and near the head of the present South Market Street, John Hancock kept store, and by advertisement called upon debtors to the estate of his late uncle, the Hon. Thomas Hancock, to make payment.

51. Isaac Grosse, husbandman, h. **52**. Edward Bendall, stone h. with warehouse adjoining. Bendall had been allowed in 1637 to establish from this point a ferry to

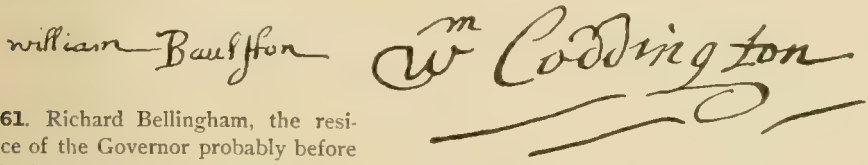
Noddle's Island, and to the ships riding before the town. His lot was just west of 'Change Avenue. **53**. George Foxcroft. **54**. Robert Nash, butcher, h., g., and outhouses, including his slaughter-house, which occasioned the town's men more or less trouble from the careless disposition which Nash made of his garbage. He was warned not to kill beasts in the street in 1647. **55**. William Franklin, h.



56. Major Edward Gibbons, h., g., and "housings," including two shops, one occupied by John Newgate, hatter, and the other by Thomas Savage the tailor, better known from his military honors. **57**. William Corser, h., which seems to be the lot afterwards occupied by William Tilley, whose wife Alice, under power from her husband, conveyed it in 1649 to Anthony Stoddard. **58**. Valentine Hill, h ; sold to Robert Turner, shoemaker, in 1644. Turner's will is dated 1651. (See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1850, p. 285.) **59**. Thomas Buttolph, h. and g. Buttolph's will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1862, p. 159, leaving to his wife Anna his h., yards, stable, barn, and other housing, and after her to his son Thomas. This he calls his "new house." His old house he leaves to Thomas till his mother dies ; then to his son John.

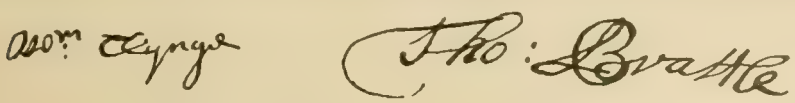


60. William Balston, h. ; sold August, 1638, when it consisted of h., y., g., and close "back side of Mr. Coddington," to Thomas Cornell or Cornwell ; who sold to Edward Tyng, 1643 ; and he to Christopher Stanley. This one of the three Balston settlers left no male issue. Whitmore, *Sewall Papers*, ii. 130, 186, corrects Savage in an account of these Balston settlers.



61. Richard Bellingham, the residence of the Governor probably before he built the house on Cotton Hill. In 1644 he compounded with the town by accepting a piece of marsh on the other side of the dock in lieu of the waste ground before this house. Hereabout, fronting on Dock Square, stood a landmark known in the early part of the next century as Colson's Stone House.

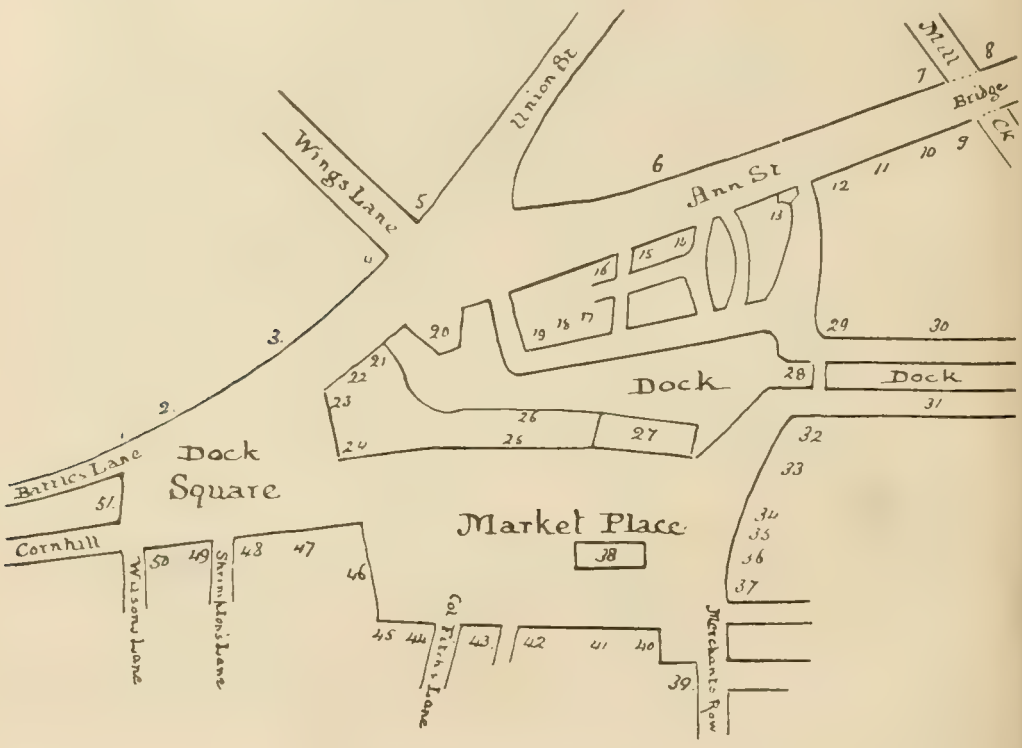
62. Captain William Tyng, h., g., close, great yard, and little yard before the hall window. His inventory is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1876, p. 432. A part of this lot, after Captain Tyng's death, Jan. 18, 1652–53, fell to Elizabeth, his daughter, wife of Thomas Brattle, who



died May 10, 1684, when it fell for the most part to his son Thomas Brattle. (*Sewall Papers*, i. 202.) Subsequently, in 1694, a part of the estate passed to Mr. Mumford, who afterwards conveyed it to the Quakers for a meeting-house. (Shurtleff, *Desc. of Boston*, p. 229.) On the rear of this lot, after passages had been opened across it, the first wooden

house of the "Manifesto Church" was erected in 1699, and stood through the provincial period. A part of this lot was conveyed by Brattle to John Wing, and by him to Eliakim Hutchinson. See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1880, p. 43.

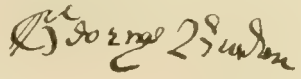
63. Hugh Gunnison, vintner, h. He later removed to Kittery. In 1650 Gunnison's, or Gullison's, house is called "The King's Arms," and the estate included a brew-house, barns, stables, etc.; and in 1651 he and his wife Sarah conveyed it, according to an inventory printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1880, p. 42, to Henry Shrimpton and others; and according to Mr. Hassam, when Shrimpton made his will in 1666 he called it the "States Arms;" and when Eliakim Hutchinson became Shrimpton's son-in-law, two years later, it is described as "facing to the head of the dock, and heretofore called the King's Armes." The estate passed next, 1715–19, to William Hutchinson, the son, and in 1721 to Eliakim Hutchinson, the grandson, a loyalist.



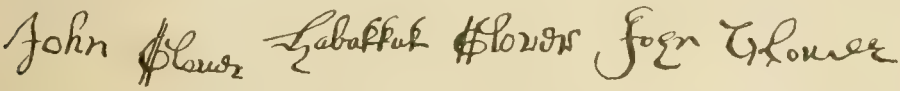
DOCK SQUARE, ABOUT 1732.[1]

[1] This sketch is based on a plan preserved in the City Hall, and of which a copy made by the late W. G. Brooks is in the Cabinet of the Historical Society. The figures stand for the following names and sites: 1, Hutchinson; 2, Billings; 3, Randall; 4, Harvard; 5, Hannas; 6, Checkley; 7, Jackson; 8, Rand; 9, Rawson; 10, Right; 11, W. Coffin; 12, Millar; 13, J. Tyler; 14, Tyler; 15, Hancock; 16, Boyce; 17, Pemberton; 18, Brooks; 19, Pitts; 20, Watch-house; 21, Jackson; 22, Abbott; 23, Bromfield; 24, Hubbard; 25, Small shops; 26, Billings; 27, Platform, Fish shop; 28, Swing Bridge; 29, Borland; 30, Bridgman Hall and Warehouse; 31, Woodmancy's wharf; 32, Fayerweather; 33, Colman; 34, Hutchinson; 35, Cushing; 36, Bronsdon; 37, Jeffery; 38, Palmer's Warehouse; 39, Gill and Sewall; 40, Green; 41, Allen; 42, Bromfield; 43, Noyes; 44, Boylston; 45, Bailey; 46, Sun Tavern; 47, Borman and Gibbs; 48, Maverick; 49, Edes; 50, Blake; 51, Colson.

64. George Burden, a shoemaker, h. There was a wharf opposite his house in 1641, when he had permission to place a vessel at the head of it in which to water his leather. Burden's will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1854, p. 278; and see 1880, p. 44, for a note of the descent of this lot. A way round the north side of the cove from this lot to John Lowe's (93) was laid out definitely in 1642. When the town, in 1649, sold the reversion till 1726 of the dock to James Everill, on his paying an annual £6 16*s.* 10*d.* "to the school's use," it was then ordered that all the land at the head of the cove "round about by John Glover's (65), George Burden's (64), Hugh Gunnison's (63), Captain William Tinge's (62), William Franklin's (55), Robert Nashe's (54), and eight foot to the eastward of it is highway; as alsoe from the eastward sid of the eight foot, and round about bye the corner of Edward Bendall's brick howse (52), and so by Samuel Cole's howse (50), as alsoe to Edward Ting's wharfe (49), shall goe a high way of twentye foote in breadth." This head of the dock was the "common landing place" as early as 1634, when there was a bridge or pier here.



65. John Glover, h. By will, 1653, he left half his house nearest Mr. Webb's to his wife, and half to his son Habakkuk, with half his tan-yard adjacent; also to this son half his house next Goodman Hudson's. Another son, John, who had graduated at Harvard

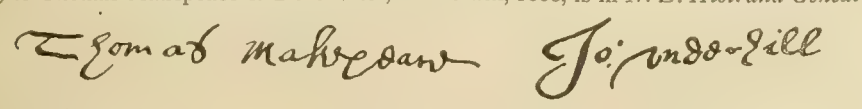


in 1651, continued to live with the mother. Becoming a merchant, he moved to Swansea; and returning to Boston in 1690, lived and died (1696) on Summer Street, and lies buried in the Granary Burying-ground. *Glover Memorials*, p. 149; Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, p. 297.

66. William Hudson, Jr., h., g., and brewhouse. This was known as the "Castle Tavern," and Hudson and his wife Anne conveyed it in 1674 to John Wing, who in 1687 "set a room in his house for a man to show tricks in;" and Sewall records, amusingly, how he went to labor with Wing and convince him of its sinfulness, ending his account: "Sung the 90th Ps. from the 12th v. to the end. Broke up." (*Sewall Papers*, i. 196.) In 1694 it is called the "George Tavern." Mr. John T. Hassam traces the subsequent history of this estate in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1879, p. 400.

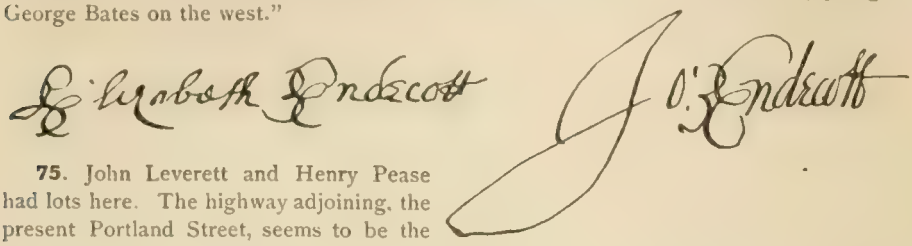
67. Samuel Greames, h. **68**. Sarah Knight, h. **69**. Jeremy Houtchin. **70**. Francis Dowse. **71**. George Burden. West of Burden, Anne Hunne, widow of George Hunne, had a lot. The will of Hunne, 1640, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1853, p. 31.

72, 73. Thomas Makepeace. This was perhaps the house John Underhill surrendered in 1639 to Thomas Makepeace of Dorchester, whose will, 1666, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1861, p. 323. It was the corner lot (No. 72), on which a well-known Boston merchant, William Tailer, lived, — the same who committed suicide July 12, 1682. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, vii. 56.) His wife was Rebecca, a daughter of Israel Stoughton of Dorchester, and it was with her in this house that Andros is supposed to have taken up his abode when he came to Boston in 1686.



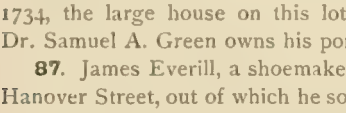
The son, William Tailer of Dorchester, became Lieut.-Governor, and rented this house to Edward Lyde, who in 1701–2 bought the property. *Sewall Papers*, i. 163, 202; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1863, p. 239; July, 1864, p. 289.

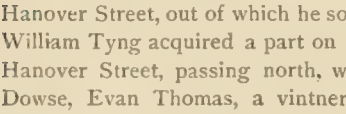
74. George Bates, in the rear of Anne Hunne. The will of John Endicott (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1862, p. 333), leaving his property to his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Jeremy Houtchin (E. had no children), mentions his house as "joyning to George Bates on the west."



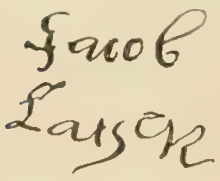
75. John Leverett and Henry Pease had lots here. The highway adjoining, the present Portland Street, seems to be the twenty-five foot passage which Henry Pease agreed to "fence out through his lands against the cove, near his dwelling, unto the cross high way by our brother James Everill's," 1639–40. It was on this lot, where now stands the American House, that Joseph Warren in 1764 took up his abode, and began the practice of medicine. He lived then in a house in which Joseph Green, a prominent merchant of his day — not to be confounded with Joseph Green the wit — died, July 1, 1765. Green had bought of Governor Belcher, in 1734, the large house on this lot for £3,600. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, vi. 275.) Dr. Samuel A. Green owns his portrait. **76–86**; see Plan A, 1, etc.

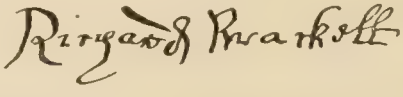
87. James Everill, a shoemaker, h. and large lot, embracing nearly the whole front on Hanover Street, out of which he sold lots to various people. William Tyng acquired a part on Elm Street; and along Hanover Street, passing north, were the lots of Francis Dowse, Evan Thomas, a vintner (sold to James Bill), William Corser (sold to John Chamberlyn), Robert Porter, John Stevenson, and William Hayward. The corner lot on Hanover and Union streets passed to Henry Maudesley about 1653; and Shurtleff, *Desc. of Boston*, p. 628, has traced the title down, until it became the famous "Blue Ball," the home of Franklin's father. It is now cut off by the extension of Washington Street. **88**. Edmund Dennis, a small lot. **89–96**; see Plan A, 77, 80–86.





PLAN C. **1–7**; see Plan D, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 15, 16. On the northerly portion of No. 7 the White Horse Tavern stood in the next century. It was kept by Joseph Morton in 1760. **8**. Jacob Leger, h. and g.; bought of Richard Brackett, 1638. Leger's signature here given is from his will, 1662.

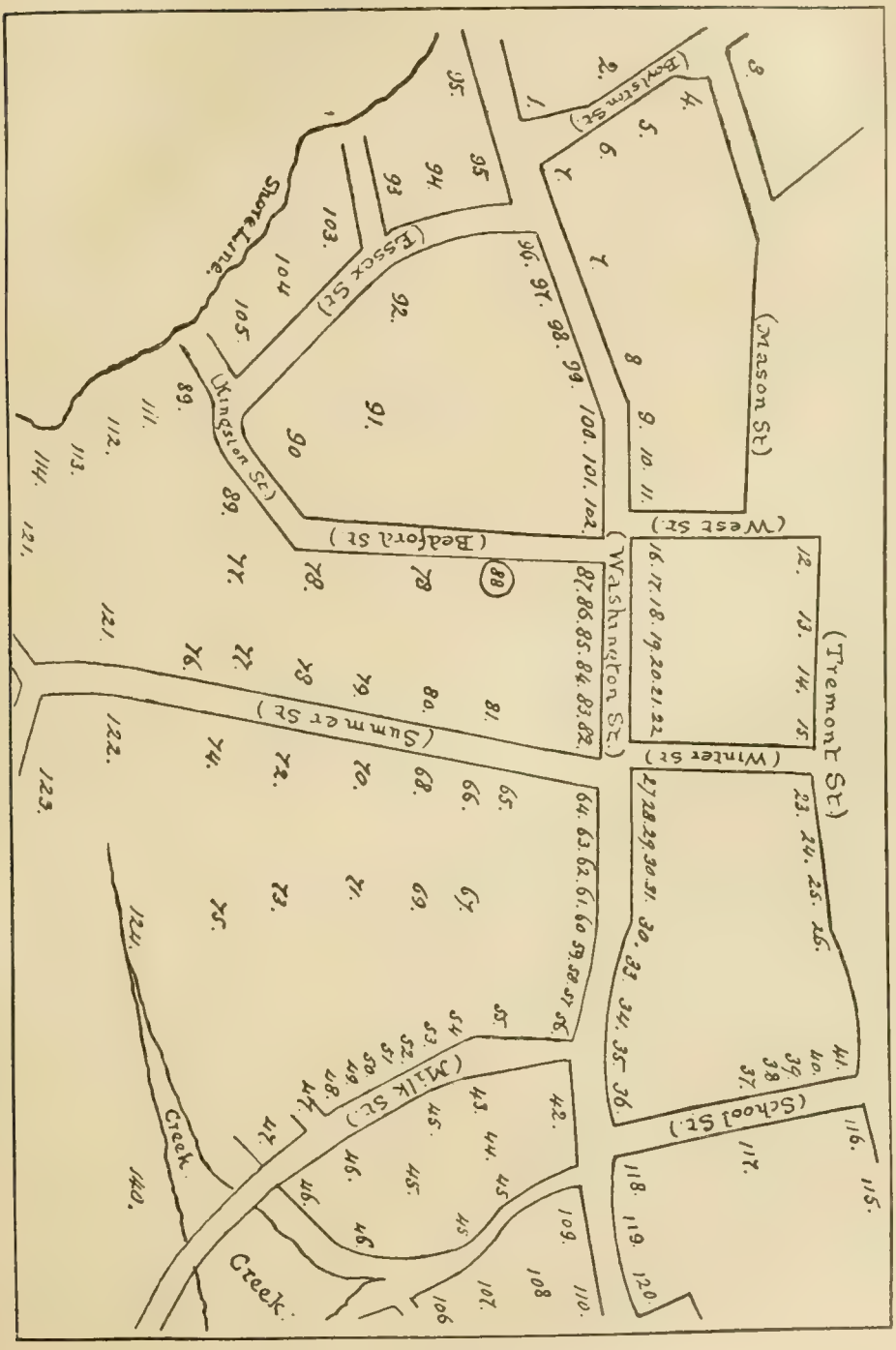




9. William Hudson, Jr., h. and g.; sold to Richard Carter, a carpenter, in 1639. This lot nearly corresponds to the site of the Lamb Tavern, which stood here before the middle of the last century. Drake says that Colonel Doty was the host in 1760. Adjoining it on the north was the Lion Tavern.

10, 11. Thomas Oliver, h. and g.; sold in 1645 to Nicholas Shapley. Oliver's will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1854, p. 351. This lot seems to have been sold in 1647 by Francis Smith to William Chamberlin; and was later sold to Richard Wilson. Opposite the rear of this lot, on the Common, now the line of Mason Street, the town built in 1717 (it is shown on Bonner's map) the South Writing School. It is described then as "adjoining to Cornell's lot, over against Mr. Wainwright's."

12. Henry Webb. This lot, about 1 a., was granted by William Parsons to Richard Carter in 1646. **13**. George Burden, g. **14**. James Johnson, g. These lots, on the line of the present Mason Street, were granted in 1638 to James Johnson, John Davis,



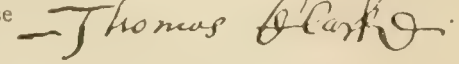
PLAN C. (WASHINGTON STREET, ETC.)

George Burden, and Nathaniel Chappell, and were then called "gardens on the back side of the lots in y^e^ long street." They mark the site of the mansion and grounds of James

Swan of a later day, and still later the famous Washington Gardens of the early part of this century.

15. John Leverett, who sold the south part in 1664 to one Wyard, and he in 1666 to John Wampus, an Indian. (*Gleaner Article*, No. 6.) **16**. Robert Wing, h., "both old and new built;" sold in 1648 to Thomas Painter. He died in 1651. See his will in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, January, 1850, p. 54.

17. Ralph Mason, h. and g.; mortgaged to Matthew Cradock, of London, in 1638, for £17; sold to Thomas Painter. Painter had liberty to sell a house to Ephraim Hunt in 1650. Mason made his mark to his will in 1672. **18**. Thomas Clark, h. and g. **19**. Mr. Flint, h. and g. **20**. Anthony Harker, h. and g.; sold to Isaac Vergoose in 1659, whose

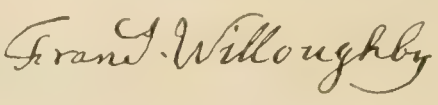


wife was that "Mother Goose" who, as is claimed, sung years afterwards the famous rhymes to a grand-child, the son of Fleet the printer, who collected the scraps and published them in 1719, — the precursor of many editions since. (See W. A. Wheeler, *Noted Names of Fiction*, 252; and his introduction to an edition of *Mother Goose* published in New York, 1870: also, *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1873, pp. 144, 311; and *Sewall Papers*, i. 108.) The claim rests on no very secure foundation.

21. Mr. Flint, h. and g. **22**. Robert Blott, h. and g. His will is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, January, 1861, p. 73. **23**. Granted to Richard Sherman's wife in 1637, when Stephen Kinsley had a house plot near by; and Sherman in 1647 sold a half acre to Francis Smith, who the same year deeded two acres, including land bought of Edmund Jacklin. This corner was later owned by Captain Edward Wyllys, and was bought of his heirs by Colonel Vetch in 1712, who in 1713–14 sold it to Captain Thomas Steel. (*Sewall Papers*, iii. 10.) It was later owned by Thomas Oxnard, the progenitor of the family of that name; and at his death, in 1754, it was valued at £1,200. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1872, p. 4.) **24**. Daniel Maud the school-master; granted in 1637; sold to Edmund Jacklin in 1643. Here at a later day was the shop of the well-known London coach-maker. Major Adino Paddock, — the same who planted, about 1762, before the Granary Burial-ground, the elms which not long since were cut down. The name of the Burial-ground was derived from the public granary, which, in 1737, was built on the opposite side of the street where Park-Street Church now stands. The keeper of this granary was for a long time Francis Willoughby. This part of Tremont Street was called "Long Acre" in the provincial times.

THE MARK OF FRANCIS SMITH.

On a part of this lot, too, was built the manufacturing house which formed the east corner of what is now Hamilton Place, and



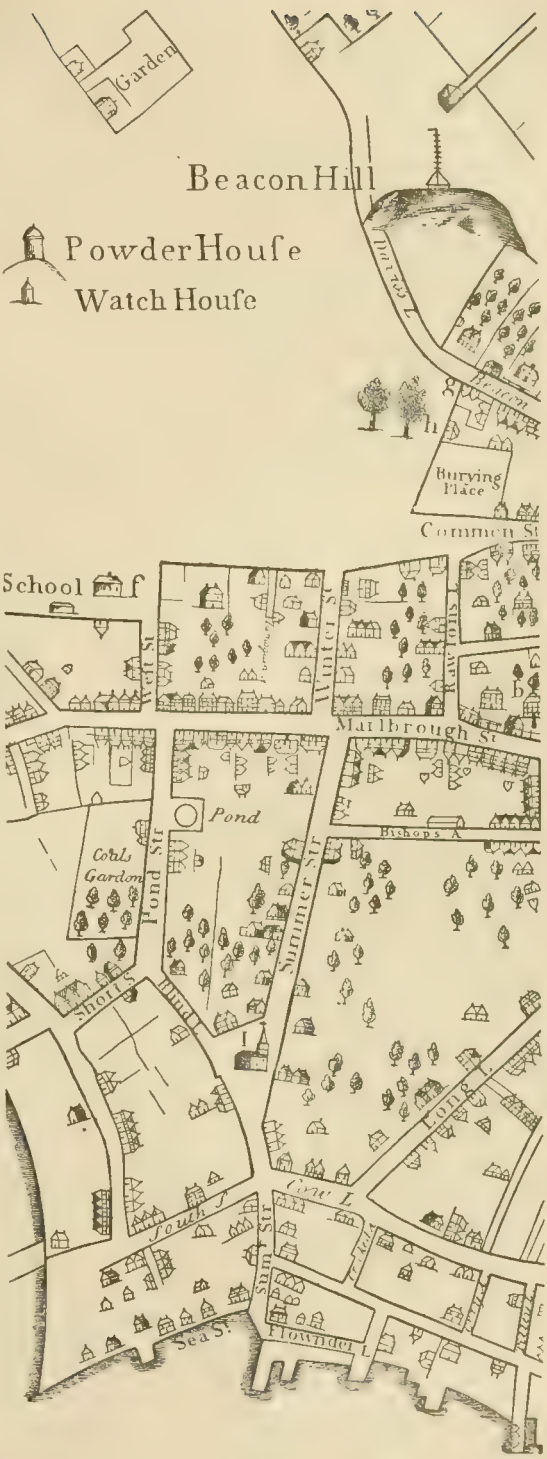
was erected by the Province to encourage spinning and kindred occupations. It disappeared in 1806. **25**. Richard Cooke, g.; sold to Edmund Jacklin; who in 1647 sold to Francis Smith; he to Amos Richardson the same year; and later it was owned by Anthony Stoddard, the rich linen-draper.

26. See 32. **27**. Jane, widow of Richard Parker, h. and g.; and, intending to marry, she deeded it, in 1646, to her children, — Margaret, John, Thomas, and Noah. **28**. William Townsend, h. and g. **29**. Edmund Jacklin,

a glazier, h. and g.; sold in 1646 to Nicholas Busbie, a worsted weaver. Busbie's will, 1657 (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1854, p. 279), mentions his new dwelling-house, with garden, which he gives to his wife, and after her to his son Abraham. He divided his books, — "phisicke bookes" to son John, and "bookes of divinity or history" to Abraham; and his "weaving tooles as the two loomes, the one to John Busby in case he come over to New England, or else to William Nickerson the same."

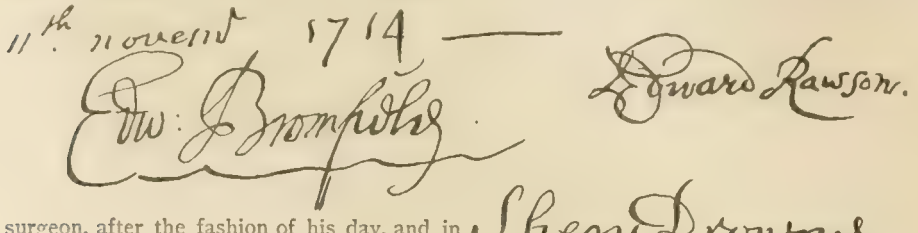
30. Edmund Dennis, h. and g. **31.** Ephraim Pope, h. and g. **32.** Extending to 26, about on the line of Bromfield Street, Richard Fairbanks, g.; later owned by William Davis the apothecary. Fairbanks, however, retained a lot in the rear of those on School Street. William Aspinwall owned at one time from street to street, and he sold h., g., orchard, and close in 1652 to his son-in-law, John Angier, then making two acres. Another house and outbuildings he sold, in 1652, to Sampson Shoare; and he to Theodore Atkinson, who had formerly been a servant to John Newgate the hatter. Atkinson sold to Edward Rawson, the Colonial Secretary. The street now known as Bromfield Street was long called Rawson's Lane, but became later known as Bromfield's Lane, after a distinguished merchant of the provincial period,—Edward Bromfield, —who lived on the southerly side, about half-way up, where later the Bromfield House stood. (This site was afterwards occupied by the Indian Queen Tavern.) Mr. Bromfield had settled in Boston in 1675, and died in 1734. His family is traced in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1871, p. 330. **33.** Thomas Grubb, h. and g.

34. Thomas Millard, h. and g After Millard's death this estate passed to Colonel Samuel Shrimpton in 1672, who sold it in 1676 to Peter Sergeant, who built upon the lot the famous house, later to be known as the "Province House," when it was bought in 1713 to be made the royal governor's official residence. The Indian which was perched upon the top of the cupola was the handiwork of Deacon Shem Drowne, the same who made the grasshopper vane of Faneuil Hall. The further history of the estate is traced in Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, 596. See also Dr. Ellis's chapter in this volume.



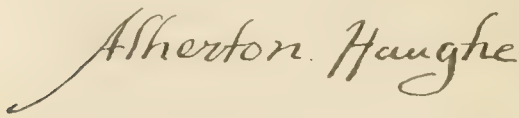
FROM BONNER'S MAP, 1722.

35. Walter Blackborne, h., g., and shop, which Elizabeth Blackborne (Walter having gone to England) sold in 1641 to Francis Lyle the barber, who united the service of a



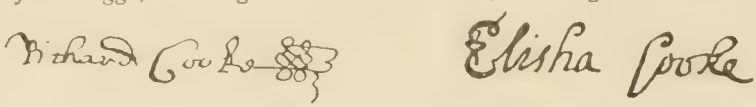
surgeon, after the fashion of his day, and in this capacity served later in the Parliamentary army in England. Henry Bridgham owned part of the lot, which he sold in 1648 to Richard Tapping and John Spoore.

36. Atherton Hough, h. and g. It was well up School Street that the little French church was built, about 1714. They had bought the lot of James Meers, hatter, ten years earlier. Next door to them, in 1747, Richard Cranch,



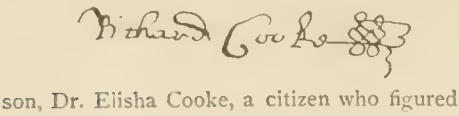
card-maker, had his shop,—the father of Judge Cranch. **37.** Arthur Perry, tailor and drummer, h. and g. He died Oct. 9, 1652, but left a son, Seth, to keep up his trade.

38. John Lugge, h. and g. **39.** Richard Cooke, h. and g. Here also lived his

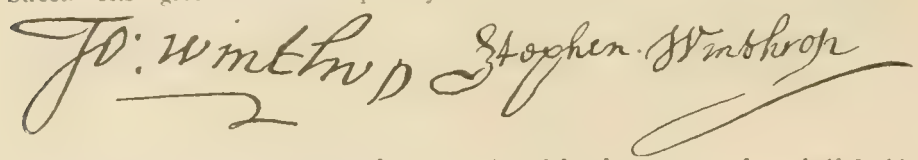


son, Dr. Elisha Cooke, a citizen who figured largely in the Inter-Charter period. It was in this house that Governor Burnet lived while the Province House was making ready.

40. John Synderland. **41.** Zaccheus Bosworth, h. and g., with barns, cow-house, orchard; sold in 1652 to Thomas Woodward. Bosworth's will, 1655, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1851, p. 443. On this lot there was erected, early in the next century, the brick house which became the residence of Jacob Wendell, a wealthy merchant and prominent citizen of his day.

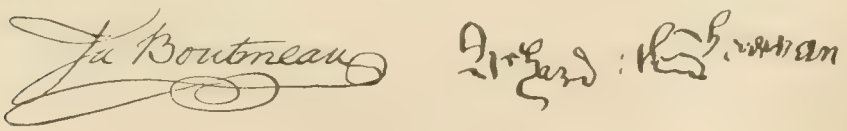


42. Governor Winthrop. His house stood nearly opposite the foot of School Street. His "green" is now occupied by the Old South Church. Before his death he



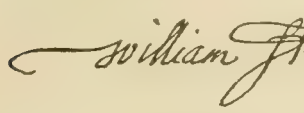
deeded the property to his son Stephen, reserving right of occupancy of one half for his own and his wife's life. The property came into the possession of John Norton, the minister of the First Church, whose will is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1857, p. 342; and his widow gave it to the Third Church, and upon it their first edifice was built, in 1670,—a wooden structure, which gave place in 1729 to the present building.

43. Atherton Hough, h. This is the point at which James Boutineau, in the pro-



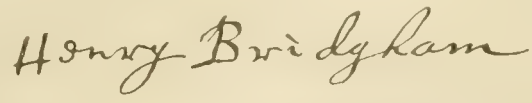
vincial period, had his mansion. He married a sister of Peter Faneuil. **44**. Richard Sherman, h. The annexed signature is from his will, in 1660, which is printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1855, p. 227. See *Ibid.*, April, 1864, p. 157, for the will of the widow Robinson, formerly wife of Richard Shearman.

45. William Hibbins, gentleman, h., g., and stable. Somewhere between 45 and 46 on the Water Street side, Major John Walley had his mansion-house in the early part of the next century, with wharf belonging, and land stretching through to Milk Street. Upon his death, in 1711, it descended to his son John; and on his death, in 1755, it was



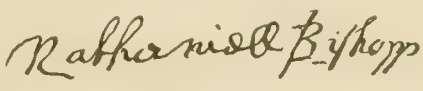
advertised as containing "upwards of twenty rooms." The present Devonshire Street runs through lot 45, and was early known as Joyliffe's Lane, from John Joyliffe, a prominent citizen, who lived upon it, and died in 1701. Drake's *Boston*, 509.

46. John Spoore, h. and g. Spoore was called of Clapton, Somersetshire, when he bought, in 1638, Mr. Wilke's house and ground, — perhaps this lot. Somewhere hereabout on the Creek the leather-dressers, in 1643, were granted a place to water their leather. Spoore mortgaged this property in 1648, and by some means we find Deacon Henry Bridgham in possession in 1655, who built in 1670 a mansion on the ground, and had his tan-pits near by. He did not live, however,



to move into the new house, but died in the old one in March, 1670–71; and on the death of his widow, in 1672, the property passed to the sons, and in 1680 was divided, the new house falling to Dr. John Bridgham, of Ipswich. The Doctor died in 1721, and this house fell to his nephew Joseph Bridgham, a recent graduate of Harvard, but now an apothecary in Boston. Bridgham sold it in February, 1734–35, to Francis Borland for £1,200. Joseph Calef was a tenant of the house, and plied his trade with the tan-pits. It was while Calef was here that Congress Street was laid out from Milk to Water Street. There was a petition in 1757 to continue Water Street over the old tan heaps and to pave it. Calef died in September, 1763, and the house and grounds fell to Francis Lindall Borland, but afterwards came in joint possession to John Borland, a brother of Francis Lindall, and to the children of Wait Still Winthrop, who had married a daughter of Francis Borland. The remaining history of the house falls later than the provincial times. It became the famous Julien House, and its descent is traced at length by Shurtleff, *Boston*, 659.

47. John Spoore, g. **48**. William Pell, tallow chandler, h. and g. **49**. Robert Rice, h. and g. **50**. William Dinsdale, h. and g. **51**. John Kenrick, h. and g. **52**. James Penn, h. and g.; granted in 1637. **53**. Nicholas Parker, h. and g. **54**. Nathaniel Bishop,

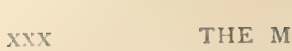


h. and g. A lane was laid out (Oct. 15, 1645; March 23, 1646) west of this lot, running through to Summer Street, nearly the present Hawley Street, and known early as Bishop's Alley.

55. John Stevenson, h. and g. His widow married William Blackstone, and the lot passed in 1646 to Abraham Page; and then, same year, to John Hansett of Roxbury; but the spot got its chief glory sixty years later, when Benjamin Franklin was born here.

56. Robert Reynolds, shoemaker, h. and g. His will, 1658, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1855, p. 137; gives his house and orchard, after his wife's decease, to his son Nathaniel, who removed to Bristol, R. I. A family distinguished in the medical profession represents the blood in Boston to-day.

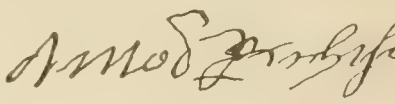
57. Edward Fletcher, h.; sold the northern part in 1646 to William Hailstone, a tailor, from Taunton; he to Richard Lippincott, barber. It was seemingly on this lot that Daniel Johonnot, the Huguenot distiller, dwelt in his latter years. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1852, p. 359. **58**. Richard Waite, tailor, h. and g. An account of him and his family is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1877, p. 422. **59**. Charity White, h. and small yard. **60**. Francis East, carpenter, h. and g. **61**. Nathaniel Eaton, h. and g.



62. Richard Hogg, h. and g.; sold in 1645 to John Lake, and he to Thomas Wiborne

in 1648, whose will, 1656, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1852, p. 289. **63**. John Marshall, h. and g. **64**. Nathaniel Woodward, h. and g. **65**. John Palmer, Jr., h. and y.

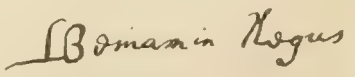
66. James Stokes, h. and g.; sold to George Bromer; he, in 1642, to Amos Richardson, a tailor. Here in the next century, after Bishop's Alley (the modern Hawley Street) was run through, on the upper corner of it stood the old Seven Star Inn, giving its name for a while to the street; and upon the same spot, in 1734, the first edifice of Trinity Church was erected, which stood till 1828. This land was bought for the church of William Speakman.



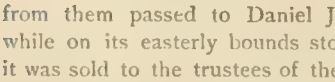
67. William Hudson, Sr., g. Sewall, in 1704, records the burial of a Quaker in what seems this lot, as the Quakers did not have till 1709 any cemetery of their own. At the time of the burial it was called Brightman's pasture and orchard. *Sewall Papers*, ii. 113, and note.

68. John Palmer, Sr., h. and g. Not far from this spot stood, in the provincial days, the elegant mansion of the younger Sir William Pepperrell, which was sold under the confiscation act in 1779. Sabine, *American Loyalists*, ii. 170.

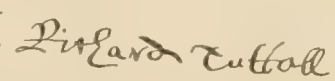
69. Robert Scott, g. **70**. Gamaliel Waite, h. Gamaliel Waite was a brother of Richard Waite, and died in 1685, aged eighty-seven. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1877, p. 424.) **71**. Thomas Oliver, g. **72**. Benjamin Negoos, h. **73**. Robert Scott, g.



74. Maudit Engles, h. Mr. Crocker says that his descendants wrote the name "Engs." The name in the Book of Possessions is "Engles," though the autograph here given is "Enges." Savage gives it "Ingles." It is written "English" sometimes. **75**. Captain Robert Keayne, g. This lot fell to Keayne's granddaughter Anne and her husband, Captain Nicholas Paige, and from them passed to Daniel Johonnot in 1719, then bounding east, on Long Lane, while on its easterly bounds stood Mr. Johonnot's distillery and store-houses. In 1793 it was sold to the trustees of the Boston Theatre; and on one part of it, separated from the theatre lot by Franklin Street, the Catholics, in 1803, erected their first church. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1852, p. 358.



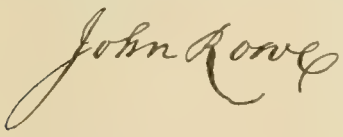
76. Richard Tuttle, and afterward his widow, had a wind-mill here, near the present Church-Green estate. In 1642 permission was given to remove the wind-mill into the fort; but the lot had a wind-mill on it when it subsequently passed to Edward Holyoke, Richard Woodward, and then to William Aspinwall. It was often spoken of as the "South Wind-mill." After that portion of Bedford Street (called Blind Lane) which connects with Summer Street was cut though, the lot formed by the junction seems to have come into the possession of the town, by which it was



granted, in 1715, to a new society, which became the New South Church. The edifice then built stood through the provincial period, and was replaced in 1814 by the structure which the present generation remember as upon the spot before 1868. It is not explained why the site was called "Church Green" before it was contemplated to use it for church purposes. *Sewall Papers*, iii. 61.

77. George Griggs, h.; allowed to sell in 1638, "for his redeeming out of their debts," to Mr. Tuttill of Ipswich, and Mr. Tuttill of Charlestown. The annexed signature is to his will in 1655, when he spoke of himself as sick in body. It is printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal Reg.*, Oct., 1855, p. 343.

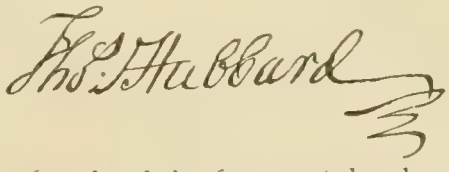
78. William Davies, lock and gunsmith; granted 1638; sold to William Blantaine. The portion of this lot next the pond lot belonged, early in the provincial time, to Benjamin Church, the father of the Revolutionary traitor, who sold it in 1742 to Robert Thompson; and he, in 1764, to John Rowe, who built upon it a mansion, afterwards the residence of Judge Prescott, and which is portrayed in George Ticknor's *Life of William H. Prescott*. In 1845 it passed by purchase to the Church of the Saviour, and the free-stone structure was built upon it, which has been taken carefully down and reconstructed on Newbury Street. Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 409.



79. Thomas Bell, h. and g. He died 1655, and his son Thomas conveyed it to John Maryon in 1668.

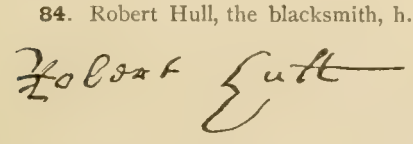
80. Richard Hollick, Hollidge, or Hollinghead, h. and l. In 1680 Hollick and his wife Ann, in their old age, sold the lot (reserving the use of the house for their lives) to Henry Alline and Robert Sanderson, deacons of the First Church; but not until 1808 did that church erect, on an inner part of this lot, their late meeting-house on Chauncy Place. *Gleaner* said, in 1855, that this was probably the only lot in Boston held under a direct conveyance from the first possessor.

81. Gamaliel Waite, g. This lot was the site of the fine old mansion of the provincial time which Leonard Vassall built, now marked by the building of C. F. Hovey & Co. Mr. T. C. Amory (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1871, p. 38; see also Jan., 1863, p. 59) has traced the descent of the property, and described the mansion. For the Vassall family, see *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1863, and *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 17. Vassall bought it in 1727 of Simeon Stoddard; and after his death, in 1737, it passed by sale to Thomas Hubbard, who lived in the house till his death, in 1773. He had been Treasurer of Harvard College, and his portrait by Copley now hangs in Memorial Hall.



82. Elizabeth Purton, a widow as early as 1633, whose h. in 1651 seems to have been leased by Robert Morse to James Oliver. She made her mark to her will, dated 1650, which is printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1853, p. 233. On this site, in the next century, Thomas English lived in a sightly mansion-house. **83**. Job Judkins, h. and g.

84. Robert Hull, the blacksmith, h. and g. His will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1861, p. 322. It was at this point that the printing-office stood, in 1704, where the first Boston newspaper, the *News-Letter*, was printed.

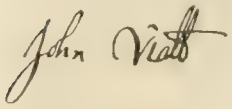


85. John Hurd, tailor, h. and g.; mortgaged to Governor Dudley for £23 in 1649. It was granted to Hurd by John Leverett in consideration of a garden granted Leverett in the New Field. For Hurd's descendants, see *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1865, p. 123. **86**. William Blantaine, h. and g. He made his mark to his will, which is printed

in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1857, p. 172. **87**. Thomas Wheeler, tailor, h. and g. His will, 1654, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1851, p. 305.

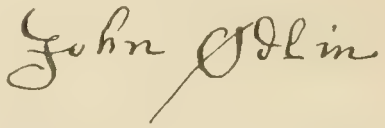
88. Pond, "the town's watering-place." This pond had become so much a nuisance in the provincial days that in 1739 the question of filling it up was mooted, and in 1753 the lot then containing about one ninth of an acre was sold by the town to David Wheeler. He died in 1770, and his wife, who held it, died in 1773.

89. John Viall, vintner; conveyed by him and his wife Mary, about 1644, to William Costin, carpenter; he to Edward Cowell, "cordwinder;" and he and his wife Sarah, in 1671, to Rev. James Allen, of the First Church, who was reputed to be "very rich," and, perhaps having a speculative turn, he sold it the next year.

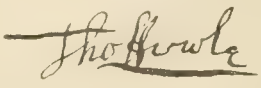


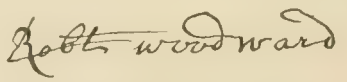
90. Common land. **91**. Thomas Buttolph, g. **92**. Miles Reading. **93**. David Offley, h. and g. **94**. Edward Rainsford, h. and g. **95**. Garret Bourne, h. and g. Here within the house-yard stood the "Liberty Tree," which is said to have been planted in 1646, and became famous in the Stamp-Act times, and was cut down in spite by the Tories in 1775. **96**. Griffith Bowen, h. and g.

97. —— Cole, h. and g.; later owned by John Cuddington, John Bateman, and John Odlin, in 1650. **98**. John Odlin, h. and g.



99. Walter Sinet, fisherman, h. and g.; granted in 1638. **100**. Thomas Fowle, h. and g. He removed to Braintree. In 1650, h. and orchard sold by John Cuddington to William Holloway. **101**. Jacob Leger, h. and g. His will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg*, Oct., 1857, p. 340. **102**. Robert Woodward, h. and g.; granted in 1637. Papers relating to his estate are in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1859, p. 10. Bedford Street was laid out in 1644.

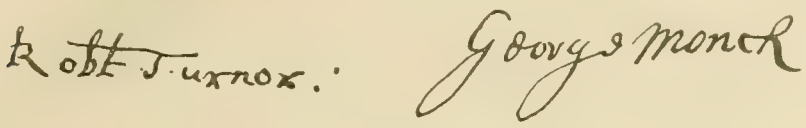




103. Owen Roe, h. and g. **104**. John Pelton, h. and l. **105**. A piece of marsh. **106**. James Davies, sailor, h. and g. **107**. William Parsons, h. and g. **108**. William Corser, h. and g. He is called in his will, 1673, Cosser, and, being "weak of body," makes his mark to it. His wife was Joanna.

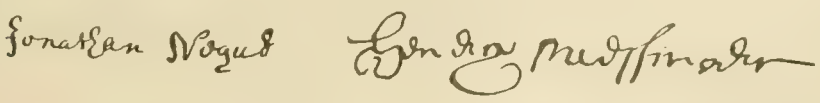
109. Elder Thomas Oliver, h. and g. Here he practised the healing art, — the physician of the young town, as well as ruler in its church. See his relationship to the other Olivers in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1865, p. 100. Between this lot and No. 42, on the line of the present Spring Lane, was the ancient spring-gate of the first comers. (See Mr. Bynner's account of it in Vol. I. p. 543.) When, in the provincial period, Water Street was extended through this lot into the present Washington Street, on the northerly corner, at the sign of the "Heart and Crown," Thomas Fleet in 1731 had his printing office, and here, in 1735, he began the publication of the Boston *Evening Post*. See further on this point in Mr. Goddard's chapter on the "Literature and the Press of the Provincial Period" in the present volume.

110. Richard Fairbanks, h. and g.; sold in 1652 to Robert Turner, who later built a new house on the lot, which is mentioned in his will (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1859, p. 11). Here at a later day The Blue Anchor was kept by George Monck,



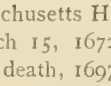
whom Dunton celebrates in his *Letters*, and who extended his career into the provincial days. (See Whitmore's note to Record Commissioners' edition of *Gleaner Articles*, p. 18.) A petition from Joseph Willson for a license shows that this or another tavern of the same name was called "Near Oliver's Dock" in 1755, and that it had been known as such for forty years, — a lesser period than is true, certainly, if it was not another hostlery. It was the same tavern which Thomas Bayley petitioned for the privilege of keeping in 1752. **111**. Richard Woodhouse, h. and l. **112**. Thomas Foster, h.; sold in 1647 to William Browne, later of Salem.

113. Jonathan Negoos, h. **114**. Thomas Munt. He had permission in 1635 to fence in a piece of marsh before his house for the making of brick. (See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1862, p. 162.) **115**. Henry Messenger, joiner, h. and g. This is

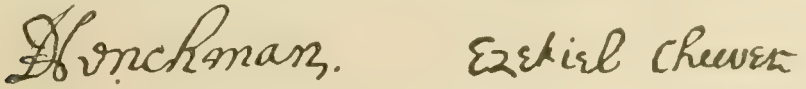


the lot on which now stands the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and, in part, the Boston Museum. His will is dated March 15, 1672, and he died in 1681, his wife Sarah inheriting the estate; and she at her death, 1697, gave the half next the burial-place to her son Thomas, and the other half to her son Simeon. An account of his descendants is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1862, p. 309; and is given more at length in the *Genealogy of the Messenger Family*, by George W. Messenger, Albany, 1863. This Messenger lot, separating the town property on School from that on Court Street, was in part later acquired by the town. (*Gleaner Articles*, No 3.) **116**. Burial-ground. See *Gleaner Article*, No. 4.

117. Thomas Scottow, h. and g. His will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1856, p. 362. He sold to the town in 1645, — the present City Hall lot. The town built a school-house upon it, and Mr. Woodmansy, the teacher, lived in the old house. Woodmansy bequeathed his "little estate" in 1667 to his wife Margaret and his daughters Martha and Bathia. His will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1862, p. 55. In 1666 Daniel Henchman was



employed to assist Woodmansy. Benjamin Tompson succeeded Woodmansy in 1667, acting with Henchman. Jan. 6, 1671, the celebrated Ezekiel Cheever took the school,



having accepted the appointment the previous December 29, and kept it until 1708. An account of Cheever, by Mr. Hassam, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1879,

p. 175, gives various particulars about the school-house while it was in charge of this master. Cheever was succeeded by Nathaniel Williams. Thomas Prince preached Williams's funeral sermon, which was printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1854, p. 368. Williams died in 1738, and was followed by John Lovell. In 1750 the

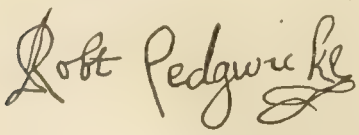
school had about a hundred pupils, if we may judge from a petition of Lovell for a porch to be built to the school-house, since "every rainy day the chill is very great from a hundred wet great coats."

Between the teacher's house and the school-house, Richard Cooke was permitted in 1652 to build, paying a ground rent, which went for the school-master's salary. In 1704 a new school-house was built on the spot. The ground now in front of the City Hall was sold by the town later, and again repurchased. Just below this there stood, in the provincial times, the dwelling of Jean Paul Mascarene, a Huguenot, who went to Nova

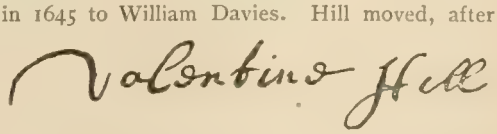
Scotia in 1711, and became Governor there; but died in Boston in 1760. A little further down the street was the Cromwell's Head Tavern, a somewhat famous resort in the provincial period; here Washington lodged when he came to Boston in 1756. Just above this inn lived the merchant and wit, Joseph Green.

118. Edward Hutchinson, h. and g. After his removal to Rhode Island, his son was permitted to sell it to his uncle, Richard Hutchinson, of London, who never occupied it. The "Old Corner Book-Store," erected in 1712, now occupies a portion of the lot; and the descent of the property has been traced in Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 671.

119. Major-General Robert Sedgwick, h. and g. He had lived earlier in Charlestown. It was in a court which, in the provincial period, extended through this lot toward the present Court Square that the fire of 1711 began, breaking out, as the *News-Letter* of the day said, "in an old tenement, within a back-yard in Cornhill [Washington Street], near the first meeting-house;" and Sewall says it "broke out in a little house belonging to Captain Ephraim Savage, by reason of the drunkenness of —— Moss," whom the *News-Letter* characterizes as a "poor Scottish woman;" and Drake gives the name of Mary Morse. (*Sewall Papers*, ii. 323.) There are two petitions on file in the City Clerk's office giving the names of some of the principal sufferers by this fire. The first, whose signatures are opposite, is for an abatement of rates because of their losses, signed by Samuel Lynde and others. The other is for permission to move small buildings into the burnt district, to give temporary relief to such as were burned out, themselves among the number. This was headed by Nicholas Boone.

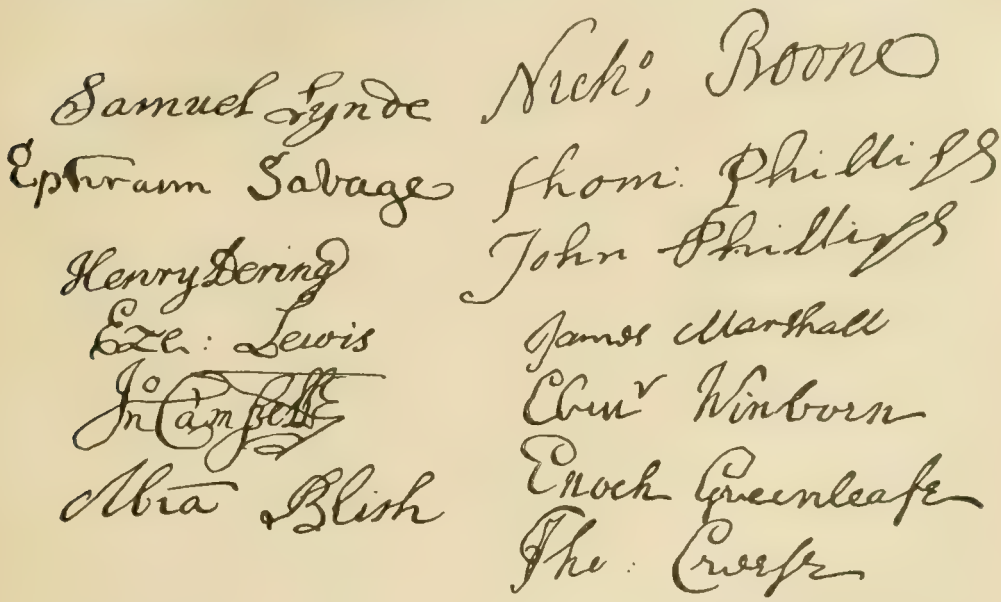


120. Valentine Hill, h. and g.; sold in 1645 to William Davies. Hill moved, after 1650, to Dover, New Hampshire. It was probably from a building on this lot that the first number of the Boston *News-Letter* was published, April 24, 1704.



121. William Teft, h. He was enjoined, in 1644, not to plant it with Indian corn,

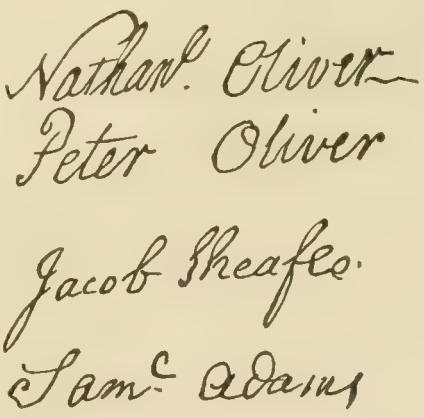
nor anything that may hinder the wind-mill on 76. The records show that William Teffe, tailor, agreed to buy Jacob Wilson's h. and ground in 1638; and that in 1639–40



he bought a h. and ½ a. of Edward Gibbons, which the latter had bought of William Mauer, and he of William Hudson, Sr., in 1639.

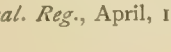
122. William Deming, h. **123.** Benjamin

Gillom, h. **124.** Robert Turner's pasture; sold 6 a. in 1652 to Richard Fairbanks. Long Lane (Federal Street) was later cut through the westerly part of this lot, and upon it the meeting-house was built in 1744, in which Channing subsequently ministered. There was a petition for widening Long Lane in 1716, and the annexed autographs (the Olivers, Sheafe, and Adams) show some of the principal residents in this neighborhood at that time.



140. Richard Fairbanks. Marsh along the creek.

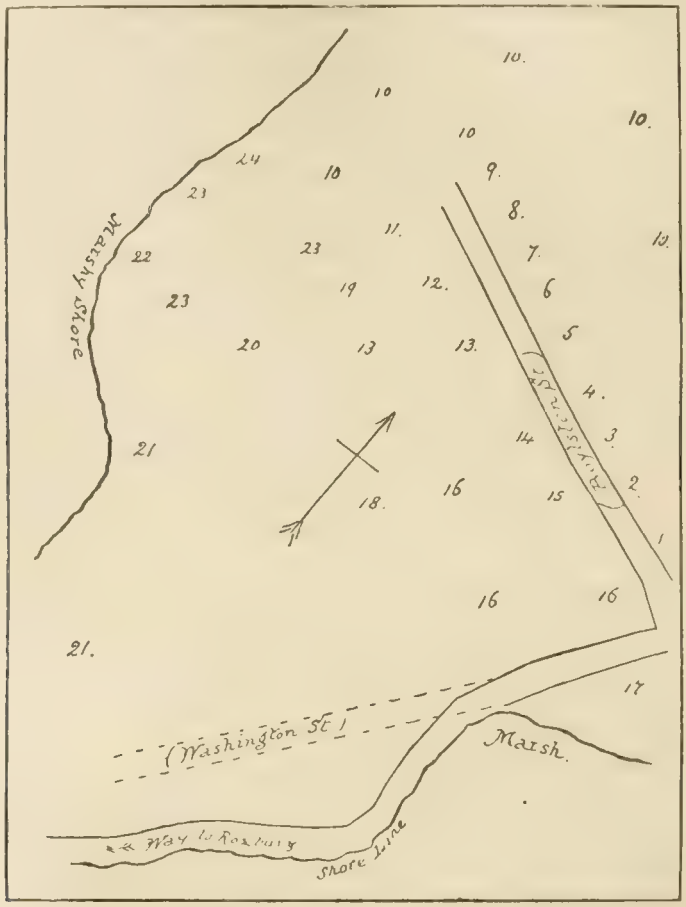
PLAN D. **1.** William Coleborne, h. and g. His will is given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1857, p. 174. In the next century, 1734, David Colson, one of the selectmen, built a house here. **2.** Edward Belcher, h. and g.



The autographs of Edward Belcher, father and son, are annexed, the first to his will in 1671; the other in 1673. The father married Christian, sister of William Talmage, and their daughter Ann married Samuel Flack. He sold the westerly part to Bernard Trot in 1670.

3. William Talmage, h. and g. He sold the westerly part to Bernard Trot in 1669, and in 1704 William Griggs owned the whole lot. **4.** Thomas Snow. He had, Dec. 16,

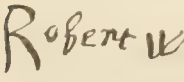
1667, an old dwelling-house "to which the sign of the Dove is fastened," and a new house "fronting to the highway leading to the street that leads to Roxbury." (*Suffolk Deeds*, v. 353., quoted in *Report of Committee on the Nomenclature of Streets*, 1879, p. 12.) His lot stretched east in the rear of Talmage and Belcher. His widow Milcha married



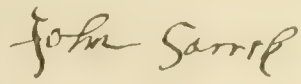
PLAN D. (SOUTH END.)

William Wright before 1672. *Suffolk Deeds*, lib. xi. f. 84, has a plan of the division of Snow's estate, showing that as early as 1672 a lane ran from Boylston Street northeast, nearly on the line of the present Tremont Street. Mr. Whitmore says that between 4 and 5 was another lot, laid out by the town in 1665 to Richard Bellingham in compensation for land taken of him for the "highway toward Roxsberry."

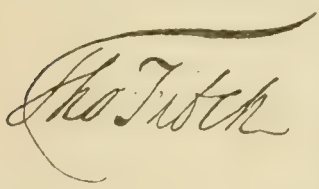
5. Robert Walker, h. and g. March 30, 1639–40, the Common was reserved north of this, and excepting "three or four lots" (6, 7, 8, and 9) further down the way, when beyond 9 the line of the Common crossed the street and took in Park Square and some of the bordering lands. Walker died May 29, 1687; and Sewall (*Papers*, i. 179) says he was "a very good man and conversant among God's New England people from the beginning." Walker's lot was known as Foster's Pasture, when the town bought it in 1787. It is now nearly represented in the Deer Park.



6. William Briscoe, tailor, h. and g.; granted 1639-40. **7**. Cotton Flacke; granted 1640: seems to have also been granted to Edward Goodwin, and later belonged to William Blantaine. Flacke signed his will, 1654, with a mark. It is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1854, p. 353. His widow Jane sold the lot in 1658 to Thomas Clarke, who died in 1678, and his daughters, — Leah married Thomas Baker and Deborah married Nathaniel Byfield. One of Baker's daughters married George Waldron, who in 1704 bought out the other heirs and in 1714 sold to Colonel Fitch, as stated below. Whitmore thinks Clarke also owned to the Marsh, taking in lots 8 and 9. **8**. John Search, granted 1641. **9**. Arthur Clarke, granted 1645.



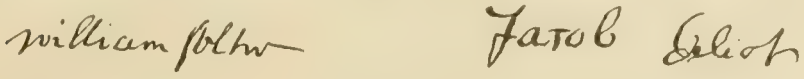
The lots from 5 to 9 came in the next century into the possession of Colonel Thomas Fitch and his heirs. Fitch bought the lower part, in 1714, of George Waldron, when Edward Bromfield owned the upper part. Fitch's heirs, Martha Allen and Andrew Oliver, inherited and added to the Fitch property to make them the owners of all the north side of Boylston Street. In 1757 Andrew Oliver, Jr., and his wife Mary sold the present burial-lot to the town; and having two years before bought the Allen share east of it, he sold that to William Foster in 1780, and Foster, in 1787, deeded the present deer-park and adjacent ground to the town. *Sewall Papers*, ii. 411.



10. The Common. The question of the extension of the Common over the Round Marsh, where later the rope-walks were, is set forth in *Gleaner Articles*, p. 36, note. **11**. Ralph Roote, h. and g.; sold in 1660 to James Balston; owned in 1702 by the Widow Rainsford. Beyond this, bounding on the Marsh (10), was William Salter, h. and g. He was the jailer. In 1689 this fell to his son Jabez; in 1702 it was sold to John Barry, who in 1718 gave it to his nephew James Barry. This lot extended beyond Carver Street, and followed nearly the line of Pleasant Street in bounding on the Marsh.

12. John Cranwell, h. and g., with a rear lot. His brother sold it in 1652 to Margery, widow of Jacob Eliot, Sr. **13**. Robert Walker, g.; the west part was owned by Thomas Baker and the east by Thomas Downes in 1674, when the Eliot heirs added it to No. 12; and in 1724 the Holyoke heirs sold the corner (Hotel Pelham) to William Lambert. **14**. William Talmage, g. In 1706 his niece, Ann Flack, sold it to John Clough. It took in what is now Hotel Boylston. **15**. Whitmore places here the gardens of Edward Belcher and Seth Perry, which in 1697 were owned by Francis Burroughs and Simeon Stoddard.

16. Elder Jacob Eliot, h. and g., with adjoining lands. After Eliot's death (see his will in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1850, p. 53; also, 1876, p. 205) the



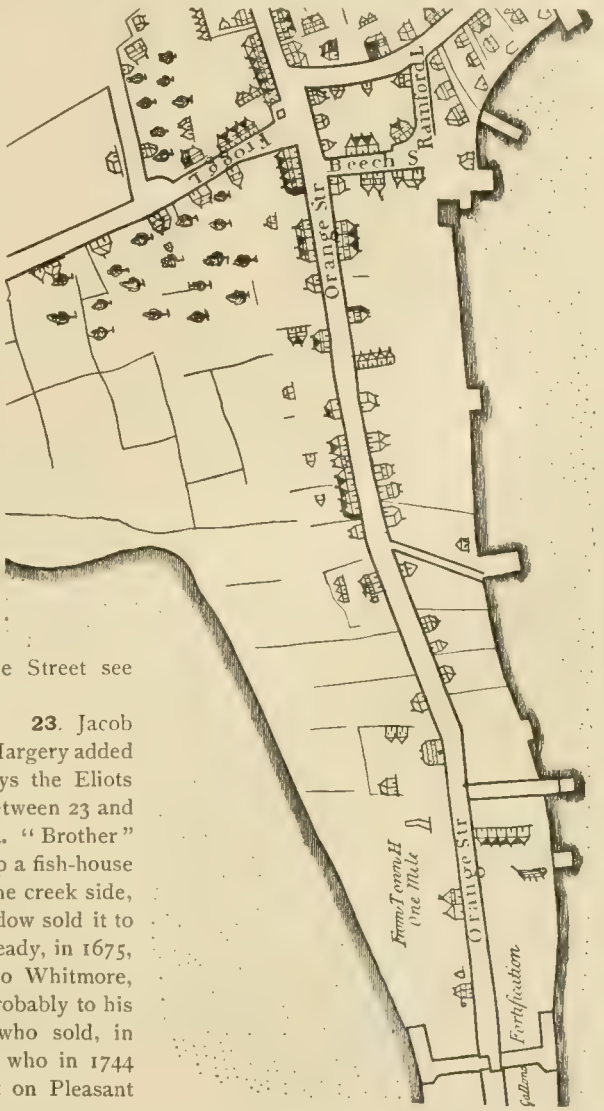
house-part of this estate passed to Deacon Theophilus Frary, who married Eliot's daughter Hannah. The annexed signatures of the children and son-in-law of the Elder are from a petition in approval of a memorial to the court, on file in the Probate Office. Frary died in 1700, leaving his estate to his three daughters, one of whom, Abigail, the wife of one Arnold, had an only child, Hannah, who married Samuel Welles, a merchant, whose autograph is here copied from a bill for furnishing presents to the Indians. The estate remained in the Welles family till it passed to Joseph C. Dyer, and from him to the Boylston Market Association. Their market-house was moved back eleven feet in 1870.

(*Sewall Papers*, ii. 23.) The adjacent lands fell to the second Jacob and other of the Eliot heirs, one of whom allied with the Holyokes, a daughter of the second Jacob marrying Elizur Holyoke, who became one of this South End neighborhood, and died in 1711. Eliot Street was laid out by these heirs in 1740 (see Whitmore's note in *Gleaner Articles*, p. 43), and also that part of Tremont Street which is between Boylston and Hollis streets, to be called Holyoke Street. (*Sewall Papers*, ii. 320.) This last, however, must have been laid out before 1733, if the copy of Bonner's map bearing that date, in Mr. David Pulsifer's possession, is to be depended on. In this copy this part of Tremont Street appears with the name "Slough Street" *written* in. The 1743 edition of the map gives it Clough Street, named, as Mr. Whitmore says, from John Clough, who lived where Hotel Boylston now is. The other designation

FROM BONNER'S MAP, 1722.

(Slough) was not inappropriate, as it will be seen by the map in Vol. I. that low, swampy lands existed between Eliot and Boylston Streets.

17. Garret Bourne, h. and g. **18**. Owen Roe. **19**. Richard Croychley, 2 a.; for Dinely heirs. **20**. Richard Parker. **21**. William Coleborne's field, from shore to shore, and extending to Castle Street, south; cut afterwards by the extension, in 1664, of the main street (dotted lines), the way to Roxbury before that date following the shore. Here, upon what was later known as Hollis Street, upon land given by Governor Belcher, who lived in the neighborhood, a small wooden meeting-house was built in 1732, in which Mather Byles was the first minister. This building stood upon the present site of the church till 1787. Byles lived in a house whose site is partly covered by Tremont Street, opposite where Shawmut Avenue enters it. Belcher lived on the easterly side of the Main Street, on the lot between the present Harvard and Bennett streets. (Drake's *Boston*, p. 585.) Belcher's mansion was bought in 1765 by Thomas Amory, the loyalist. For the grants south of Castle Street see *Gleaner Articles*, No. 13.



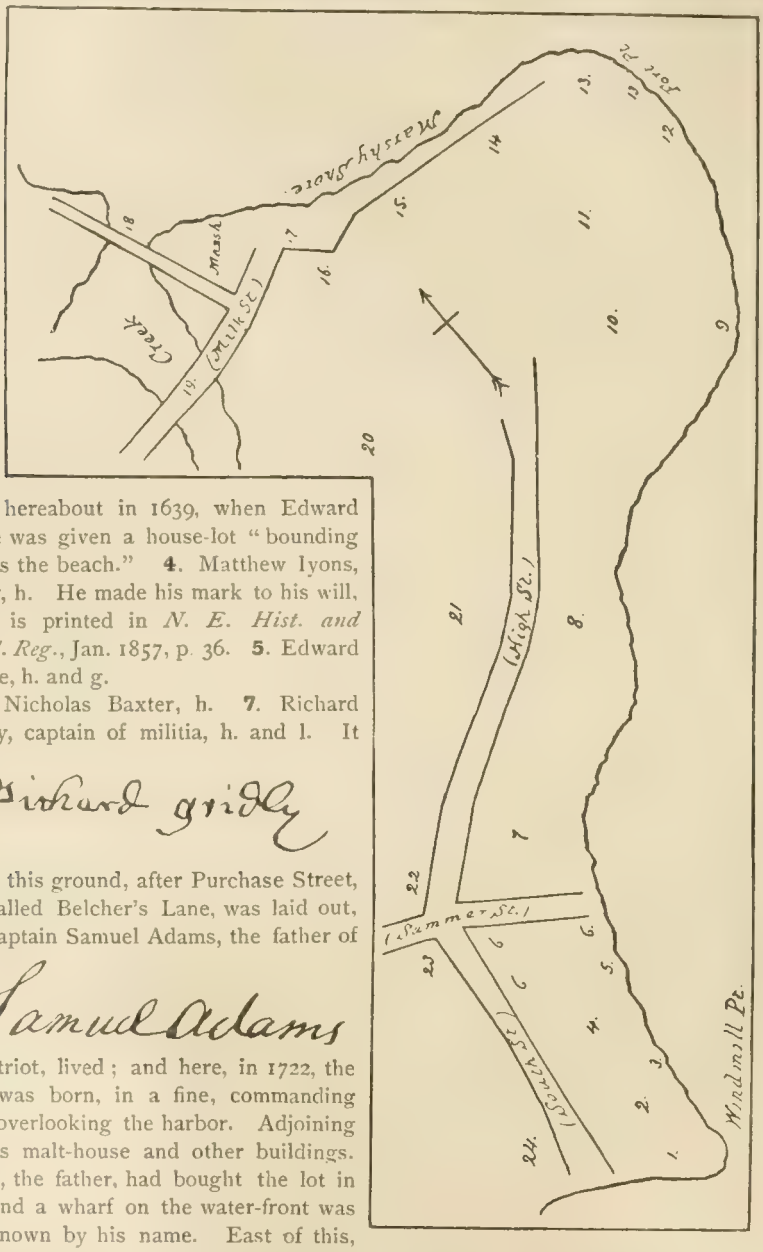
FROM BONNER'S MAP, 1722.

22. William Davis, Sr. **23**. Jacob Eliot, to which his widow Margery added in 1653. Mr. Whitmore says the Eliots owned finally all the lots between 23 and 16. **24**. William Salter, 1 a. "Brother" Salter was allowed to set up a fish-house on the sunken marsh by the creek side, in 1650; and in 1678 his widow sold it to John Leverett, who had already, in 1675, a part of 22. According to Whitmore, the Leverett property fell probably to his son-in-law Elisha Cooke, who sold, in 1739–40, to George Tilley, who in 1744 says his land bounds east on Pleasant Street, then laid out.

In the lower part of the plan, in the space between the "way to Roxbury" and the dotted lines, Mary, widow of William Salter, lived in 1680. The Eliot heirs owned on both sides of the line of Washington Street to the north and east of Salter, and a natural water-course would seem to have divided their lands, for in 1698 it is ordered that such a water-course be preserved between the wharves of Baruchiah Arnold (Frary's son-in-law) and Peter Welcome (Salter's son-in-law).[1]

[1] The Editor has availed himself of memoranda kindly furnished him by Mr. Whitmore, in elucidating Plan D.

PLAN E. **1.** Abel Porter. Windmill Point is about where East Street joins Federal Street. **2.** William Letherland, or Letherbee, h. and l. **3.** Thomas Grubb had a fish-



house hereabout in 1639, when Edward Grosse was given a house-lot "bounding towards the beach." **4.** Matthew Iyons, brewer, h. He made his mark to his will, which is printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1857, p. 36. **5.** Edward Browne, h. and g.

6. Nicholas Baxter, h. **7.** Richard Gridley, captain of militia, h. and l. It

Richard gridly

was on this ground, after Purchase Street, then called Belcher's Lane, was laid out, that Captain Samuel Adams, the father of

Samuel Adams

the patriot, lived; and here, in 1722, the latter was born, in a fine, commanding house overlooking the harbor. Adjoining was his malt-house and other buildings. Adams, the father, had bought the lot in 1712, and a wharf on the water-front was long known by his name. East of this, on the line of the present Gridley Street, Captain John Bonner lived. **8.** John Harrison, h. He established on this lot the first rope-walk, about 1641. (*Gleaner Articles*, No. 16.)

John Harrison

9. William Davis, Sr., h. and ¾ a. **10.** Richard Gridley's pasture. It was in this pasture, which in Bonner's map is intersected by Gibbs's Lane, with Gibbs's wharf on the shore just north of it, that Colonel

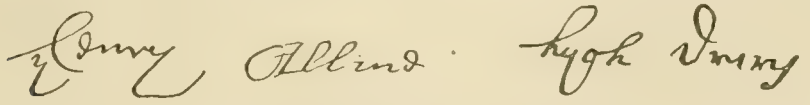
Robert Gibbs built his famous house, which surprised the colonial town by its costliness. His wife Elizabeth survived him.

11. The Fort. In 1644 land of Mr. William Hibbins was taken for the "breast-worke upon the Fort Hill;" and also, same year, land of James Penn. **12**. John Compton, h. and g. **13**. Benjamin Gillom, h. and g. He was allowed to wharf out in 1647. Off this shore

the South Battery or the Sconce was built in the colonial times. **14**. Benjamin Ward, h., 1 a. See probate papers in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1864, p. 154.

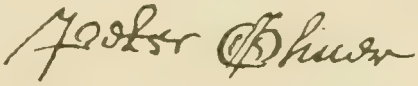
15. Ensign Edward Hutchinson, h. and y. **16**. Nathaniel Woodward, h. and g. **17**. The present bend on Batterymarch Street, which was laid out in 1673. On

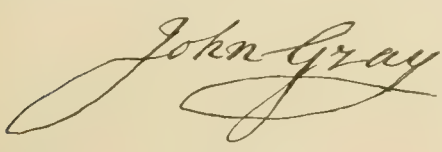
the marsh to the northwest, on the corner of what is now Batterymarch Street and Liberty Square, stood a well-known ordinary. The marsh had been let by the town in 1656 to Captain James Johnson, and this site was conveyed by him to Thomas Hull; and in 1673 Nathaniel Bishop lived here, and the house was known as "The Blue Bell," and was jointly tenanted the next year by Deacon Henry Alline and Hugh Drury. In 1692 it is called "The Castle Tavern," and Mr. Hassam thinks (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1877, p. 329) it ceased to be an inn after 1707.



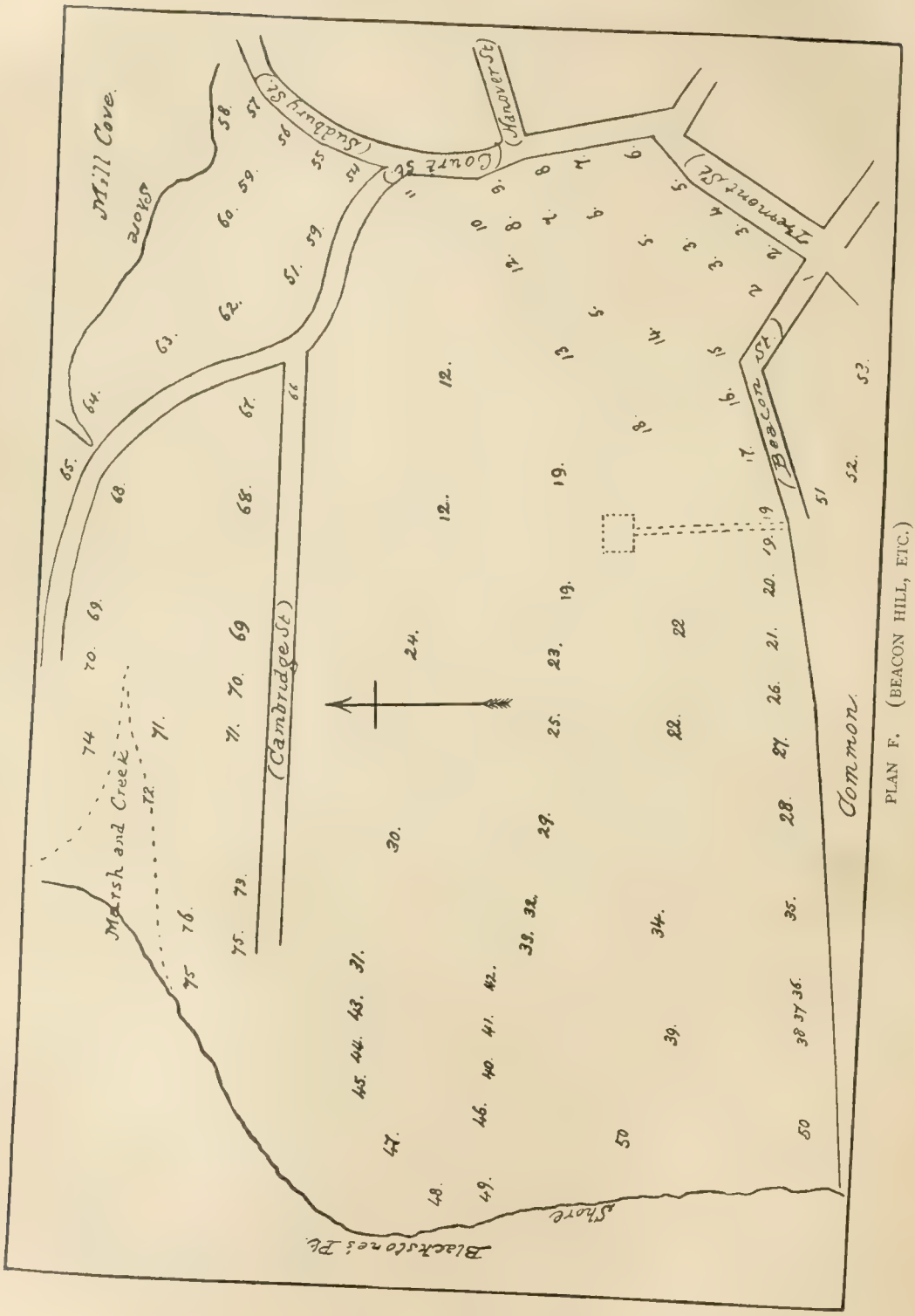
18. Valentine Hill's bridge, about where the present Liberty Square is, on the line of Kilby Street. There were other occupants round this shore (9 to 17) in 1649, when Hutchinson, Gillom, Ward, and Compton, and also Jonathan Balston, Thomas Smyth, Stephen Baker, and Richard Richardson, were allowed to make a highway over the marsh "to Mr. Hill's bridge."

19. Cart-bridge, mentioned 1658, as over the creek, by Peter Oliver's, and leading to Benjamin Gillom's. **20**. Richard Fairbanks's pasture, 5 a. It was this pasture, east of the present Pearl Street, which Theodore Atkinson, not long after 1700, sold to Edward Gray, who built rope-walks on it in 1712. They are seen in Bonner's map in 1722. In 1732 a lane running parallel to the building was called Hutchinson Street, changed in 1800 to Pearl. A son, John Gray, succeeded to the business. *Gleaner Articles*, No. 16, traces the history of these rope-walk lots.





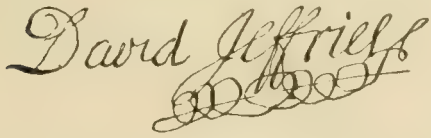
21. Robert Turner's pasture. **22**. Benjamin Gillom, h. and lot; his inventory in 1670 speaks of his estate on the shore as comprising a dwelling-house, shed, and wash-house, valued at £360. It includes also part of a ship on the stocks, £398, — probably building at this point. See his family connections in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1865, p. 254. The present High Street is called in 1642 the highway already begun from Widow Tuthill's windmill to the Fort, twenty feet broad. **23**. William Teft. **24**. Thomas Munt.

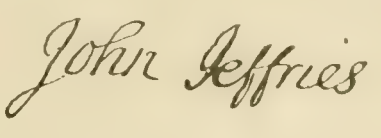


PLAN F. (BEACON HILL, ETC.)

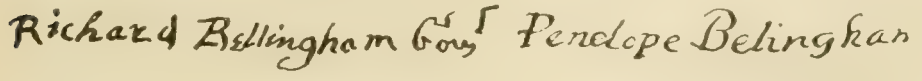
PLAN F. **1.** Rev. John Wilson's garden-plot, divided by the street, when laid out in 1640; and the portion north of the street, in 1658, belonged to Elder James Penn, of the First Church, who devised the estate to his kinsman, Colonel Penn Townsend, whose executor in 1750 sold it to Samuel Sturgis, and thence the title passed through John Erving, Gilbert de Blois, Nathaniel Coffin, and John Amory, to Samuel Eliot, and became his mansion estate. *Gleaner Articles*, No. 33.

2. John Cogan, ½ a. Cogan's executrix sold to Joshua Scottow, 1659, and he to Colonel Samuel Shrimpton, in 1670, and he in turn to John Oxenbridge, in 1671, who left it to his daughter, wife of Richard Scott, and they conveyed it to her sister's husband, Peter Thacher, in 1706. It then passed, in 1707, to Samuel Myles; in 1728, to George Cradock, and in 1733 to John Jeffries (son of the emigrant David Jeffries), from whom it passed to Samuel Eliot. *Gleaner Articles*, No. 33.

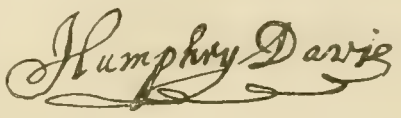




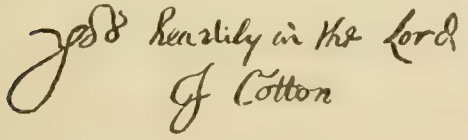
3. Richard Bellingham, garden plot, but afterwards his house lot, when he removed from Washington Street. In his will he speaks of this house and grounds, with a shop before it. The will was set aside, and is printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July,



1850, p. 237. See the notes to Mr. Deane's and Mr. Whitmore's chapters in Vol. I. Bellingham sold the south part of this lot, in 1663, to Humphrey Davie, whose heirs sold it, in 1710, with a stone house thereon, for £800, to Andrew Faneuil, from whom the estate descended to his nephew, Peter Faneuil, and later it was owned by John Vassall. The north part was sold to the Rev. John Davenport, and after the death of his son John was, in 1676, conveyed to the First Church, and became the parsonage lot. The parish sold it, in 1787, to Sampson Reed. Both of these sections of the Bellingham estate were united when William Phillips successively purchased them in 1791 and 1805. There was about half an acre of Bellingham's lot, back of the other sections which Sewall added to the original Cotton estate. *Sewall Papers*, i. 61; *Gleaner Articles*, No. 32.

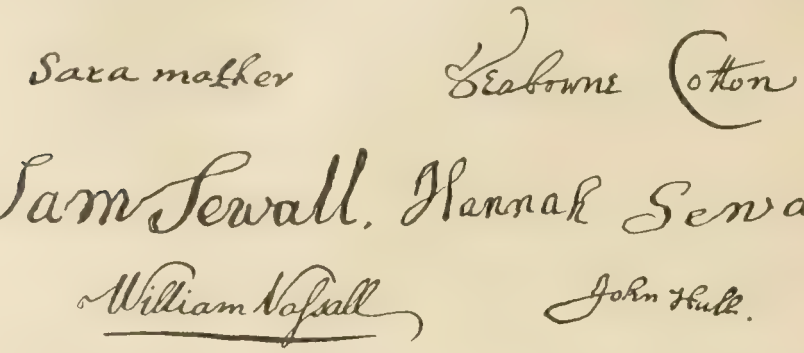


4. Daniel Maud, schoolmaster, h. and g. He removed to Dover, N. H., in 1642, and made his will in 1654. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1851, p. 241.) Hezekiah Usher next owned it, who sold it to Thomas Scottow, in 1645. "Gleaner" says it subsequently passed through Leblond, Erving, Brimmer, Bowdoin, Waldo, Walcott, Winthrop, till Gardiner Greene, in 1824, annexed it to his estate.



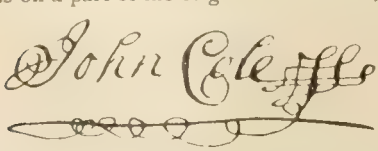
5. John Cotton, h. and g., ½ a., and in rear 1 a., extending back as far as the Mount Vernon Church. (See Cotton's will in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1851, p. 240.) The estate passed to his widow, Sarah (subsequently married to Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester), and to Cotton's son by this wife, — the Rev. Seaborn Cotton. Cotton (the father's) will shows that Governor Vane had built the south part of the house when he sojourned with Cotton, and had deeded it to Seaborn, to whom the father confirmed it. Later, it became by successive purchases the property of John Hull the mint-master, whose daughter Hannah married Samuel Sewall the judge, who occupied the estate still

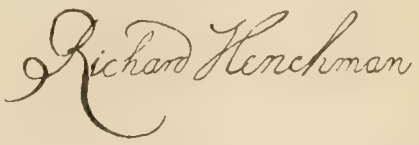
later. Whitmore (*Sewall Papers*, i. 62, where, p. 63, the descent is traced in detail) says it was occupied in 1758 by William Vassall, who purchased it Sept. 11 of that year (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1863, p. 115). In 1787 he conveyed it to Leonard V. Borland, who, in 1790, sold it to Patrick Jeffrey. Jeffrey had come to Boston and



had married a Madam Haley, a sister of the notorious John Wilkes; he was an uncle of Francis, Lord Jeffrey. (See *Gleaner Articles*, Nos. 30 and 31.) In 1801 Somerset Street was cut through the estate, and Jeffrey sold the part west of the street to Asa Hammond in 1804; and the part east to Jonathan Mason, in 1802. In 1803 Gardiner Greene bought of Mason, and in 1824 he added the Maud lot (No. 4). Greene made the estate the most famous in Boston. In 1835 this and neighboring estates were sold to Patrick T. Jackson, and Pemberton Square was laid out.

6. Edward Bendall, h. and g., 2 a. This had Sudbury [Court] Street east, and took in Tremont Row and the centre of Scollay Square. Governor Endicott seems to have dwelt during the close of his life on a part of this lot, west of No. 8, leaving when he died, in 1665, a widow, Elizabeth, whom he had married in 1630. Endicott's will is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1861, p. 127. David Yale, a brother of Thomas, the founder of Yale College, had, in 1645, purchased of Bendall, who, holding theological views at variance with those of the magistrates, found it convenient to remove, leaving Thomas Lake and Thomas Clark power of attorney to sell the estate. Captain John Wall became the purchaser, and his widow sold it, in 1678, to Edward Shippen (*Sewall Papers*, i. 60), who sold, in 1702, a part to Cyprian Southack, who laid out Southack's Lane in 1720 (Howard Street). The selectmen, in 1733, directed him to secure his hill, by rails or otherwise, that people may not be in danger. "Gleaner" places "Valley Acre" in the lower portion of Southack's pasture, referring to a deed of 1758, when it was the property of John Tyng. The part which came out on Tremont Row, south of No. 7, Southack sold to John Jekyll, in 1724, whose heirs passed it, in 1768, to Dr. James Lloyd. It was on a part of the original Bendall lot, opposite the head of the modern Cornhill, that, in





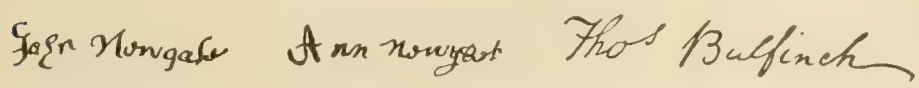
1683–84, the free writing-school was built, the second in the town; John Cole being the first master. Soon after 1700 Richard Henchman was the master. See Drake's *Boston*, 512.

7. Robert Meeres, h. and g. He was aged in 1666 when he executed his will (printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 7, 1863, p. 345), and made his mark. This lot, in 1709, came to John Staniford, who sold it to Rev. Henry Harris, whose executors sold to James Pemberton, whose family name became in the end attached to Pemberton Square. "Gleaner" traces another part of the original lot to Dr. Samuel Danforth in 1785.

8. Robert Howen, ¼ a. John and Israel Howen (presumably his heirs) sold it, in 1662–63, to Simon Lynde, who died in 1687, and his daughter Sarah was the wife of Nathaniel Newgate, who conveyed it, in 1694, under the name of "The Spring House."

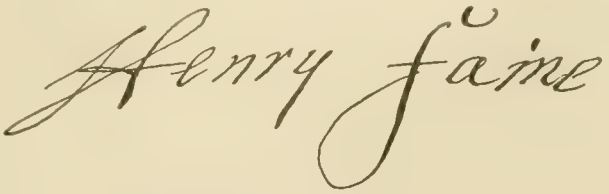
9. Anne Hunne, widow of George Hunne, ½ a. This lot marks the site of the elegant mansion and grounds of the late Theodore Lyman, who purchased it in 1785.

10. John Newgate the hatter, h. and g., ¾ a. His will, 1664 (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1859, p. 333), left his house to his widow, Ann. (Also see *Register*, 1879, p. 57, for Newgate's family.) Westerly from this a tract belonging to Newgate fell, after his death in 1665, to Simon Lynde, his son-in-law; and then, in 1687, or earlier, to his son



Samuel Lynde. About the middle of the last century it became the property of Thomas Bulfinch, and remained in his family for fifty years. The Revere House marks the south end of Bulfinch's four-acre pasture, as the Mount Vernon Church marks the north end. *Gleaner Articles*, No. 23.

11. Henry Faines, h. and g.; between Howard Street and Court Street. **12**. Valentine Hill's ground. A portion of this area lying on Cambridge Street was, later, the Middlecott pasture (*Gleaner Articles*, No. 21), through which, in 1727, a street was laid out and called Middlecott; but when it was opened through to Beacon Street, in 1800, it was called Bowdoin Street. **13**. Valley Acre, so called. See Mr. Bynner's chapter, Vol. I. **14**. James Hawkins, h. and g.



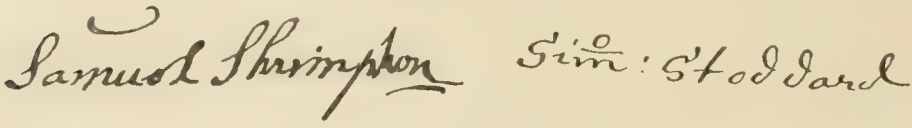
15. William Kirkby, h. and g.; sold to James Hawkins. This, or the upper part of No. 1, was the lot upon which, later, the Rev. James Allen, of the First Church, built his famous stone house, which, when taken down after the war of 1812 to give place to the dwellings erected by David Hinckley, and now constituting the Congregational House, was thought to be the oldest stone house in the town. Allen had married the widow of the younger John Endicott, Elizabeth, the daughter of the tanner Jeremy Houchin. Allen devised, in 1710, his mansion-house to his son Jeremiah, who dying in 1741 it came to his son Jeremiah, dying in 1755, when the title finally passed to his son James, who sold it to his brother Jeremiah, the high sheriff, who died in 1809. *Gleaner Articles*, No. 33.

16. Richard Sandford, h. and 1 a. This lot in the provincial days, having first fallen into the large estate of Robert Turner, belonged to Samuel Sewall, and later, in 1742, to Edward Bromfield; and a fine old mansion, elevated much above the present level

(where Freeman Place Chapel stands) was approached by stone steps, and distinguished by noble trees. This house was erected by the younger Edward Bromfield, who died here in 1756. His widow resided in it till 1764, when it was sold to her son-in-law, the Hon. William Phillips. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1871, p. 332; 1872, p. 38; *Gleaner Articles*, No. 37.) The ground in the rear of this Sandford lot, extending near to Ashbur-

ton Place, is described by "Gleaner" (No. 34) as James Davis's two-acre pasture, whose widow Joanna, in 1677, conveyed it to her son, John Wing; and after some vicissitudes of title it became, in 1759, the property of Joseph Sherburne.

17. Robert Meeres. **18**. Richard Parker. **19**. Robert Turner. His lot enclosed the reserved six rods square in which the Beacon stood (Temple Street, nearly opposite the southeast corner of the Reservoir; see plan in Mr. Bynner's chapter, Vol. I.), with a lane leading to it nearly on the line of the present short part of Mount Vernon Street. The beacon in 1790 gave place to the pillar which Charles Bulfinch erected, and which stood till 1808. "T. B." gave an account of it in the *Boston Transcript*, Sept. 24, 1855, which is reprinted in *Gleaner Articles*, p. 121. Bowditch's account of the transmission of this property, in his *Gleaner Articles*, Nos. 36, 37, 45, 47, 48, and 49, is quoted in part in Sumner's *East Boston*, p. 194, and in Wheildon's *Centry Hill*, p. 92. Robert's son John inherited parts of the property, and sold a portion of the present State-House lot to Colonel Samuel Shrimpton, in 1673; and John dying in 1681, his executors sold two acres east of the lane to George Monk the innholder, and the top of the hill, about the reservation, to Colonel Shrimpton, who at his death, Feb. 17, 1697–98, devised the property to his wife Elizabeth, who subsequently married Simeon Stoddard; and when



she died, in 1713, this property was appraised at £150, and fell to her granddaughter, Elizabeth Shrimpton, who married John Yeamans, and then in time passed to Shute Shrimpton Yeamans, the son of John, and he conveyed it, in 1752, to Thomas Hancock, who then owned the land west of it, upon which he had built, in 1737, the famous mansion of the family, which disappeared in 1863. (For some account of this house see Mr. Bynner's chapter in this volume, and the view of it given in Vol. III. of this History, in connection with its Revolutionary associations.) A dispute about the limits of what was thus conveyed led to suits in court; but the Hancock heirs retained possession of all by right of continued use for pasturage. (See *Gleaner Articles*, No. 47, and Sumner's *East Boston*, pp. 196, 197.) That portion of the State-House lot not included in the Turner property is shown by Bowditch (*Gleaner Articles*, No. 52) to have come from Thomas Millard, who died in 1659, to Samuel Shrimpton, attorney for Alice Swift. It afterward passed, in 1752, to Thomas Hancock for £220. "So that the State-House lot and all north of it nearly to Derne Street (excepting the town's lot) is held under a deed of a century ago [in 1855] at the cost of eleven hundred dollars. It would now be worth eleven hundred thousand dollars." The Hancock pasture, as it was called after 1752, passing to Governor John Hancock in 1777, was, two years after the latter's death in 1793, conveyed to the town of Boston, and by the town the same year it passed for a nominal consideration to the State, to become the site of the Capitol. The mansion lot west of this Thomas Hancock began to acquire in 1735, and in 1759 he had increased it to include all the land west of the State-House lot to Joy Street. (*Gleaner Articles*, No. 53.) On that portion of the lot east of the passage to the Beacon, and fronting on the present Beacon Street, William Molineaux built, in the next century, a splendid mansion, having acquired the land in 1760, which had come down from Turner, through his sons-in-law John Fayerweather, Benjamin Alford, and John Alford. After Molineaux died, in 1774, the estate passed later to Charles Ward Apthorp, and was con-

fiscated when, in 1782, the Commonwealth sold it to Daniel Dennison Rogers, who acquired other lands hereabout, as is shown in the *Gleaner Articles*, No. 42; while in No. 37 the same investigator has traced the titles to lots on Beacon Street, from Mount Vernon to Somerset Street, taking in the Governor Bowdoin estate (just east of the Molineaux House), which after some vicissitudes of title was conveyed by John Erving in 1756 to James Bowdoin; and its subsequent history is given in No. 39 of the same articles.

20. Richard Sanford. **21**. Thomas Scottow. **22**. Nathaniel Eaton. **23**. Richard Meeres. **24**. Richard Cooke. (See *Gleaner Articles*, No. 50, for early titles hereabout.) Richard Cooke died in 1671, and the property fell to his son Elisha, who died in 1715. "He," says Bowditch, "first laid out Turner or George, now Hancock, Street through his pasture." West of Hancock Street were three ropewalks, lying across the line of the present Belknap Street. (See *Gleaner Articles*, No. 51, for further details.) Joshua Scottow owned hereabout, later, a four-acre pasture, whose history is traced in *Gleaner Articles*, No. 22. **25**. Richard Parker. **26**. Thomas Millard, ½ a. He would seem to have had other land in this vicinity. *Gleaner Articles*, No. 52.

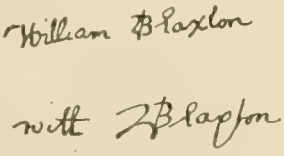
27. Richard Truesdale, ¾ a. This and 26 was sold to Thomas Deane in 1667–68, and was later known as Deane's Pasture. In 1672 they passed to Whitcomb, then to Hawkins, then to Savage; and then, in 1692, to Samuel Sewall, when it was known as Sewall's Elm Pasture. It stretched west from Joy Street about 440 feet. Bowditch (*Gleaner Articles*, Nos. 57 and 58), quoted in *Sewall Papers*, i. 73.

28. Zaccheus Bosworth, 2 a. **29**. William Wilson. **30**. William Hudson, Sr., 5 a.; sold to Thomas Buttolph. For details of descent see *Gleaner Articles*, Nos. 19, 20, where it is shown Buttolph bought adjacent lands and increased his pasture to eight acres. **31**. Thomas Clarke. **32**. John Ruggles. **33**. Edmund Dennis, ½ a. **34**. Thomas Millard, 1 a. **35**. Francis East. **36, 37, 38**. These seem to have been granted, 1637–38, to William Hudson, Jr., Nathaniel Chappell, and Oliver Mellows. Later, Chappell was bounded on either hand by David Sellick (36) and Jacob Leger, when Leger's lot is called about an acre. Francis East acquired this, and perhaps the other lots later still.

39. Richard and Jane Parker, ½ a. **40**. William Beamsley. **41**. Richard Sherman. **42**. Zaccheus Bosworth, 1½ a., devised to son Samuel 1655. *Gleaner Articles*, No. 18, for further detail. **43**. James Johnson. **44**. Francis Lyle, ½ a. **45**. James Brown, 2 a., sold to —— Cobham. **46**. Thomas Brattle and James Everill hereabout.

47. Zachariah Phillips, 9 a. "Gleaner" (No. 12) traces the history of this pasture. Phillips sold, in 1672, to John Leverett, and the pasture was finally divided into fifty-nine lots. **48**. Samuel Cole hereabout. See *Gleaner Articles*, No. 18. **49**. Robert Wing.

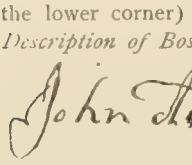
50. William Blackstone. Reservation of six acres when he sold his rights to the town, in 1634. The original release of Blackstone to the town was in 1734 in the Town Clerk's office, but is not now to be found. (See Mr. Adams's chapter in Vol. I.) The annexed signatures of Blackstone are from the records of the university at Cambridge, England, and I owe the tracings to the kind attention of the Rev. George Phear of Emmanuel College. They respectively represent his writing at the dates of his taking his bachelor's and master's degrees. His orchard is indicated on Bonner's map as an enclosure with trees, just east of the present Louisburg Square. The limits of the lot are defined in Bowditch's *Gleaner Articles*, No. 1, quoted in *Sewall Papers*, i. 74. It extended on Beacon Street, from Spruce Street, "the northeast corner of Mr. William Blackstone's payles" (Town Records, March, 1637–38) to the water, then flowing above Charles Street. (See diagram in Mr. Adams's chapter.) Richard Pepys bought it, and built a house on it, which William Pollard occupied for nearly fourteen years, during which time Blackstone "frequently resorted to it" on his visits from Rhode Island, as Anne Pollard deposed in 1711. (*Sewall Papers*, i. 73.) Pepys sold it, in 1655, to Nathaniel Williams, and Williams's widow marrying Peter Bracket, the latter conveyed it to Williams's children. The original house



appears to have been standing, as Mr. Hassam points out to me, in 1662, when the inventory of the estate of Nathaniel Williams, led that year, shows this item: "It. the House and land y^t was m^r Blackston's. [£]150 : 00 : 00." In 1708-9 the orchard and pasture were sold to Thomas Bannister, and it appears as "Bannister's Gardens" on Burgiss's map of 1728. "Gleaner" traced this descent of the lot in 1828, and printed the story in the Boston *Courier*, and repeated it in the *Transcript* in 1855. (See also *Gleaner Articles*, No. 50.) The lot was later a part of the possession of John Singleton Copley the painter, and from him passed to the Mount Vernon proprietors.

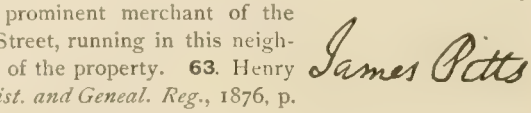
51. Almshouse, erected in 1662 from legacies left by Captain Keayne and Mr. Webb; burned 1682, and rebuilt. **52**. Bridewell, erected not long after 1712; and contiguous a workhouse was built in 1738. The Pound stood next.

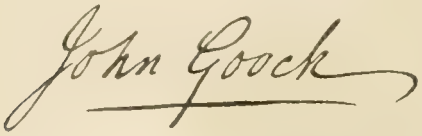
53. Burying-ground, established 1660, known as the South Burying-ground, but took the name of the Granary, when that store-house was erected, in 1737, on the lot where Park-Street Church stands. The Common originally extended to, or nearly to, Beacon Street, embracing an area bounded by that street, Tremont, and Park streets, which soon however became devoted to other uses, — the lots along Park Street (Nos. 51 and 52 and so to the lower corner) being appropriated to public buildings as early as 1662. Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, ch. xiv. **54**. James Johnson. Just west of this lot lived, later, Captain John Alden, a master mariner and prominent citizen, who died in 1702. Alden street now preserves his name. He was a son of John Alden of the "Mayflower." **55**. Thomas Hawkins. **56**. William Kirkby, h. and g. **57**. James Hawkins, h. and g. **58**. Richard Parker. **59**. Richard Sanford. **60**. Robert Meeres, bought of James Penniman. The lots in this vicinity constituted the "Bowling Green."



61. Thomas Scottow. At this point, in the provincial days, lived Pelham, the engraver and portrait-painter, in the upper part of a house on the ground floor of which his wife kept a tobacco shop. She had been the widow of Copley the tobacconist on Long Wharf, and the mother of the famous painter.

62. Richard Meeres. Here in the provincial days, on the corner of the street bearing his name, lived Peter Chardon, a prominent merchant of the Huguenot stock. The present Pitts Street, running in this neighborhood, commemorates a later owner of the property. **63**. Henry Pease. His will is given in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1876, p. 203, where he speaks of his ground at Blackstone's Point. **64**. Alexander Beck. A small creek bounded him on the west. At a later day land in this vicinity belonged to the Gooches, whose name was preserved for many years in Gouch Street, now Norman Street. **65**. George Burden. The peninsula north of this was given over in the following century to ropewalks and the copper-works, as shown in Bonner's map, a section of which is given on the opposite page.





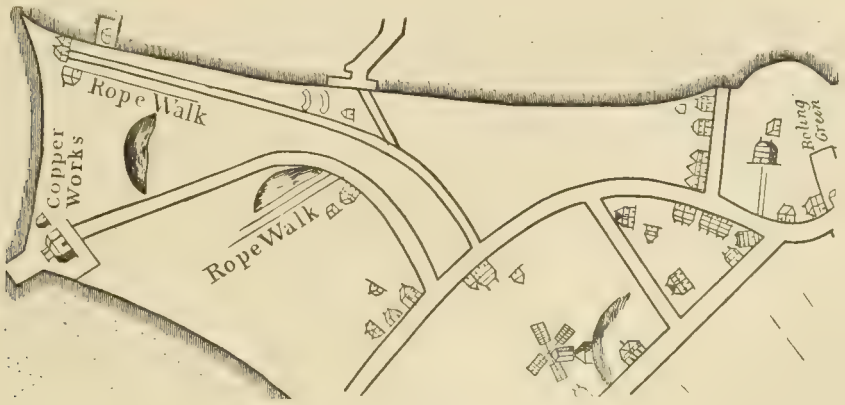
66. The present Cambridge Street was laid out in 1647, twelve feet wide, through Mr. Stoughton's ground at this point, "along the rayle side," through Richard Cooke's (24) and Thomas Buttolph's (30), "to the farder end of the lots to Tho. Munt's ground on the farthest side."

67. David Sellick; sold to John Leverett. The highway, which at this point extended north and west, was early called Green Lane; and there is a petition on file in the City Clerk's office, March 10, 1734, asking that it may be paved, which gives the names of many of the chief abutters at that time. **68**. Edmund Jackson, 3 a.; afterwards Thomas Leverett. This lot, according to Mr. Crocker, originally included the triangular area between Staniford Street and Bowdoin Square, embracing No. 67, with also a strip on the west side of Staniford Street.

69. Robert Meeres, 2 a. Simon Lynde bought it in 1667–91; sold it, in 1718, to John Staniford, — then increased to six acres. Staniford seems to have disposed of a part of it

at least by lottery. (*Sewall Papers*, iii. 227; *Gleaner Articles*, No. 9.) This included the rising ground, where a windmill stood, near the present West Church (Dr. Bartol's). This edifice was raised in 1736, and the original structure is shown in the view of the Battle of Bunker Hill, given in the next volume. **70**. Robert Turner. Passed later to Staniford. **71**. Valentine Hill; sold, in 1648, to William Davis, 4 a.; then on his death, 1676, to his son Benjamin, who conveyed it to his mother (she having married Edward Palmes), and they, in 1695, passed it to Charles Chambers, who gave his name to the street now running through the lot. *Gleaner Articles*, No. 10.

John Staniford



FROM BONNER'S MAP, 1722.

72. John Biggs, 1½ a. Marsh granted in 1641, west of North Russell Street. His widow married, and as Mary Minot died in 1676, and the land coming to her father, John Dasset, it was conveyed by him and by John Dasset, Jr., to James Allen, in 1696. **73**. Thomas Munt. **74**. James Penn. In 1671 it fell by his will to James Allen, his nephew, who later added lot No. 72, making a twenty-acre farm. He extended Chambers Street northerly. "Gleaner" thinks it certain that Allen thus owned a larger lot in Boston than any one else, excepting Blackstone. **75**. Edward Gibbons.

John Biggs

76. Alexander Beck, 1 a., — a little marsh, "next Mr. Hough's Point;" and described a few years before, when Beck was allowed to mow it, as in the new field "near the place where Mr Hough takes boat."

MAPS AND PLANS. — The early maps of Boston given in the first volume but vaguely represented the original peninsula, and are valuable historically only as giving the current notions of the topography of the vicinity. During the provincial times the earliest surveys with any approach to accuracy were made, so far as we know; and the Editor appends as full a descriptive list as he is able to make of the plans of the town and maps of the harbor of this period.[1]

[1] Dr. N. B. Shurtleff made a tentative list of maps of Boston, which was printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1862, in connection with Mr. T. C. Amory's report on streets, and Mr. G. G. Smith's letter on maps of Boston; and this list was enlarged in his *Description of Boston*.

1687-88 (?). — The Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, kindly furnishes the following description of the earliest known chart of the harbor. It is a manuscript, and belongs to the Brinley Collection : —

"The chart, which is very neatly drawn and colored, occupies about one foot square, on a sheet measuring 21 inches by 19 inches. The shoals, banks, and reefs are shaded in colors, and single rocks and ledges are indicated by crosses. The soundings of the main channels and passages between the harbor islands are marked in fathoms. The scale is one inch to a mile.

"At the bottom of the sheet, to the left, is this legend : —

"'This Harbour of Boston, with soundings without and comings in are laid down as taken by Captain John Fayrwether, Capt^n^ Thomas Smith, Capt^n^ Timothy Armitage, Capt^n^ Joseph Eldridge, Masters, and Phillip Wells Imployed for the same by his Excellency S^r^ Edmund Andros, Knight, Captain and Governour-in-Chief of his Majestie's Territory and Dominion of New England, in America.

"'South and by East Moon makes high water and flows ordinary spring tides 12 foot, and 10 foot nep tides at Boston.'

"In the right-hand lower corner, under a scale of miles, is : 'By Phillip Wells ; ' and below, in smaller letters, 'M. Carroll,' — probably the signature of the draughtsman.

"The inscription fixes the date of the chart nearly between the arrival of Andros in December, 1686, and the revolution of April, 1689.

"The drawing is made with the north point to the right, bringing the coast-line, from Charles River southerly to Braintree, at the top of the sheet ; the southern shore, from Braintree to the beach below Point Alderton, on the left ; and the northern, from Charles River to 'Pull-in-Poynt' [Point Shirley], on the right.

"The only buildings that are indicated are : the Fort in Boston, and the Castle on the Island ; the meeting-houses of Roxbury and Braintree ; the meeting-house and seven dwelling-houses in Hull ; and a house on Long Island (John Nelson's ?). The names of the islands are as follows : Noddle's, Hog, Burd, Governour's, Castle, Hutchinson's [now Apple], Bare (a small island very near the west shore of Pull-in-Poynt, now perhaps part of the main land), Deare (with shoals stretching eastward, ending at 'Foanes,' — now Great and Little Faun), Lovel's, Pemerton's [George's]. Gallop's, Nick's Mate, Long, Ransford, Specticle, Manin's Moon, Tompson's ; more to the south, Peducks and Hangman's, and near the head of 'Hofe's Thum' [Hough's Neck, in Quincy] an island not named [now Nut Island], and another between Hull and Hingham [Little Hog Island ? or Bomkin ?].

"South of east from Point Alderton, about two miles by the scale, 'Conny Hasset Rock' [Harding's Ledge ?] is marked. North of the channel are White Rock [Egg, or Shag Rocks], Great Bruster (with Middle and Outer Brewster, and Calf Island, not named), and Eldrige's Rock [now Alderidge's Ledge], a small island [Green ?] further out ; and beyond, Graves. The N. E. Graves is marked with a cross.

"Dr. Shurtleff (*Topographical Description of Boston*, 577), observes that the Graves 'have been supposed to have derived their name from Admiral Graves, who touched them in the days of the Revolution.' Evidently, the name had been given them nearly a century before the Revolution ; perhaps from the earlier 'Admiral' Thomas Graves, who was mate of the 'Talbot' in 1629, and master of the first Boston ship (the 'Tryal') in 1643.

"Hough's Neck in Quincy was, according to Dr. Shurtleff (p. 560), 'frequently called, in old times, Hoff's Tombs.' It bears that name on a French chart (Bellin's) of 1757, but unless it can be traced further back 'Hofe's Thum' (Hough's Thumb) has the better authority.

"Phillip Wells had been Governor Dongan's surveyor, in New York, and was one of the commissioners appointed to run the line between that province and Connecticut, in 1684. He made 'A Land Draught of New York Harbour,' which is also in Mr. Brinley's collection. It is drawn and lettered by the same hand, and probably in the same year as that of

FRANQUELIN, 1697.

BURGESS, 1728.

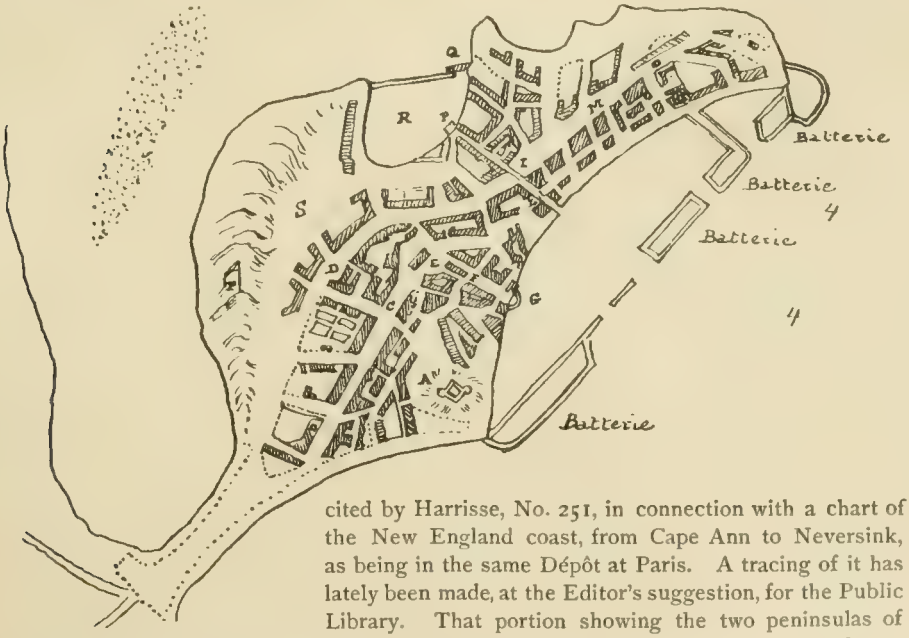
Boston harbor. The two were found together, in a parcel of the 'Penn Papers,' sold in London, by Mr. E. G. Allen, in 1871, — the Boston map bringing three guineas. It is numbered No. 281 in Allen's catalogue.

"Captain John Fayerweather, who had served in the Indian war of 1675–76, and commanded one of the Boston train-bands, was a prominent man in Boston before and after the Usurpation. At the Revolution of April, 1689, he was appointed commander of the Castle. Capt. Thomas Smith commanded the 'Jersey' frigate in the Expedition against the Eastern Indians, in 1704. Of Captains Armitage and Eldridge I know little more than their names."

1692. — *Plan de Bostom, Tiré par le Chevalier Daux envoyé aux Iroquois par Mr de Frontenac lequel y a esté retenu deux ans quatre mois prisonnier*, 1692. This is the earliest of some manuscript charts of Boston Harbor, preserved in the Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine at Paris, which were made from such information as could be got from published maps or from the reports of emissaries, and were intended to aid in an attack upon the town, by the French, in retaliation for Sir William Phips's demonstration against Quebec. The shore outlines are very badly drawn. It shows the Castle and some of the inner islands. There is a tracing of it in the Boston Public Library.

Harrisse, *Sur la Nouvelle France*, No. 219, cites another map preserved in the same Dépôt, which he says is most beautifully made, and is called "Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale," and which he thinks was made before 1682. It is curious, as "Boston" and "Plemoe" [Plymouth] are transposed in place. There is a copy of it in Mr. S. L. M. Barlow's collection.

1693. — *Carte de la ville, Baye, et environs de Baston. Par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin, Hydrog. du Roy*, 1693. *Verifiee par le Sr. de la Motte.* This map is also



cited by Harrisse, No. 251, in connection with a chart of the New England coast, from Cape Ann to Neversink, as being in the same Dépôt at Paris. A tracing of it has lately been made, at the Editor's suggestion, for the Public Library. That portion showing the two peninsulas of Boston and Charlestown has been heliotyped, full size, for the *Report on the Nomenclature of Streets*,[1] and the peninsula of Boston only is given herewith. The whole map, somewhat reduced, has also been heliotyped from this tracing, and an albertype has been made of it of the full size.

[1] City Document, 119, of 1879.

It is an improvement upon the map of the year before, but still very inaccurate, and more curious than valuable. In the environs and in the town a number of landmarks are indicated, like the "Maison de Guillaume Phibs," "Renegats Francois" for the Huguenot church, etc. Cambridge is put down, "Bourgade, de 80 maisons; c'est une université." Roxbury is "Rocheberry." Dorchester Neck is "Docheten Neche." The Blue Hills are put where Squantum is, and called "Bluells." Nahant peninsula becomes "Neant Eylandt." The outermost headland of Hull becomes "Pointe Holld Deton," and these are not all the strange perversions of names.

1697. — Franquelin made this year a much better draft of the harbor and neighborhood of Boston than either of the two previous ones; and from a copy of this map, owned by Mr. Francis Parkman, the fac-simile is made which is given herewith. It is to be regretted that the key to the letters placed on the map is wanting. One of its errors is the putting the road to the point on the western side of the Back Bay to the south of the Charles instead of the north, Lechmere Point, whence was a ferry to the town. Cf. Parkman's *Frontenac*, p. 384.

1700. — A plan of Boston Harbor is said to be in the *Neptune Français*, published at Amsterdam, 1700. A "Carte nouvelle de L' Amerique," published by Mortier, Amsterdam, without date, has a chart of Boston Harbor, 4½ by 4¼ inches.

1705? — *A new Survey of the Harbor of Boston, in New England, Done by order of the principal Officers and Commissioners of his Ma^ties Navy*, was published in Dublin about this time. It is without date, but it is stated on it that the observation of the

BONNER'S SKETCH, 1714.

magnetic variations were made in 1700. Between that date and 1710–14, when Long Wharf, not shown in it, was built, the survey was probably made. It gives the soundings in the channels, and trees are represented as growing on the islands. Its size is 17 by 21 inches. The only copy of it known to the Editor is an imperfect one, owned by Mr. Charles Deane, from which the fac-simile here given was made. It would seem to be the earliest engraved map of the harbor, showing surveys made with evident care.

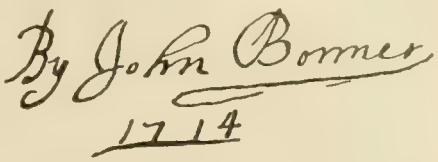
1713? — A map of North America, published in London, by Herman Moll, has a small marginal chart of the harbor, 2⅛ by 1⅞ inches.

1714. — A manuscript sketch made by John Bonner and signed by him, of the waterfront of the town, from Windmill Point to Long Wharf, giving soundings, and the names

Earliest Engraved Chart of Boston Harbor.

(Not long after 1700.)

of the riparian owners, measures 18 by 11½ inches, and is preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library. A fac-simile, full size, is given in their *Proceedings*, Sept. 1864, and a strange engraving of it in Bryant and Gay's *United States*, iii. 218. A reduced sketch of it is here given, which does not show the view of the warehouses on Long Wharf as seen from the South Battery, which the fac-simile does. The record in the Boston *News-Letter*, Feb. 3, 1726, of the death of a Captain John Bonner, on January 30th, probably refers to this earliest map-maker of Boston. He is called "very skillful and ingenious, especially in navigation, drawing, etc., and one of the best acquainted with the coasts of North America of any of his time." (See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1851, p. 174, and July, 1860, p. 240.) A sketch of the Bonner arms in the Granary burying-ground is given in the *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 120.



1720. — The map of New England in Neal's *History of New England* has a marginal plan, 3 by 3½ inches, of Boston and vicinity, showing the harbor.

1722. — *The Town of Boston, in New England, by Captain John Bonner*, 1722, *ætatis suæ*, 60. *Engraved and printed by Fra. Dewing, Boston, New England* 1722. *Sold by Captain John Bonner and William Price against ye Town House.*

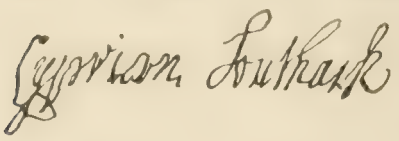
This is the earliest engraved plan of the town, measuring 17 by 23½ inches. A marginal note reads: "Streets, 42; Lanes, 36; Alleys, 22; Houses, near 3,000; 1,000 Brick, rest Timber. Near 12,000 people." The scale is about 11¼ inches to the mile. A copy, somewhat disintegrated, mounted on board, is preserved in the Mass. Hist. Society's Library, and from this copy, when in the possession of William Taylor, Esq., George G. Smith, in 1835, engraved a fac-simile, whose correctness was certified to by Stephen P. Fuller, surveyor. The folio copies of Drake's *Boston* have impressions from Smith's plate. In 1825 it was re-engraved by Bowen, size 6¼ by 4 inches, for Snow's *History of Boston.* In 1848 it was again re-engraved, size 5⅜ by 3⅜, by Dearborn, and used in his *Boston Notions* and in his *Guide to Boston.* In 1852 George W. Boynton engraved it, size 9½ by 5⅜, and this plate was used in the Boston *Almanac*, in Warren's *Great Tree*, 1855, etc. The original plate continued to be used for nearly fifty years by Price, with successive changes, as will be noted under later years. There is in the Historical Society's Library a copy of Smith's fac-simile, on which these later changes are marked, — those 1722–33, in red; 1733–43, in blue; and 1743–69, in green. Sections from Smith's fac-simile are reproduced in this Introduction.

The engraver of this map is probably the same Francis Doing, who in 1718, as appears by the Council Records, was suspected of being concerned in counterfeiting the Province bills of credit. There is no evidence known to sustain the case. *Sewall Papers*, iii. 189.

1728. — *To his Excellency, William Burnet, Esq., This plan of Boston, in New England, is humbly dedicated by his Excellency's most obedient and humble servant, William Burgiss.* This inscription in an oval, with supporters, and surmounted by the Governor's arms, is the only title this map has. It is without date, but is fixed for various reasons at about the year here given. Its scale is five and a half inches to the mile, about one half that of Bonner's, and it measures 14½ by 11 inches. In a lower corner is this: "Engraved by Thos. Iohnson, Boston, N. E."

Shurtleff calls it "evidently a corrected and improved copy" of Bonner. "The eight companys [or wards, are] distinguished by a prickt line, thus. . . ." It shows a pond on the Common, north of the Powder House, which Bonner does not give. There is a single row of trees on the Tremont-Street Mall, which are likewise not on Bonner's. The garden on the line of the present Beacon Street is placed a little differently, and is called "Bannister's Gardens." There are various changes of names of streets, etc. A copy preserved in the family of the late Dr. Warren was fac-similed in 1869 for Dr. Shurtleff, and it is given in his *Description of Boston;* a reduced fac-simile of that portion of the plate which contains the Boston peninsula only is given in heliotype in this volume.

1730? — *An actual Survey of the Sea Coast from New York to the I. Cape Briton. By Captain Cyprian Southack: London.* This contains a chart of Narragansett Bay, Long Island Sound, etc., which has in the margin a chart of Boston Harbor, measuring 9 by 9 inches. Southack, who was a Bostonian, gives, in legends on these charts, two dates of his explorations on the American coast, 1690, and 1717. Other mention will be made of him in this volume. This survey may have been issued at any earlier date than 1730, for in the Boston *News-Letter*, May 26, 1718, is an invitation from Southack "to my fellow mariners" to inspect his chart and inform him of any errors "before it is engraved." The card is reprinted in *Sewall Papers*, iii. 185.



1731. — *The English Pilot. Fourth Book. London: Mount and Page*, 1742. This has what is called "A correct map of New England," of this date; and on the same sheet Boston Harbor, 10 by 8 inches, is given very incorrectly.

1733. — A reduction of Bonner's 1722 map was made, according to Shurtleff, about this year, size 11½ by 7 inches, by Capt. Cyprian Southack, and published in London by I. Mount, T. Page, and W. Mount; and this plate, or a copy of it, was used by the same publishers in a corner of a large map of the coast of New England, "as it was actually surveyed by Captain Cyprian Southack," which was issued in *The English Pilot*, London, Mount and Davidson, at various dates. The Boston Public Library has a copy dated 1737–38; and Harvard College Library one, with the same map, dated 1794.

1733. — William Price reissued, according to Shurtleff, Bonner's map with amendments, and with this title: *A New Plan of ye great town of Boston in New England in America, with the many Additional Buildings and New Streets to the year* 1733. Drake, *History of Boston*, p. 820, describes a copy belonging to Mr. David Pulsifer, who has kindly allowed the present Editor to see it. It has a single row of trees on the Tremont-Street Mall; the 1722 map showing none. It gives the number of houses as 4,000; inhabitants, 18,000; two churches of England; eight Congregational meeting-houses; and French, Anabaptist, Irish, and Quaker meeting-houses, one each. The description further says: "In the year 1723 were built in New England above 700 sail of ships and other vessels, most of which are fitted at Boston. There are in one year cleared out of this port at the custom house about 1200 sail of vessels." The wards are numbered 1 to 8. What is now Tremont Street between Boylston and Hollis streets is called Slough Street, but is given as Clough Street in the 1743 edition. It has a vignette dedication to Governor Belcher, with the title across the top, but the 33 of the date (1733) is put in with a pen. There would seem to have been an edition before this, which first had the vignette, for there is an erasure in the plate under Price's name of something which might have been in the earlier edition. Below the vignette is: "Printed for and sold by Wm. Price at ye King's head and Looking-glass, in Cornhill, near the Town House in Boston."

1733. — Henry Popple's large *Map of North America* has a chart of Boston Harbor in the margin, measuring 6 by 5½ inches. Popple's map, engraved on a small scale, appeared in Arthur Dobbs's *Hudson Bay*, 1744, showing still the marginal plans; but that of Boston is reduced to little more than an inch square.

1743. — Price again reissued Bonner's map. The description is changed to read: ". . . Its number of houses about 4,000 and inhabitants, about 20,000. In it are 3 churches of England, 10 Congregational meeting-houses, 1 French, 1 Anabaptist, 1 Irish, 1 Quaker's meeting-house, and a very handsome Town-house, where the courts are held;" and this is added: "In the year 1735 this town was divided into 12 wards, by a vote of the inhabitants. In each ward is a military company of foot and a captain, etc.; also one overseer of the poor chosen yearly in March." New marginal references are added to buildings built since the previous issue, and to make room for these some ships figured in

the harbor of the original map are erased, and others are added. The last item added is this: "T. Faneuil Hall and market house, a hadsom [*sic*] large brick building, worthy of the generous Founder, Peter Faneuil, Esqr., who, in the year 1742, Gave it to the Town for the use of a market." In the list of "Genll Small-pox," a "Seventh, 1730," is added. The principal changes in the streets are these: In the neighborhood of Hollis Street; Pleasant Street put in; two rows of trees make a mall along the Tremont Street side of the Common; the Town Granary and work-house appear where Park Street now is; Beacon Street is put in, and the earlier Davis Street, which swept across the present State-house lot in the direction of Louisburg Square, is discontinued; new streets are marked at the West End; Faneuil Hall is shown on a part of the Town Dock, and additional wharves are put in around the margin of the peninsula.

A copy of this state of the plate, owned by Mr. Charles Deane, was used by Dr. Palfrey in making the fac-simile reduction of it which appears in his *History of New England*, iv.

1755. — A map of New England, by Thomas Jefferys, has a marginal chart of Boston Harbor, size, 5½ by 6 inches.

1757. — *L'Atlas maritime*, made by Bellin, Paris, has a map of New England, and in one corner of it is a Plan du Havre de Boston, from Nahant to Hingham, size 6¾ by 8½ inches. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1864.

1758. — A collection of voyages published at Leipsic, by Arkstee and Merkus, gives a plan of the town, 9 by 6½ inches, which includes, according to Shurtleff, a small portion of the harbor.

1764. — The German map of 1758 was published in Paris by Jacq. Nic. Bellin, engineer; engraved by Arrivet. Shurtleff says of the two: "These are evidently copies of an early English map"

A French map, of uncertain date, but perhaps not far from this time, is a folio copper-plate engraving styled: *Plan de la ville et du Port de Boston, Capitale de la Nouvelle Angleterre. A Paris, Chez Lattré, rue St. Jacques, vis-à-vis la rue de Parchemenerie, C. P. R.* In the upper corners are engraved descriptions. A copy of this map was in a bound collection of American maps numbered 761 in a sale catalogue of Bangs and Co., New York, February, 1880, when it was bought by the American Geographical Society. A small map, measuring 6½ by 6¼ inches, *Plan de la Ville de Boston et ses environs*, engraved by B. D. Bakker, seems to be a reduction of this Lattré map. It has a marginal list of references by which it appears that the North Battery mounted 25 cannon; that at the end of Long Wharf, 16; the Sconce, 25; and the Neck fortifications are given, "Porte de Terre deffendue par un fossé et 2 Batteries." The plan shows Charlestown, a battery near Charlestown Neck, and is generally inaccurate. I am indebted for a sight of it to Mr. Edward W. West, of New York.

1769. — Price's last issue of Bonner's map bears this date. The changes in the plate are not many. The name of Clark's Wharf at the north end of the "Old Wharf" is changed to Handcock's Wharf. "Esqr. Hancock's Seat" is pictured on Beacon Street, and a marginal reference made to it. Rowe's and Apthorp's wharves are put down near the South Battery, and other new piers farther to the south. The comparison is made with a copy owned by Mr. Charles Deane, which, by his favor, is here given in a reduced fac-simile.

1770? — There is in Harvard College Library the southeast corner of a map, showing on the fragment Boston, Narragansett Bay, and Cape Cod, and in the margin a chart of Boston Harbor, called *Ichnographia Portus Bostoniensis*, size 5½ by 5½ inches, and a plan of the town, *Ichnographia Urbis Boston*, 5 by 7 inches. The date must be later than 1760, and before King and Queen streets were renamed in 1784. With some exceptions, the names on the maps are in English; but the references, followed by letters A. B. C., etc., and the statement of the fires which have occurred before 1760 are in Latin,—as, "Curia" for State House, "Oratorium Vetus" for the First Church, "Carcer" for the Jail, etc.

After this date, the published maps have particular reference to the Revolutionary War, and the enumeration of them is deferred.

GENEALOGICAL REFERENCES. — In connection with Mr. Whitmore's chapters in the first and in the present volume of this History, the Editor has noted various special accounts of prominent Boston families. He now offers as supplementary to those notes, the following statement of the principal general sources of such genealogical information: —

A main authority for tracing the early history of Boston and other New England families is Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England.* Something has been done to preserve the records of a few Boston families in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, of which there has been an annual volume since 1847, and in the *Heraldic Journal*, of which four volumes were issued. In the folio edition of Drake's *History of Boston*, folding sheet pedigrees of several families are given, directly or collaterally connected with Boston, including Saltonstall, Eliot, Leverett, Cotton, Dudley, Chauncy, Curwen, Bradstreet, Sewall, Adams.

Two Indexes to American genealogies have been printed. Mr. Whitmore's *American Genealogist* gives a chronological list of separate works up to 1875.[1] Mr. D. S. Durrie's *Bibliographia Genealogica Americana*, 1868, and second edition, 1878, gives an "alphabetical index to genealogies and pedigrees contained in State, county, and town histories, printed genealogies and kindred works." A list of genealogies and apposite references was printed in the *Bulletins* of the Boston Public Library for 1879.

The recent *Charlestown Genealogies and Estates*, compiled by Thomas B. Wyman, is an exceptionally thorough work. Though the *History of Dorchester* contains genealogical matter, none of the other annexed parts of Boston have a family record to compare with that of Charlestown, which after the death of Mr. Wyman was carried through the press under the supervision chiefly of Mr. H. H. Edes. Histories of many of the towns in Eastern Massachusetts trace the lines of families, often in greater or less degree connected with those of Boston. Bond's *History of Watertown* is a signal example of such genealogical value. The genealogical notes to the *Sewall Papers* abound in information of this kind.

Mr. N. I. Bowditch's *Suffolk Surnames* is simply a curious grouping of the family names which have existed in this vicinity, and which came to his knowledge in the pursuit of his profession for many years as a conveyancer. Mr. Bowditch's articles, already referred to, — which, with the signature "Gleaner," he printed in the Boston *Evening Transcript* in 1855–56, and in which he traced the descent of various landed estates in Boston, — are valuable for a knowledge of the early families. In the Suffolk Registry of Deeds the records, previous to 1700, make twenty volumes. Under authority from the Board of Aldermen, as Commissioners of Suffolk County, the work of printing the first volume of Deeds is now going forward under the immediate charge of Mr. William B. Trask. Its use for genealogical study will be greatly helped by the thorough index which is to be appended.

Mr. Samuel G. Drake began in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1848, an abstract of the earliest Wills in the Suffolk Probate Office; and after he had completed eighty-two Wills and Inventories the work was continued by Mr. William B. Trask, who completed the first volume (542 pages) in the number for Oct. 1862. Mr. Trask also added abstracts of the inventories contained in other volumes; and in the *Register*, vol. vii., he gave abstracts of Wills in the files, but not recorded. Mr. Trask has also published in the *Register* abstracts of the early Middlesex Wills. In the number for Oct. 1862, he resumed work on the Suffolk Wills, of which vol. vi. is a continuation of vol. i., the intervening volumes containing inventories; and in the number for Jan 1876 (after the files were put in order), he began to give abstracts of Wills omitted in the previous enumerations.

[1] The first edition, called *A Handbook of American Genealogy*, appeared in 1862, and had a list of tabular pedigrees omitted in the second edition.

The Latest Edition of Bonner's Map of Boston.

Mr. Hassam (Ibid., Jan. 1880, p. 46) says that when the files of the Probate Office were arranged in 1876, there were found 32,705 papers, including 280 Wills of a date before 1800, which had never been recorded. He also states that the present indexes to the recorded Deeds are very incomplete.

Mr. Samuel G. Drake noted his researches in England as to the names of early emigrants to Boston and other parts of America, in his *Result of some researches relative to the Founders of New England*, printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1860, and Jan. 1861, and separately with other lists annexed. The pioneer in this work, however, was Mr. James Savage, who printed several lists of persons permitted to depart from England for New England in *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 3d series viii. 252 (1843), and 4th series ii. 92 (1852).

John Camden Hotten's *Original Lists of Persons who went to the American Plantations*, 1600–1700, is of little value in new material, being but a reproduction of what had been printed before by Savage, Drake, and others.[1]

Another source of the history of the early Boston families is found in the inscriptions of the ancient burial-grounds. Shurtleff, *Desc. of Boston*, gives some account of those interred in them, and transcripts of the inscriptions were printed by Bridgman, as follows: *Copp's Hill Epitaphs*, 1851; *King's Chapel Burying-ground*, 1853; *Pilgrims of Boston* [Granary] 1856. Mr. Whitmore published some notes on this last yard in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1856; and in a report on its history which he made to the City Council in 1879 (City Document No. 47 of that year) he cites a large number of extracts from the Town Records relating to the yard. Mr. Whitmore has also of late begun to print a much more correct transcript of these old Boston inscriptions, under the title, *Grave-Yards of Boston*, the first volume, containing those from Copp's Hill, appearing in 1878. It gives the correct list of armorial bearings to be found in the yard as of the following families: Goodrich, Clark, Watts, Gee, Hutchinson, Mountfort, Martyn, Greenwood. A list less accurate had been previously printed in Bridgman's *Copp's Hill Epitaphs*. The latter writer's *King's Chapel Burying-ground* gives the arms of the following families: Brinley, Loring, Clap, Hall, Davies, Bulfinch, Prentice, Wendell, Vincent, Salisbury, Erving, Bromfield, Bell, Homer, Pitts, Lloyd, Tyler. The *Heraldic Journal* paid particular attention to the shields on these old Boston tombs.

Mr. Whitmore made a report to the N. E. Historic, Genealogical Society on the families entitled to bear arms, giving the rules for making a decision; and this report is printed in the *Register*, April, 1865.

Under the direction of the Record Commissioners of the city (William H. Whitmore and William S. Appleton), a beginning has been made in preserving in print scattered material of importance in relation to the families of early residents. Their first report was issued in 1876. Previous to this time but three lists of the early inhabitants of Boston had been printed, — two in Nathaniel Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, 1848, pp. 42 and 270, as of inhabitants, 1630–56, and in 1695; the other in *John Dunton's Letters from New England*, p. 320, printed by the Prince Society and edited by Mr. Whitmore. This first report contained various lists of tax-payers and inhabitants, 1674, 1676, 1681, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1695, 1695, etc.

The lists of 1674–76 are thought to be the earliest lists extant, and imperfect as they are they give five sixths, probably, of the tax-payers of that time. A statement of the City Registrar shows that for the years 1630–1700 the Town Records give but 1850 births, while there were probably over 6000. Of the deaths and marriages the record is likewise imperfect. Efforts are now making by the Commissioners to supply these deficiencies from the early church records.

Mr. David Pulsifer transcribed the earliest births, marriages, and deaths from the Boston Records for publication in the early volumes of the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, and there is an enumeration of the records in the office of the City Registrar in the Introduction to the first volume of this History.

[1] Cf *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1875, p. 335.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT. — The *Massachusetts Civil List*, by William H. Whitmore, gives all those holding office under the royal Governors. For the convenience of the reader the following list of Governors is taken from that book: —

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, appointed Oct. 1691; commissioned Dec. 12, 1691; arrived in Boston, May 14, 1692; records begin, May 16, 1692; left Boston, Nov. 17, 1694.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, lieut.-governor, acting Governor, Nov. 1694 to May 26, 1699.

RICHARD, EARL OF BELLOMONT, reached Boston, May 26, 1699; went to New York, May, 1700; died March 5, 1700–1701.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, lieut.-governor, acting Governor, May, 1700, to July 7, 1701, when he died. [The Council governed without an executive, July, 1701, to June, 1702.]

JOSEPH DUDLEY, reached Boston, June 11, 1702; governed till Feb. 4, 1714–15. [The Council acted Feb. 4, 1714–15, to March 21, 1714–15.]

JOSEPH DUDLEY, reassumed office March 21, 1714–15.

COL. ELISHA BURGESS, commission published in Boston Nov. 9, 1715; when

WILLIAM TAILER, lieut.-governor, began to act as Governor, and continued to act (while Burgess was selling his commission to Shute's friends in England) till Oct. 4, 1716; when

SAMUEL SHUTE arrived, having been commissioned June 15, 1716. He left Boston, Jan. 1, 1722–23; when

WILLIAM DUMMER, lieut.-governor, acted till July 13, 1728; when

WILLIAM BURNET arrived, having been appointed March 7, 1727–28. He died at Boston, Sept. 7, 1729; when

WILLIAM DUMMER again acted, till

JONATHAN BELCHER arrived, Aug. 10, 1730, who governed till

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, then living in Boston, was commissioned May 16, 1741, and he governed till Aug. 2, 1757; when

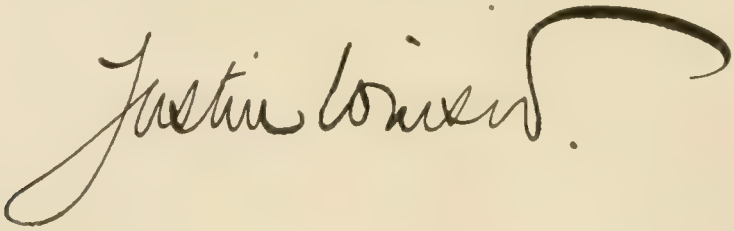
THOMAS POWNALL arrived, having been appointed Feb. 25, 1757, and he sailed for England, June 3, 1760; when

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, lieut.-governor, acted till Aug. 2, 1760; when

FRANCIS BERNARD arrived, having been commissioned, Jan. 14, 1760. He sailed for England, Aug. 2, 1769; when

THOMAS HUTCHINSON again acted till his own commission as Governor arrived, early in March, 1771, having been appointed Nov. 28, 1770. He sailed for England, June 1, 1774, having been superseded by

THOMAS GAGE, who was appointed April 7, 1774, and had arrived in Boston, May 13, 1774. In the same month the Provincial Congress declared him disqualified, and while Boston was besieged he sailed for England, Oct. 1775.



THE

MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON.

The Provincial Period.

CHAPTER I.

THE INTER-CHARTER PERIOD.

BY WILLIAM H. WHITMORE,
Chairman of the Boston Record Commissioners

IN the tenth chapter of the first volume of this History the affairs of the colony have been traced under the first charter, to the date of the final cessation of its authority, May 20, 1686. On Oct. 7, 1691, the second charter of Massachusetts was signed by King William, and Governor Phips arrived at Boston with it, May 14, 1692. This interval of six years is styled by the ingenious arranger of our Massachusetts Archives[1] the "Inter-Charter" period, — a convenient designation. Of these six years two and one-third years were filled by the administration of Governor Andros; but so colorless and unimportant were the remaining years, that Andros is really the central figure of the whole period.

This break in the continuity of our charter government was, indeed, in effect nearly as influential as those two later civic convulsions, — the Revolution and the recent Rebellion. Each of these three events have profoundly affected Massachusetts, and, of necessity, Boston. The coming of Andros brought us into renewed relations with contemporary life in England; the second transformed us from loyalists to republicans; the third has so far given us a nationality as entirely to eradicate our provincialism.

Prior to the advent of Sir Edmund Andros there existed, from May 24 to Dec. 20, 1686, a provisional government over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the King's Province, under the presidency of Joseph

[1] [Such papers of this period as it suited Mr. Felt to group together, he has arranged under three heads, — *Usurpation*, 1686–89, one volume; *Revolution*, 1689, one volume; and *Inter-Charter*, 1689–92, three volumes. See Vol. I. of this History, Introduction, p. xix. — ED.]

Dudley. He was duly commissioned by King James, and he was assisted by sixteen councillors. As might be expected, Randolph considered himself to be the true manager of this temporary government; and it might also be foreseen that harmony was impossible.[1] The facts relating to the history of these months are so few, and they have been so judiciously presented by Dr. Palfrey in his admirable History, that it would be useless to repeat them here.[2]

Two special subjects may, however, be of interest to Bostonians, — one being the public proceedings relative to Dudley; the other, the successful establishment of an Episcopal church in the town.

It may be well, therefore, to cite the evidence of an eye-witness, Samuel Sewall, who thus enters in his Diary: —

"Friday, May 21, 1686. The Magistrates and Deputies goe to the Governour's [Bradstreet]. I was going to them about 11 a'clock, supposing them to be at the Town House; and seeing a head through the Governour's Room, and Brisco in the Street, I asked if [the] Magistrates [were] there. So went in; and they were discoursing about delivering the Keys of a Fort which had been taken, [and] seemed to advise him not to do it till the Gentlemen [were] sworn. Mr. Nowell prayed that God would pardon each Magistrate and Deputie's Sin. [He] thanked God for our hithertos of Mercy, 56 years, in which time sad Calamities [had happened] elsewhere, as [the] Massacre [in] Piedmont. [He] thanked God for what we might expect from sundry of those now set over us. I moved to sing; [and] so [we] sang the 17th and 18th verses of Habbakkuk.

"The Adjournment which had been agreed before, [to the] second Wednesday in October next, at 8 o'clock in the Morning, was declared by the weeping Marshall-Generall. Many Tears [were] shed in Prayer and at parting."

On the same day President Dudley went on board the frigate, a little below the Castle, and the flag was displayed at the main-top. Then about five o'clock in the afternoon she sailed up to the town, the Castle firing twenty-five guns, the Sconce and the ships in port, Noddle's Island and the Charlestown battery joining in, the frigate replying, and flags everywhere displayed. Yet Sewall notes that there were not many spectators on Fort Hill. It seems that £21 was spent for wine at such festivities as there were, which was duly charged to the colony.

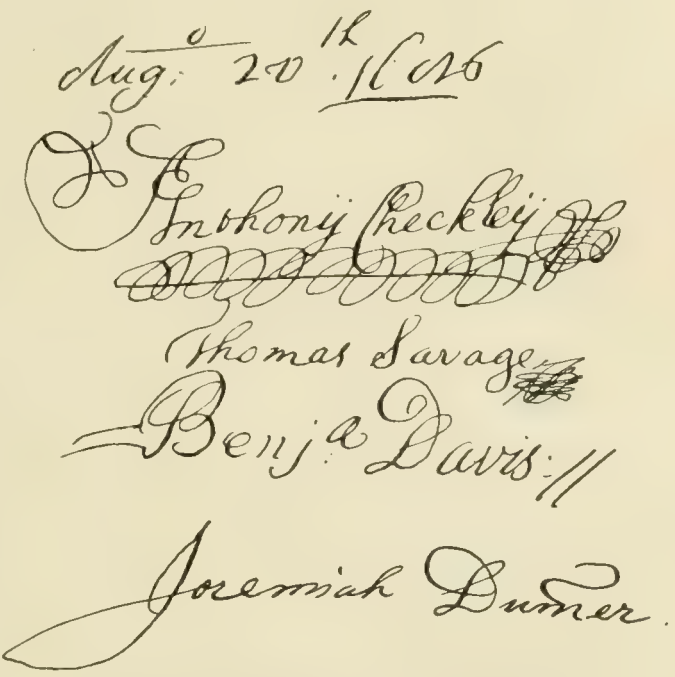
On Saturday, September 25, the loyal captains of the men-of-war celebrated the Queen's birthday by firing guns and displaying bunting. The ships in port were mildly coerced into a simulated enthusiasm, but the authorities prevented the lighting of bonfires in the town. At Noddle's Island, however, the officers held a jubilee, and made a great fire in the evening with many huzzas; while in Boston many, doubtless, joined the Rev. Mr. Willard in lamenting such a profanation of the Sabbath, which then began at sundown.

[1] [Mr. C. W. Tuttle communicated some particulars about Randolph to the *Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings*, 1874, p. 240. — Ed.]

[2] [The speeches of Dudley to the Assembly, May 17 and May 25, 1686, with Mr. Deane's remarks thereon, are in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1864, p. 487. — Ed.]

On Thursday, October 14, the King's birthday was commemorated in like manner; and probably many remembered, with Sewall, that the previous day had been assigned for that reassembling of the old General Court, which was not to be.

These seem to be the only occasions on which Boston was especially reminded of the presence of a new government; but a more important change was in progress. This was the establishment of Episcopal forms, not only by the permission, but with the encouragement of the Governor. Randolph was above all things, apparently, a zealot; and it is curious to view his acts through the eyes of an equally devout Puritan: —



CAPTAINS OF THE MILITARY COMPANIES IN BOSTON.

"On Wednesday, May 26, Mr. Ratliff, the Minister, waits on the Council. Mr. Mason and Randolph propose that he may have one of the three [meeting] Houses to preach in. That is denyed; and he is granted the east end of the Town House, where the Deputies used to meet, untill those who desire his Ministry shall provide a fitter place."

It is not necessary to repeat so much of this story as has been already told by Mr. Foote in Vol. I.[1]

Although we may not believe the story which Randolph[2] tells, that in October four hundred persons were daily frequenters of it, undoubtedly it attracted many. John Dunton attended this first service, and writes that Mr. Ratcliffe "read common-prayer in his Surplice, which was so great a Novelty to the Bostonians, that he had a very large Audience."

"August 5th. — William Harrison is buried, which is the first I know of buried with the Common-Prayer Book in Boston. He was formerly Mr. Randolph's Landlord."

[1] [Vol. I. p. 200, *et seq.* — ED.]

[2] Randolph writes: "We are now come to have praiers every Wednesday and Friday mornings on their exchange, and resolve not to be baffled by the great affronts; some calling our minister Baal's priest, and some of their ministers, from the pulpit, calling our praiers leeks, garlick, and trash."

So writes Sewall, who adds that the second similar interment was on November 6, of "one Robinson, Esqre., that came from Antego;" and the third was of John Griffin, about one week later. He also records that on September 15 Mr. Ratcliffe married David Jeffries and Betty Usher.

Clearly the new ministry promptly began the exercise of its functions; and it must be conceded that there were not a few who rejoiced to see the Church of England recognized in this place. So far at least the church was maintained by voluntary contributions, — not only the offerings at services, but such sums as were obtained by solicitation.

These slight items are, perhaps, all that can be gleaned in regard to Dudley's short and provisional presidency of these Colonies. The coming of Andros, known to Randolph as early as July 28, was known generally by August 23, when Dudley told Sewall that the new Governor would probably arrive in six weeks.

Accordingly, on Sunday, Dec. 19, 1686, the guns announced the arrival of the frigate "King-fisher," bringing Sir Edmund to his new command.

Sir Edmund Andros was a gentleman of good family, high connections, and prosperous antecedents. For several generations the family had been seigneurs of Sausmarez in Guernsey; his father, Amice Andros, married the sister of Sir Robert Stone, cup-bearer to the amiable but unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, Elizabeth, only daughter of King James I. Through her, however, Victoria derives her title to the British Crown. Born Dec. 6, 1637, Andros, like his brother and father, was a stanch loyalist, and served three years in the army of Prince Henry of Nassau. At the Restoration he was made gentleman in ordinary to the Queen of Bohemia. In 1666 he was made major in a regiment of foot, which was sent to America, where he distinguished himself in the war against the Dutch.

He returned to England in August, 1668; and in February, 1670–71, he married Marie, daughter of Sir Thomas Craven. Her brother was the heir in reversion to the barony of Hamsted-Marshall, then enjoyed by the Earl of Craven, being the nearest heir-male. This marriage was doubtless owing to the early connections of Andros with the court of the exiled titular Queen of Bohemia; the Earl of Craven being her chief adviser and friend, most probably also being her second husband. A year later, Andros was made major of Prince Rupert's Dragoons.

In 1674 Andros, who had inherited the family estates, and had been sworn as Bailly of Guernsey, was appointed by James, Duke of York, to be Governor of the Province recently surrendered by the Dutch. Accompanied by his wife, Andros landed in New York, Nov. 1, 1674. Three years later he returned to England, having been an efficient and successful agent in establishing the affairs of that colony and of Pemaquid, also owned by the Duke of York.

During his vacation in England he was knighted, and returned to his colony in 1678, where he remained till January, 1681. For the next five years he remained at home, being made gentleman of the privy chamber in

1683, and lieut.-colonel of Lord Scarsdale's regiment of horse in 1685. Earlier in 1685 he commanded a troop of horse against Monmouth.

When his constant friend and patron the Duke of York succeeded to the throne in February, 1685,[1] Andros doubtless was in the line of promotion.

Andros[2]

When James II., under the new state of affairs, was in search of a governor for the disfranchised colonies in New England, he naturally turned to Andros as a person well fitted for the employment.

[1] [The *London Gazette* for Feb. 9, 1684, containing an account of the death of Charles II. and the proclamation of James II., was reprinted in Boston by Samuel Green, and its contents are given in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1873, p. 105.—ED.]

[2] [This cut follows a portrait in the *Andros Tracts*, vol. i., which was engraved from a photograph of an original likeness, the property of Amias Charles Andros, Esq., of London.—ED.]

Palfrey, indeed, suggests that Andros had a "personal grudge against Massachusetts on account of old affronts," and that "it was not to be doubted that here was a man prepared to be as oppressive and offensive as the king desired." This inference may be doubted. It is true that during King Philip's war this colony had rejected the aid offered by Andros from New York. Some unfounded insinuations were also current in Massachusetts that the Indians obtained their arms at Albany. Andros indignantly denied the charge, both at the time and later in England. The Massachusetts agents, Stoughton and Bulkley, did not act very handsomely, but promised to do all they could to remove any misunderstanding. Still there is no proof that Andros continued for nine years to nourish his spleen; nor is this charge brought against him by his contemporaries.

It may be rather assumed that the opposition to Andros was not personal but general. The colonists had been for more than a generation virtually independent. Their charter as construed by themselves was all they needed. Their officials were natives, their legislature was of their own selection. When the charter was revoked, they were at once at the mercy of a sovereign little known but greatly feared. Under these circumstances, any royal governor who tried to follow his orders was liable to be hated as the agent of their oppressors.

Andros, who had before visited Boston in October, 1680, to wait upon Lord Culpepper, was received now with some formality. He landed at Governor Leverett's wharf about two o'clock, P. M., where Bradstreet and Danforth received him, and marched through the guards of the eight companies of Boston militia to the town house,—a wooden building occupying the site of our old State House. Here part of his commission was read, the oath of allegiance was taken by him, and then as governor he swore in a part of his council. Sewall records that the "Governor was in a Scarlet Coat, laced; several others were in Scarlet;" and that the "Governor stood with his Hat on when Oaths given to Councillours."

After speaking to the ministers in the library about the use of one of their churches for Episcopal services, part of the time, and probably partaking of the dinner, at which Rev. Increase Mather craved a blessing, the new Governor withdrew to his lodgings. His residence, perhaps only a temporary one, was with Madam Rebecca Taylor, daughter of Israel Stoughton, and widow of William Taylor; it was at the southerly corner of Hanover and Elm streets.[1]

On Wednesday Mather and Willard announced to Andros the decision of their churches, that they "could not with a good conscience consent that our Meeting-Houses should be made use of for the Common-Prayer Worship." On Friday about sixty "Red-Coats" were landed and marched to Mr. Gibbs's house at Fort Hill. On Saturday, Christmas-day, Andros went "to the Town House to Service, Forenoon and Afternoon, a Red-Coat going on his right hand and Captain George [of the "Rose" frigate]

[1] [See the Introduction to this volume. Madam's husband spelled his name Tailer. — ED.]

on the left;" but, as Sewall also records with secret glee, "shops open to-day generally and persons about their occasions."

On Friday, Jan. 7, 1686–87, the cautious Sewall, being at Captain Winthrop's on business, met Andros there, and being presented, "I thankfully acknowledged the protection and peace we enjoyed under his Excellencie's Government."

On Sunday, Feb. 6, 1686–87, "many scores of great guns were fired at the Castle and Town, in honor of the beginning of the third year of the reign of King James; much to the disquiet of the churches, it being the sacrament Sunday. March 3d, new officers of the militia were commissioned, — left out Richards, Checkly, Dummer." Sewall had returned his commission before the change of government.

Sewall records little of public interest during the first half of the year 1687. During this period Andros was establishing his government, using his very ample powers. His council was apparently composed of twelve of those who had served under Dudley, with thirteen added. The two Winthrops, Randolph, Usher, Gedney, and the two Tyngs were probably resident in Boston; Stoughton and Dudley were daily visitants. Dudley and Stoughton were made judges; Usher, treasurer; Randolph, secretary; while one Sherlock was made high-sheriff of the Dominion.

Early in March, 1687, an act was passed for continuing and establishing taxes. By it in every town the inhabitants were to choose a local tax commissioner, who should, with the selectmen, prepare a schedule of persons and estates. Many of these schedules remain, a number being recently recovered from the papers of Treasurer Usher. At the State House are the Boston lists for 1686 and 1687, the first of which is published *in extenso* in the *First Report of the Record Commissioners*, with the names contained in the second. The first is not summed up; the second shows one thousand four hundred and ninety-nine male persons in town aged sixteen and upward; the tax, at twenty-pence per head, makes £124 18*s.* 4*d.* The tax on estates was £83 4*s.* 8¼*d.*, at one penny on the pound, showing a valuation of nearly £20,000.

The following list of those taxed for over £50 may be instructive. The two parts represent real and personal estates: —

	House, etc.	Trade, etc.
DIVISION 1.		
William Colman	£20	£30
Humphrey Liscombe	30	80
Maj. John Richards	30	100
Timothy Thornton	20	40
John Parmeter	15	40
Widow Kellond	40	80
DIVISION 2.		
Mr. Meddlecott	20	70
Mr. Adam Winthrop	15	40
Capt. Anthony Howard	£30	£50
Mr. John Foster	20	50
Robert Howard	20	50
Dr. John Clark	30	20
Capt. Elisha Hutchinson	40	40
Widow Warren	50	20
DIVISION 3.		
Isaac Walker	20	40
Samuel Checkley	15	40
Thomas Savage	20	30

	House, etc.	Trade, etc.
John Nelson	£20	£40
Edward Lillie	30	20
Gyles Dyer	18	40
John Ballentine	30	30
DIVISION 4.		
Thomas Cooper	30	40
Francis Foxcroft	25	60
Anthony Checkley	30	30
James Taylor	20	80
DIVISION 5.		
Thomas Clarke	40	60
Samuel Shrimpton	50	150
John Baker	10	50
Madam Rebecca Taylor	32	20
James Lloyd	22	60
Bozoun Allen	20	30
William White	16	40
Benj. Bullivant, Esq.	16	40
Francis Burroughs	8	60
Thaddeus Maccarty	20	30
Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq.	40	70
Thomas Smith	12	50
DIVISION 6.		
Capt. Benj. Davis	25	40
Capt. Nath. Byfield	12	60
John Eyre	20	40
Benjamin Alford	25	60
Penn Townsend	£20	£40
Thomas Palmer	10	60
Simon Lynde, Esq.	30	100
George Pordeege	18	50
Col. Nicholas Paige	30	100
Nicholas King	30	30
Simeon Stoddard	30	80
Edward Shippin	40	100
Jeremiah Dummer	20	40
Charles Lidgett, Esq.	20	80
Jonathan Bridgham	20	30
DIVISION 7.		
Richard Harris	40	20
Nathaniel Oliver	40	50
Jonathan Balston, Sr.	20	80
Henry Munford	16	50
Joseph Parsons	20	40
John Poole	25	30
Peter Sargeant	40	60
DIVISION 8.		
Capt. Samuel Sewall	30	100
Thomas Walker, Jr.	61	100
Sampson Sheefe	20	30
DIVISION 9.		
Muddy River, Rumney Marsh, and the Islands, we omit.[1]		

It will be evident that the valuations above given of real and personal property are very low. For comparison, we note that Dudley's salary as judge was £150. Is it conceivable that he received three times the value of the best houses in town? We must multiply the £20,000 by at least five, to get a true valuation of the real estate then; and the £100,000 would represent much more than that value now does.[2]

Leaving our Boston statistics, we find that on one other point Andros soon offended the sensibilities of our citizens. The Governor was a devout Episcopalian, and he had Randolph at his elbow to spur him on. He was determined to have some accommodation for the services of his church; and, after inspecting the three meeting-houses, on March 23 he demanded the

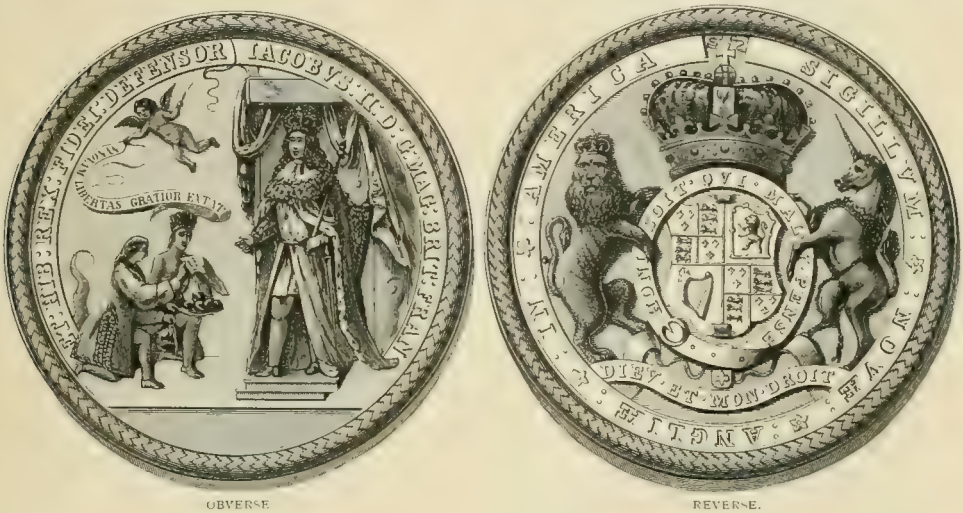
[1] We further find the number of horses and cows to be as follows: —

Division 1	6 Horses,	2 Cows.
" 2	13 "	21 "
" 3	5 "	13 "
" 4	14 "	53 "
" 5	18 "	13 "
" 6	30 "	33 "
Division 7	8 Horses,	27 Cows.
" 8	24 "	32 "
	118 "	194 "

There are tax-lists of the Andros time in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxxii., xxxv., etc.

[2] [Perhaps two and a half times more would express it with approximate accuracy. — ED.]

keys of the South. A committee of six — Eliot, Frary, Oliver, Savage, Davis, and Sewall — waited on the Governor, and showed that the land was theirs by Mrs. Norton's gift, and that the house was built by the subscriptions of individuals. But two days later, on Good-Friday, "the Governor has service in the South meeting-house. Goodman Needham [the sexton], though [he] had resolved to the contrary, was prevailed upon to Ring the Bell and open the door, at the Governor's command, — one Smith and Hill, joiner and shoemaker, being very busy about it. Mr. John Usher was there, whether at the very beginning or no, I can't tell." So writes Sewall, who adds that on the Sunday following the "Governor and his retinue met in our meeting-house at Eleven; broke off at past two, because of the



GREAT SEAL OF NEW ENGLAND UNDER ANDROS.[1]

Sacrament and Mr. Clark's long sermon. Now *we* were appointed to come [at] half hour past one; so 't was a sad sight to see how full the street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, because [they] had not entrance into the house." Thenceforward the Episcopalians used the building until they got a church for themselves, though at such hours as did not prevent the true owners from continuing their services.[2]

By this act Andros defied the Puritan element, and arrayed the ministers and churches against himself. With the views of that age in respect to the power of the Crown, many temporal changes might have been accepted with resignation; but so long as the Church of England was weekly shown triumphant over the Dissenters, the inhabitants of Boston needed no other incentive to rebellion.

[1] [See an account of the Great Seal in *Historical Magazine*, April, 1862, by George Adlard, and the account in his *Sutton-Dudleys of England;* also see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1862, and Palfrey, iii. 516. Andros's private seal is figured in the *Heraldic Journal*, i. 141. — Ed.]

[2] Sewall notes, Oct. 16, 1686: "This day the ground-sills of the church are laid; the stone foundation being finished."

On Oct. 3, 1687, the Government obtained a notable but expensive victory. There was held at Boston on that day a Court of Oyer and Terminer, consisting of Dudley, Stoughton, Usher, and Randolph, to try the Ipswich leaders. That town had refused in open meeting to comply with the law and to levy the new taxes, "until it was appointed by a General Assembly concurring with the Governor and Council." Rev. John Wise, John Appleton, John Andrews, Robert Kinsman, William Goodhue, and Thomas French were the leaders; and they were accordingly brought to Boston, charged with high misdemeanors, and imprisoned to await trial.

Doubtless all Boston was stirred on that day; but we have no contemporary picture of the scene, as Sewall on that Monday concluded to take his wife to Sherborn, where they passed the week. Other evidence shows that the trial was memorable from the words used by Dudley, "that the people in New England were all slaves, and that the only difference between them and slaves was their not being bought and sold; and that they must not think the privileges of Englishmen would follow them to the end of the world." The jury, "strangers and foreigners, gathered up, as we suppose, to serve the present term," promptly convicted the six prisoners. They were fined, and Mr. Wise was suspended from the ministerial function. Exorbitant costs and fees swelled the sum of the expenses of the defence to some four hundred pounds.

The victory was for the present complete, and all the other towns submitted. In this matter Andros does not seem to be personally implicated; the other financial novelty was certainly favored by him. This was the theory that the Crown owned the fee to all the land, or at least that the existing owners under colonial grants had so weak a title as to need confirmation by the Crown. After the overthrow of Andros, his enemies claimed that he threatened the widest application of the Royal rights; his friends asserted that "not one example could be produced, that the least compulsion was ever used in this case to any man living within this Dominion."

Perhaps the truth lies between the two; the claim was made and was acquiesced in by members of the council and other friends, who were treated with on very easy terms. When the principle was well-established the great mass of free-holders were to be taken in hand; but the opportunity did not arrive.

On Oct. 26, 1687, Andros set out for Hartford, to assume command there. He received the surrender of the old government, rapidly passed through his new territories, and returned to Boston, November 16. During the autumn he built a palisade fort of four bastions at Fort Hill, with a house for the accommodation of the garrison.

Soon after this, Andros met with a great loss. On Jan. 22, 1687–88, "the Lady Andros departed this life, to the great grief and sorrow of his Excellency, and all that knew her," writes West. On the evening of February 10, the cloudy air illuminated by torches, the stately funeral moved through the streets of Boston. Sewall, in one of his more labored entries, has

described it;[1] and he adds: "No volley at placing the body in the tomb." Tradition adds that this tomb was in the King's Chapel yard, and was afterward owned by Dr. Benjamin Church, of Revolutionary fame.

In spite of his affliction — perhaps in consequence of it — Andros was speedily at work again, perfecting the plan of government. In February an act was passed for additional imposts and excise; in March, one prohibiting more than one town-meeting in a year: both must have aroused a strong, if concealed, enmity in our town. The scheme for asserting the king's title to all lands seems also to have been pushed, as it is to this year that we find assigned Andros's famous criticism of an Indian deed, "that their hand was no more worth than a scratch with a bear's paw."

In April, 1688, Rev. Increase Mather, the eloquent, learned, and patriotic minister of the Second Church in Boston, sailed for England as the informal envoy of the people. Andros knew of his intended journey, but did not oppose it. Randolph, who had with reason charged Mather with libelling him, brought a second suit against him. The prudent minister in a disguise went to Charlestown, thence to Winnisimmet, where a ketch took him to his desired shelter on board the ship "President." He sailed on April 17, 1688. Of his mission and its success we may speak later.

A few days before, on March 28, Sewall makes the following entry:—

"Capt. Davis spake to me for Land to set a Church on. I told him [I] could not, would not put Mr. Cotton's Land to such an use, and besides 't was Entail'd. After[wards], Mr. Randolph saw me, and had me to his House to see the Landscips of Oxford Colledgse and Halls. [He] left me with Mr. Ratcliff, who spake to me for Land at Cotton Hill for a Church which [they] were going to build. I told him I could not, first because I would not set up that which the People of N[ew] E[ngland] came over to avoid; Secondly, the Land was Entail'd. In after discourse I mentioned chiefly the Cross in Baptism and Holy Dayes."

On April 15, Easter, the Governor celebrated the day at the South meeting-house, promising that it should be for the last time. A few days later he started for the eastward, where he unfortunately affronted Castine, a French adventurer, resident on the Penobscot. A few parleys were had with the Indians, and then he hastened home, arriving May 28. Here he found awaiting him a new commission, making him governor of all the English possessions on the mainland, except Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, with Boston as his capital. The next few months, to October, were spent by Andros in a trip through his new dominions. He took especial pains at Albany to confirm the friendly relations with the Five Nations, which he had formerly established when governor of New York.

During his absence a panic in regard to the Indians arose in Boston. Five persons were slain by them at Springfield, and fears were entertained that the Indians near Casco would declare war. The Council pressed four men from each Boston company, thirty-two in all, and sent them, with six

[1] [Already quoted. See Vol. I. p. 212. — Ed.]

men from Charlestown, to the eastward, Sept. 10, 1688. On the 25th, sixteen more men were pressed in Boston.[1]

On October 25 Andros returned to Boston, and after trying the effect of a proclamation in pacifying the Indians, he started on Nov. 17, 1688, with nearly a thousand men, for the seat of war. Sewall was one of the drafted men, but he was on the point of sailing for England; and so, as Jonathan Wales offered to be his substitute for £5, he got himself released. Sewall sailed Nov. 22, 1688, and reached here on his return Dec. 2, 1689; so that we lack his testimony as to the stirring scenes which were enacted here between these dates.

The campaign to the eastward was mainly a defensive one, and was productive only of discontent and suspicions on the part of the hastily-levied forces. "At Pemaquid, information came to Andros of the apprehensions entertained at court of a movement of the Prince of Orange; whereupon he issued, Jan. 10, 1688–89, a proclamation commanding His Majesty's subjects in New England, and especially all officers, civil and military, to be on the alert, should there be an approach of any foreign fleet, to resist such landing or invasion as might be attempted."[2]

We now know that the Prince of Orange had succeeded; that on Dec. 23, 1688, James fled from London, and that on Feb. 13, 1688–89, William and Mary were proclaimed. Let us, however, trace events as they occurred at Boston.

Early in March, 1689, Andros reached Boston, and on April 4, John Winslow arrived here in a vessel from Nevis, bringing copies of the proclamation issued by William at his landing.[3] Andros endeavored vainly to seize these papers, which were doubtless circulated at once among the inhabitants. The secret history of the next fortnight will probably never be revealed, but the following statements in the *Life of Rev. Cotton Mather*, by his son (p. 42), seem to have been overlooked by Palfrey.[4] There is apparently no good reason for doubting their truth:—

"It was in the Month of April when we had News by the Edges, concerning a Descent made upon England by the Prince of Orange, for the Rescue of the Nations from Slavery and Popery. Then a Strange Disposition entred in the Body of our People to assert our Liberties against the Arbitrary Rulers that were fleecing them. But it was much feared by the more sensible Gentlemen at Boston that an unruly Company of Soldiers — who had newly deserted the Service in which they had bin

[1] [See chapter iii. of this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Palfrey, *New England*, iii. 569. [It was in March that Andros, while in Maine, learned by a messenger despatched from New York of the landing of William at Torbay. See J. R. Brodhead's paper on "The Government of Sir Edmund Andros over New England" in the *Hist. Mag.*, Jan. 1867, p. 11. The document conveying the intelligence is given in the *New York Colonial Documents*, iii 591, 660. — Ed.]

[3] [Winslow's deposition is in the *Massachusetts Archives* ("Inter-charter papers,") xxxv. 218, and it is printed in the *Andros Tracts*, i. 78. Winslow was the son of John Winslow, of Boston, and he the son of John Winslow (and Mary Chilton) the brother of Governor Edward Winslow, of Plymouth Colony. The proclamation brought by Winslow was at once reprinted as a broadside. "Boston, printed by R. P., for Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee House, 1689."

[4] [See *History of New England*, vol. iii., chaps. xiv. and xv. — Ed.]

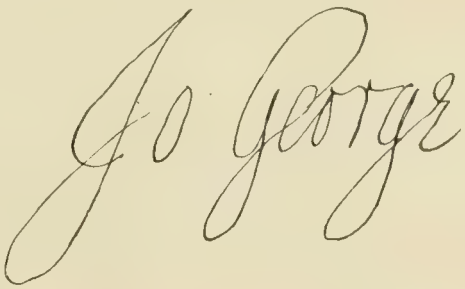
employed for the Eastern War, by the gathering of their Friends to them to protect them from the Governor, who, they thought, intended nothing but Ruine to them — would make a great Stir and produce a bloody Revolution.

"And, therefore, the principal Gentlemen in Boston met with Mr. Mather to consult what was best to be done; and they all agreed, if possible, that they would extinguish all Essays in our People to an Insurrection; but that if the Country People to the Northward, by any violent Motions pushed on the Matter so far as to make a Revolution unavoidable, then, to prevent the Shedding of Blood by an ungoverned Multitude, some of the Gentlemen present would appear in the Head of what Action should be done; and a Declaration was prepared accordingly.

"On April 18 the People were so driving and furious, that, unheaded, they began to seize our public Oppressors; upon which the Gentlemen aforesaid found it necessary to appear, that, by their Authority among the People, the unhappy Tumults might be a little regulated."

These statements apparently agree with the events. The uprising against Andros certainly bears the signs of a popular movement, not based upon any knowledge of the success of the revolution in England, and for that reason not probably the work of any of the citizens of position and wealth. It was a desperate venture, since the continuance of the rule of King James would have brought a speedy and terrible punishment upon the malcontents. The inhabitants of Boston in 1689 were fully aware of the scenes which followed Monmouth's failure. Some refugees indeed had found shelter here, and the daughter of that most noted victim, Lady Lisle, had recently been living here as the wife of President Leonard Hoar, and later of Hezekiah Usher.

The blow was struck on April 18, not without some warning; as Andros wrote two days earlier that there was "a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their old Charter, or they know not what." About eight o'clock in the morning of that day —



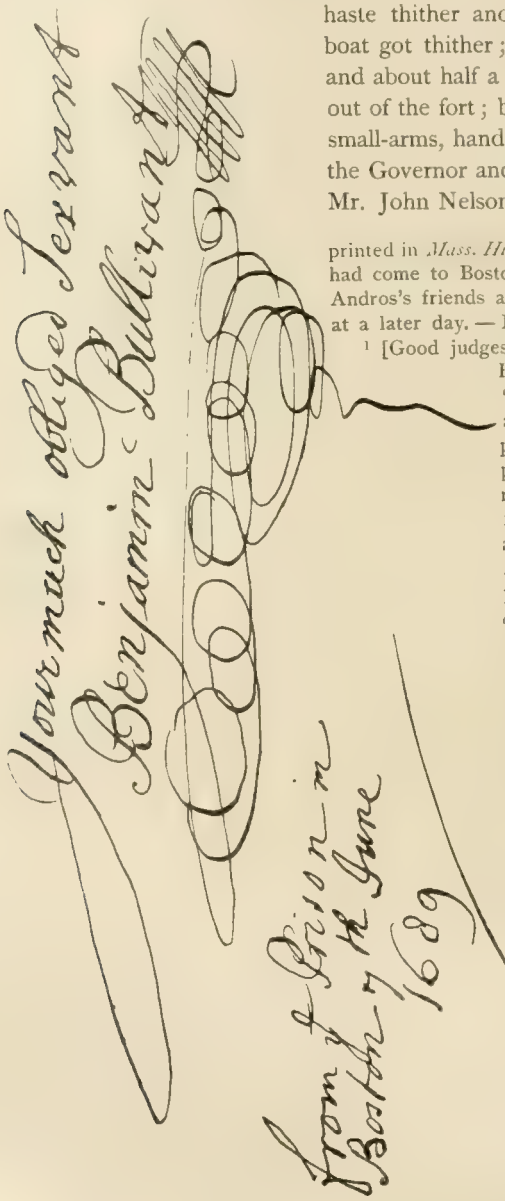
"It was reported at the south end of the town that at the north end they were all in arms; and the like report was at the north end respecting the south end. Whereupon Captain John George (of the "Rose" frigate) was seized, and about nine of the clock the drums beat through the town, and an ensign was set up on the Beacon. Then Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Danforth, Major Richards, Dr. Cooke, and Mr. Addington, etc., were brought to the Council-house by a company of soldiers under Captain Hill."

In the meantime "the people in arms" captured Randolph, Foxcroft, Bullivant,[1] Sherlock, Ravenscroft, White, and many more, and lodged them in jail in charge of a new keeper.

[1] [Bullivant was Andros's Attorney-General. He was an apothecary, and Dunton, p. 94, gives an account of him. He kept a journal of events in Boston after Andros left, Feb. 13, 1689–90, and continued it till May 19. It is preserved in the Public Record office, London, and has been

"About noon, in the gallery at the Council-house, was read the Declaration.[1] Then a message[2] was sent to the Fort, by Mr. Oliver and Mr. Eyres, signed by Wait Winthrop and the gentlemen then in the Council chamber, to inform him [Andros] how unsafe he was like to be, if he did not deliver up himself and fort and government, — which he was loath to do.

"By this time, being about two of the clock (the Lecture being put by), the town was generally in arms, and so many of the country came in that there was twenty companies in Boston, besides a great many that appeared at Charlestown that could not get over, — some say fifteen hundred. Then there came information to the soldiers that a boat was come from the frigate that made towards the fort, which made them haste thither and come to the Sconce soon after the boat got thither; and 't is said that Governor Andross and about half a score of gentlemen were coming down out of the fort; but the boat being seized (wherein were small-arms, hand-grenadoes, and a quantity of match), the Governor and the rest went in again. Whereupon, Mr. John Nelson, who was at the head of the soldiers,

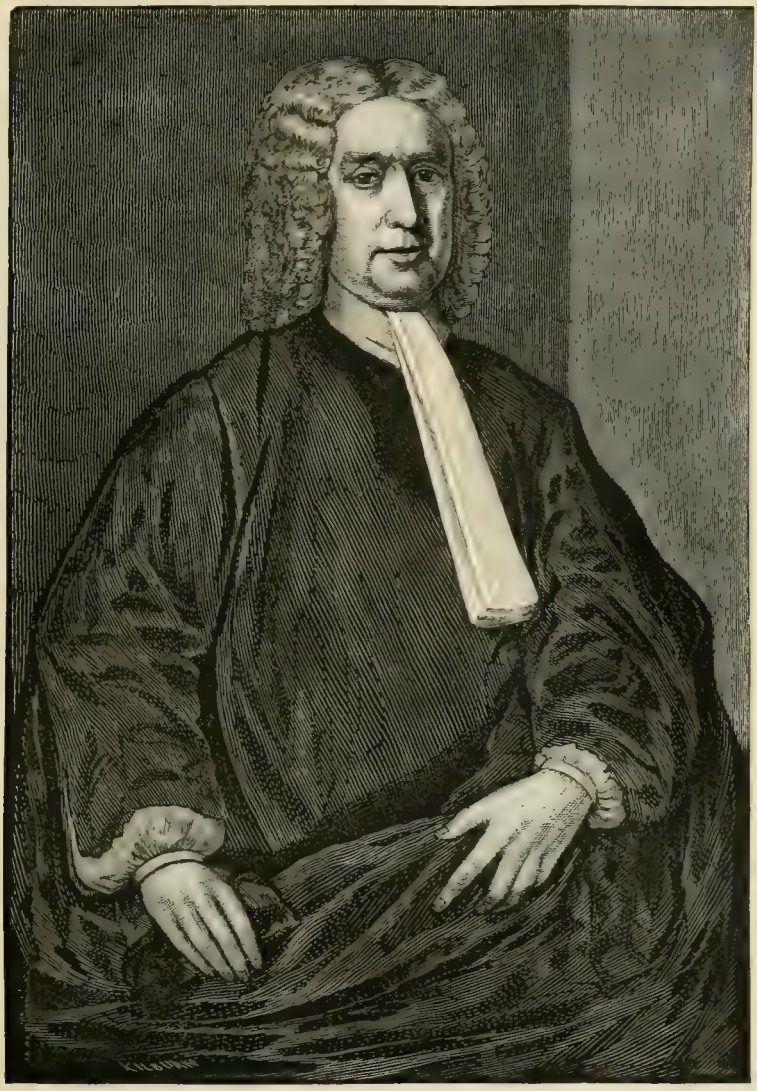


printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1878, p. 103. Bullivant had come to Boston in 1685, and having gone to England with Andros's friends after their downfall, seems to have returned at a later day. — Ed.]

[1] [Good judges assign this to the pen of Cotton Mather. Hutchinson speaks of it as being by Mather, "who had a remarkable talent for very quick and sudden composure." It was at once printed on a pot folio sheet, — "Boston, printed by Samuel Green, and sold by Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee House, 1689." An answer to this declaration, dated at the Castle, June 20, 1689, and vindicating Andros, was made by John Palmer, which was printed in London, 1690, as an *Impartial account of the State of New England*, and reprinted in Boston under the title of *The Present State of New England.* It is reprinted in the *Andros Tracts*, i. 21. See Palfrey, iii. 582. Edward Rawson and Samuel Sewall replied to Palmer in *The Revolution in New England justified. . . . Published by the inhabitants of Boston and the country adjacent. . . . Printed for Joseph Brunning, at Boston, in New England*, 1691. This is also reprinted in the *Andros Tracts*, i. 63. It was accompanied by *A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmund Androsse and his Complices*, dated Boston, Feb. 4, 1690–91, and proceeding from William Stoughton, Thomas Hinckley, Wait Winthrop, Bartholomew Gedney, and Samuel Shrimpton. *Andros Tracts*, i. 137. — Ed.]

[2] [This made subsequently a broadside, in black letter, of which a copy is preserved in the *Hutchinson Papers* at the State House (surrendered by the Historical Society to the State), as well as another in manuscript. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1874, p. 228. It is printed in Hutchinson's *Mass. Bay*, i. — Ed.]

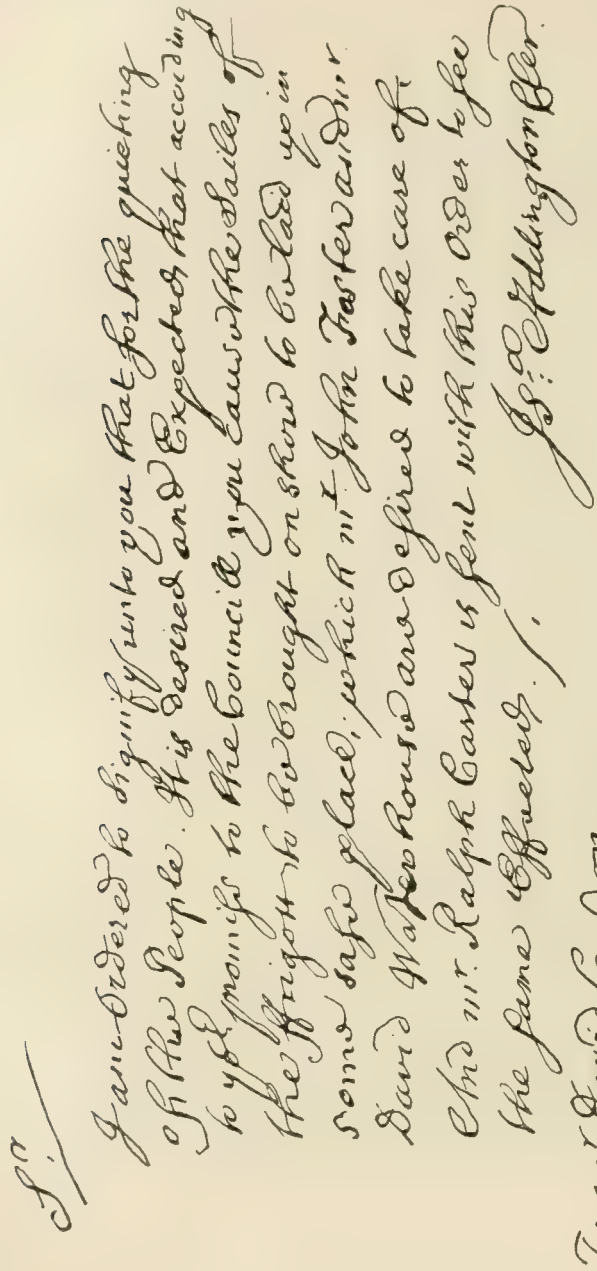
did demand the fort and the governor, who was loath to submit to them; but at length did come down, and was, with the gentlemen that were with him, conveyed to the Council-house, where Mr. Bradstreet and the rest of the gentlemen waited to receive him, — to whom Mr. Stoughton first spake, telling him he might thank himself for the



J. Nelson

[1] [This cut follows a photograph, kindly loaned by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of a portrait belonging to Mr. Henry Lloyd, of Lloyd's Neck, Long Island. The painting has an inscription which reads: "Aetatis Suæ, 78, 1732." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1879, p. 93.—ED.]

present disaster that had befallen him, etc. He was then confined for that night to Mr. John Usher's house, under strong guards, and the next day conveyed to the fort."

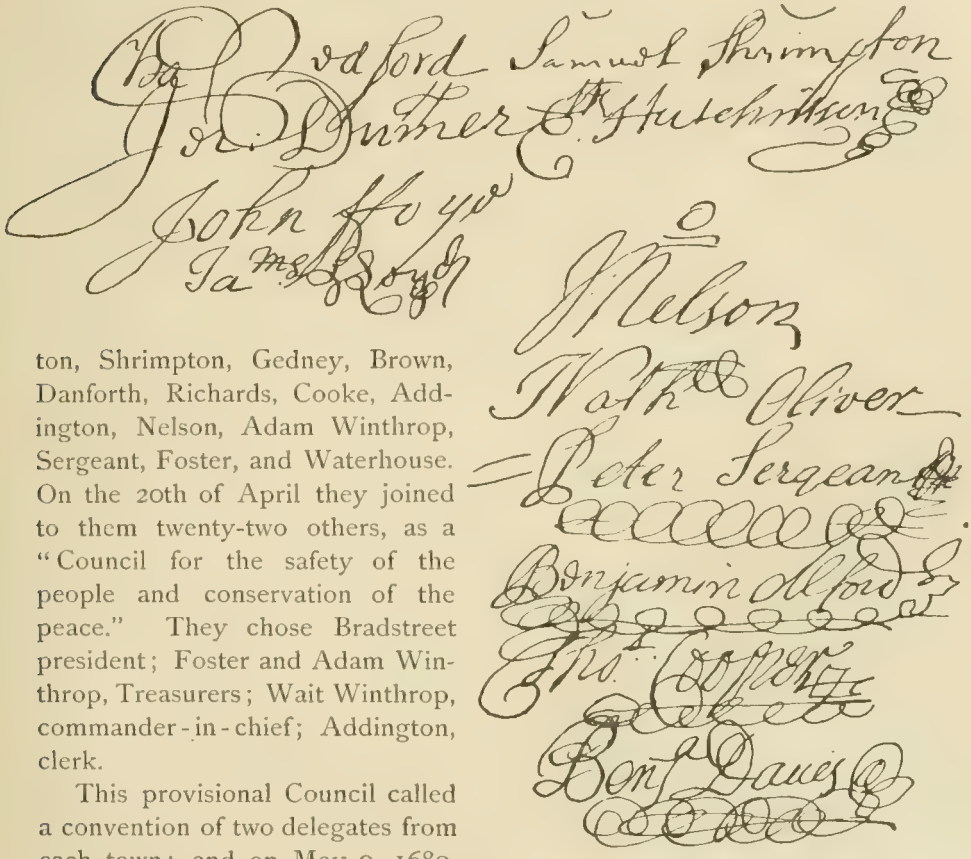


THE ORDER FOR THE FRIGATE'S SAILS.[1]

The next day the Castle was surrendered under an order extorted from Andros, and by agreement the "Rose" frigate struck her topmasts and sent her sails on shore.

[1] [This is copied from the original in the *Massachusetts Archives*, cvii. 2. — ED.]

Thus without the shedding of blood the overthrow of the government of Andros was effected. It may be inferred that the conspirators here were well assured that no other of the provinces lately ruled by Andros would interfere to replace him. A provisional government for Massachusetts Colony was therefore their only care. The fifteen gentlemen who met at the council chamber on the 18th were Wait Winthrop, Bradstreet, Stoughton, Shrimpton, Gedney, Brown, Danforth, Richards, Cooke, Addington, Nelson, Adam Winthrop, Sergeant, Foster, and Waterhouse. On the 20th of April they joined to them twenty-two others, as a "Council for the safety of the people and conservation of the peace." They chose Bradstreet president; Foster and Adam Winthrop, Treasurers; Wait Winthrop, commander-in-chief; Addington, clerk.



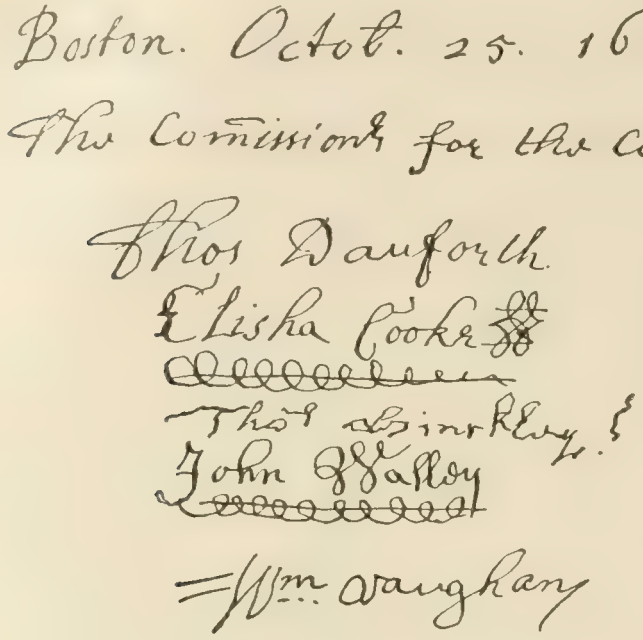
PETITIONERS, JUNE 10, 1689.[1]

This provisional Council called a convention of two delegates from each town; and on May 9, 1689, sixty-six members met. This convention held that the old charter was in force, and invited the old officers to assume office. This course being refused, they ordered a new convention which assembled on May 22, wherein fifty-four towns were represented. The old Governor, Bradstreet, and the Council of 1686, according to the renewed request of the towns, returned to office.

On May 26 the news of the accession of William and Mary reached here and caused the greatest joy. On June 5 a General Court was held at Boston, including a newly elected Lower House. It called upon the Council as before to assume the duties of magistrates, to which it agreed. The Lower

[1] [These are signatures to a petition to the authorities, that the "Rose" frigate may be restored to her Commander, Captain George. — Ed.]

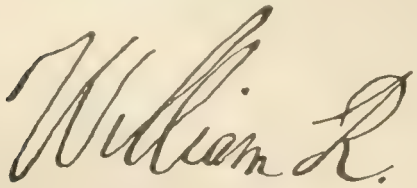
House brought charges against Andros, Dudley, Randolph, Palmer, West, Graham, Farwell, and Sherlock, and refused them bail. The Court adjourned July 13, 1689.



COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED COLONIES, 1689.

On December 3 Governor Bradstreet received orders from England giving authority to the persons in office to continue to administer the government until otherwise instructed. This was construed to mean a temporary restoration of the old charter, and elections were accordingly held under it. Orders[1] had also come to send Andros and his friends to England, whither they sailed in February, 1689–90.[2] The Colony at the same time sent over Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes to aid Increase Mather and Sir Henry Ashurst in maintaining the cause of the inhabitants.

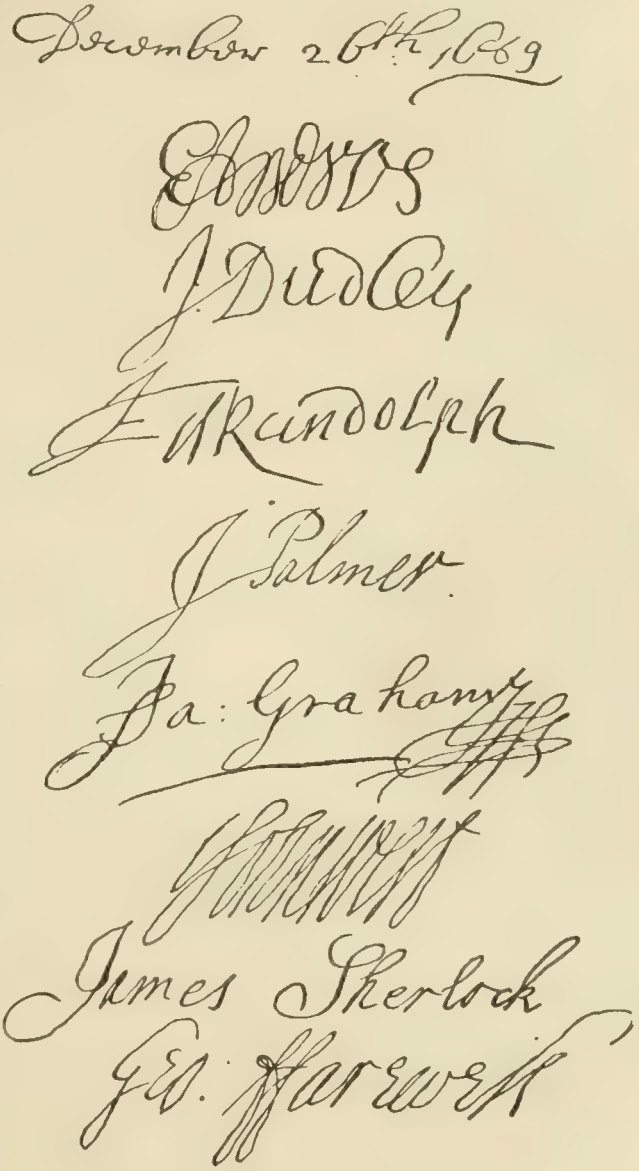
[1] [The order of the King requiring Andros to be sent to England is in the Cabinet of the Historical Society, and is printed in 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 711. The signature is herewith copied. — ED.]



[2] Although a true view of the character of Andros is not necessarily connected with our local history, it does seem fair to suggest that he has received scant justice from historians. He has stood for generations as the type of the oppressor, and the especial foe of this colony. But it may be urged on the other part that he was very far from being a Kirke, a Lauderdale, or a Claverhouse. No blood was shed by him, no unusually harsh punishment inflicted even according to our modern standard. He was undoubtedly desirous of protecting the colony from all foes, and he seems to have used his vast authority very moderately. The charges against him are simply puerile, except the main accusation that he meant to govern according to his commission and not the old charter. The charges broke down completely in England, and in 1692 Andros was appointed by King William to be Governor of Virginia. Here he ruled acceptably for six years; he returned to England, and died Feb. 27, 1713–14, aged 75 years, honored and respected.

We have thus brought the history of this period to a close so far as it relates to American affairs. It remains, therefore, to look at the events in England which affected this part of the world. The guiding hand in the negotiations at the English court was that of Increase Mather; and Boston has every reason to be proud of the work performed by him.

We do not intend to trace the early life of Increase Mather, but we may say that he had before this taken an active part in politics, by publicly advising, after the writ of *quo warranto* against the Charter had been issued, that the people should stand by their privileges. When therefore the inhabitants of Massachusetts sought a bold, honest, and able representative to make an effort for the restoration of their beloved Charter, Increase Mather was almost the sole name to occur to them for this high and important office. He consented to accept the charge, after obtaining the approval of his church.



PETITION FROM CASTLE ISLAND.[1]

Early in April, 1688, Mather, as has been stated, sailed for England, unprovided indeed with formal credentials, but still the representative of the greater portion

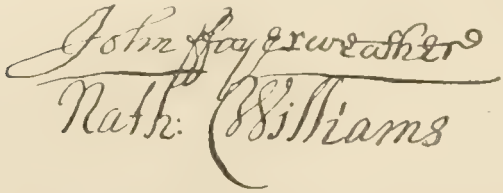
[1] [These signatures are from a letter of members of the Andros government confined at the Castle, asking that they may be sent to England in accordance with his Majesty's commands. They had addressed an earlier letter, Dec. 13, of the same purport. Palmer was Judge; Grahame and Farwell were king's attorneys; Sherlock was high sheriff. Captain Fayerweather

of the citizens of Massachusetts. He bore with him the Addresses of the churches, expressing their thanks for the Declaration of Indulgence recently granted by James II., and he was to lay before the King the complaints of the colonists against the administration of Andros. On May 25, 1688, he arrived at London, where the closing struggle between King James and his people had already begun. A week before the arrival of Mather, the seven bishops had signed the petition requesting the King to dispense with the distribution and reading of that Declaration of Indulgence for which such loyal thanks had been forwarded from New England. The position of the Agent was thus full of difficulties. On the one hand the King was still the controller of the fortunes of the Colony, and had perhaps earned its gratitude. On the other, it was patent to Mather that this royal favor had been shown against the wishes of the English people, was pronounced to be unconstitutional, and its acceptance might provoke a sharp retribution. His natural advisers, the English Dissenters, were disquieted and divided upon the subject.[1]

For a time some of the leading Dissenters were in favor of accepting the royal favor; and to this opinion Mather at first inclined, influenced perhaps by his friends Penn and Alsop. On May 30, 1688, he waited on the King with the Address of the congregations of New England, and a similar document from the inhabitants of Plymouth Colony. James heard them graciously, and promised the petitioners "a Magna Charta for Liberty of Conscience." Two days later Mather was again admitted into the King's closet, and then, in reply to a question, ventured to speak of Andros as an opponent of the Declaration.[2] Being instructed by James to commit to writing the matters wherein the Colony desired relief, he presented a petition on the 2d of July, which the King received courteously, and still promised his continued favor to New England.

Up to this time Mather had made no attempts to obtain a renewal of the old charter. He desired to check the progress of Episcopacy in Massachusetts, to obtain a favorable decision in regard to the titles of lands here to which the Crown made great though vague pretensions, and he may have hoped to procure the recall of Andros. These projects were not unreason-

was in command of the Castle, and the annexed autographs are from a paper in which he and his lieutenant bear testimony to the treatment that Andros and his friends had received at the



Castle. It is in the *Massachusetts Archives*, xxxv, 90, dated Jan. 24, 1689, and is printed in the *Andros Tracts*, i. 174. Fayerweather died in 1712. Sewall, ii. 344, makes honorable mention of him. — Ed.]

[1] Macaulay, in the seventh chapter of his History, has fully described the situation of these steadfast congregations, so recently the object of scorn and cruel persecution, now suddenly elevated to the rank of arbiter between the contending factions, and assiduously courted by both.

[2] [Mather's notes for this audience are preserved in the *Mather Papers*, vii. 12, in the Prince Library (see *Prince Catalogue*, p. 149), as well as his rough draught of "Matters of complaynt objected agt Sr Edmund Andros," presented later, Ibid, p. 150. The *Mather Papers* contain various other papers of this time. — Ed.]

able. The King indeed was apparently disposed to treat the colonists as his own especial tenants, and as proprietor of New York he had become, before his accession to the throne, familiar with American affairs.

For three months Mather forbore to seek another interview, though he neglected no opportunity to make friends among those who enjoyed the royal favor. His chief counsellor and associate was Sir Henry Ashurst, a wealthy baronet and member of Parliament, whose family had always been friendly to New England. In a short time William Penn, Lord Sunderland, the Earl of Melfort, and the terrible Jeffries were numbered among his patrons. Even Father Petre was said to be willing to speak a good word for New England. With such supporters the Agent seems to have become more ambitious in his views. He hoped now to regain the old charter; and to his pen may be fairly attributed the pamphlet entitled *New England Vindicated from the Aspersions of those who said that the Charter was taken away because the Colonists destroyed the manufactures and commerce of England*, which now appeared. On the 26th of September, and again on the 16th of October, the Agent had another interview with the King, and was regaled with more promises. For a time it seemed as if these promises would be kept, but on a false report of the downfall of the Prince's expedition the affair was stopped, and Mather then felt the falseness of his hopes, and preferred a final request to the Committee to have the Council in New England remodelled and made more efficient. Thus low had the hopes and expectations of the New England party fallen.

The reaction, however, was fated to be a speedy one. On Nov. 5, 1688, William landed at Torbay, and on Feb. 13, 1688–89, William and Mary were proclaimed.

Although Mather was not actively concerned in the conspiracy against James, he could not have been ignorant of what was intended. He was not a stranger in England, and he had cultivated intimate relations with the English Dissenters.[1]

He was now prepared to say that the congregations of New England prayed for the success of the Protestant religion, and would joyfully acknowledge William as their rightful king. On Jan. 2, 1688–89, the Dissenting ministers, following the Established clergy, and to the number of ninety or more, presented an Address as the others had done; and the fact that Mather reprinted these two addresses in his pamphlet entitled *The Miseries of New England*, warrants us in supposing that he accompanied his brethren.

On Jan. 9, 1688–89, Mather was favored with an interview with William, being introduced by Philip, Lord Wharton, "renowned as a distributor of Calvinistic tracts and a patron of Calvinistic divines." Wharton spoke earnestly, saying that the New Englanders asked not for money or men, but for their ancient privileges. The Prince replied that he intended to

[1] [A portrait of Mather was probably painted in England at this time, of which two different engravings were made, both reproduced in *Andros Tracts*, iii. p. xiii. — Ed.]

take the best care he could about it, and would so instruct his Secretary, Mr. Jephson. Lord Wharton then took Mather to the Secretary, and said to him: "Cousin, observe this gentleman; and whenever he comes to you, receive him as if I came myself." On Feb. 1, 1688–89, Abraham Kick wrote from the Hague to the Princess Mary in behalf of the New England colonists, begging her "to take the first opportunity to help them to the restoration of their ancient patent, privileges, and liberties."

At this time Mather must have made public his account of the *Miseries of New England by reason of an Arbitrary Government erected there under Sir Edmund Andros*, since a copy reached Boston in season to be printed before the end of the current year, which closed then on March 24, 1689. Nor did his exertions cease here; being informed by Mr. Jephson that a Circular Letter was to be sent to all the Plantations confirming the existing governments until further orders, Mather prevailed on the Secretary to present a remonstrance to the King, and succeeded in stopping the letters for New England. The date of the letters thus intercepted was Jan. 12, 1688–89. This prompt action separated New England from the other colonies, and from that time the question of its charters was an affair to be considered apart. But for Mather's dexterous intervention Andros would have been confirmed; and, as he proved afterward acceptable to the English Court, he would probably have remained to complete the consolidation of the Dominion of New England. It was indeed a turning-point in our national history.

Though now successful, the most delicate duties devolved upon Mather. William "had been bred a Presbyterian, and was from rational conviction a Latitudinarian;" and there was therefore no reason to fear that during his reign Popery or Prelacy would be forced upon New England. But religious liberty was not her only desire, — the restoration of that Charter was her dearest wish; and that Charter was an offence in the eyes of all parties in England. William was not ready to make concessions which had been condemned and cancelled by his predecessors. Mather, at an interview, March 14, 1688–89, endeavored to secure the royal favor; but the King significantly replied: "I believe they are a good people, but I doubt there have been irregularities in their government."

The King promised to recall Andros; and on Feb. 26, 1688–89, he proposed to send two commissioners to act until a new charter should be prepared. In the mean time, before the tidings of His Majesty's intentions could reach them, the colonists, as we have seen, had taken the decision into their own hands, and the news reached London toward the end of June. On July 4, 1689, Mather had another interview with the King, who then approved the action of the colonists; and on the 12th of August a royal letter was addressed to Massachusetts, ratifying the assumption of government there for the time being.

Mather was not meanwhile regardless of the great power of Parliament to assist in restoring the Charter. The Convention Parliament was still in

session, and, by advice of his friends, Mather procured a vote of the House of Commons "that the taking away of the New England charters was a grievance, and that they should be restored." A section to this effect was inserted in the Corporation Bill. This step was gained before Parliament took a recess on Aug. 20, 1689.

Besides these appeals Mather sought to enlist the sympathies of the public, and printed a third essay,— *The Present State of New England*, etc. — licensed July 30, 1689, in which he gave an account of a prosperous colony as developing under the old charter. Soon after this, probably after the reassembling of Parliament on the 19th of October, a *Reply to the Vindication* was published, which set forth the impropriety of including the New England charters in the Corporation Bill. This controversy and the hopes of the Agent were terminated by the fate of the main bill, from which the most important clauses were stricken out; and Parliament was prorogued on Jan. 27, 1689–90, to be formally dissolved a few days later.

Toward the end of 1689 the opponents of the Charter had begun to make themselves heard. Byfield[1] and another writer had published in England the colonists' version of the overthrow of Andros, which had been accomplished not without some discontent. The Episcopalians of Boston sent to England a strong remonstrance, and so did citizens in Charlestown and settlers in Maine. Gershom Bulkeley published a pamphlet to show that the new government was illegal. Palmer, one of the ablest of Andros's adherents, prepared in prison a defence of the late government, which found a printer in the distant colony of Pennsylvania, and was doubtless freely circulated even in Boston.

We may imagine that by the beginning of the year 1690 all these remonstrances had reached London; and early in the year Andros, Dudley, and several others of their party were sent thither by command of the King. Mather and Ashurst, now recognized as Agents by the restored government of New England, received as colleagues Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes. Very little progress, however, was made during the year toward fulfilling the wishes of the colonists. Mather says that he made "some essays to see if, by a writ of error in judgment, the case of the Massachusetts Colony might be brought out of Chancery into the King's Bench;" but this was "defeated by a surprising Providence," as Mather called what was most likely a division in the councils of the Agents. Elisha Cooke was for the old charter or none at all, and Oakes joined with him. Mather and Ashurst were in favor of making the best terms possible. The disputes between these four had gone so far that Cooke and Oakes would not sign the articles preferred against Andros before the Privy Council, April 17, 1690, and the

[1] [Byfield's account of the *Late Revolution in New England* is in the *Andros Tracts*, and also in the *Historical Magazine*, January, 1862. — Ed.]

prosecution fell through on that ground. Hard words were exchanged, Mather saying that the Earl of Monmouth told him "that they had cut the throat of their country in not signing," and Cooke alleging the advice of Sir John Somers in defence of his conduct. A false rumor was circulated that Cooke and Oakes said "that they could have saved the old charter if it had not been for Mather, and that he had betrayed his country."

Cooke continued an opponent to the end, and refused to take any steps toward obtaining a new charter; but the others decided to trust to the kindness of the King. The Earl of Monmouth presented their request, and it was referred to the two Lord-Chief-Justices, Holt and Pollexfen, the Attorney-General Treby, and the Solicitor-General Somers, with whom Mather was on friendly terms. He was present at the consultations at which the new charter was prepared; and the report, having been submitted to the King, was forwarded to the Committee for Trade and Plantations on Jan. 1, 1690–91.

In 1690 the able attack upon Mather, entitled *New England's Faction Discovered*, was published. After the unconditional release of Andros in April, his friends seem to have been active and eloquent in opposing a re-grant of a charter to Massachusetts. Palmer issued a reprint of his *Defence*, wisely expunging the Scriptural arguments which were specially adapted to a New England audience. These two writers not only praised the conduct of Andros, but skilfully displayed the feebleness of his successors in the government. In reply to them, Mather undoubtedly published his *Vindication of New England*,[1] containing the first petition of the Episcopalians of Boston. Soon after, the Government of Massachusetts put forth their statement entitled *The Revolution in New England Justified, and the People there Vindicated*, and the accompanying *Narrative of the Proceedings of Andros*, by several of his Council. Indeed, the latter pamphlet, dated at Boston, Feb. 4, 1690–91, refers especially to "such untrue Accounts as that which goes under the name of Capt. John Palmer's, and that scandalous Pamphlet entitled *New England's Faction Discovered*, supposed to be written by an Implacable Enemy [Randolph] of all good men, and a person that for Impudence and Lying has few Equals in the World." Lastly, to the pen of some friend of the Agents we may attribute the pamphlet called *The Humble Address of the Publicans of New England*, with its insinuations that the second petition of the Episcopalians was intended for whichever King might succeed, and that their protestations of loyalty were worthless. As we have seen, the matter of the new charter was in the hands of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, and Mather was busy in securing the interest of all who might aid him. He published a paper of *Reasons for the Confirmation of Charter Privileges;* he gained the support of such Nonconformist ministers as had influence with noblemen; he specially obtained the good offices of Archbishop Tillotson and

[1] [This is included in the *Andros Tracts*, ii. 21, following a copy without title. The copy in Harvard College Library has a title. — Ed.]

Bishop Burnet. Finally, on April 9, 1691, he was granted an interview with the Queen, in which Her Majesty displayed her usual kindness of heart, and promised to use her influence with the King in behalf of the colony.

In April, William, having been absent in Holland, returned to England for a fortnight, and Mather was favored with two interviews, in which he presented addresses from the General Court, and from a number of London merchants, and urged the difference between New England and the other colonies.

In preparing the new charter, the first question was whether the colonists should make their own laws and appoint their own officers, or there should be a governor appointed by the Crown, who should have the power of vetoing laws. The King decided for a royal governor, but avoided a direct decision of the question as to the veto power. Mather soon became involved in disputes with the Lords of the Council, who evidently intended that the governor should have the veto power; while Mather strenuously endeavored to persuade them to adopt a plan which the Attorney-General, Treby, had drawn up at his solicitation, and by which the governor had not this power in any case. Mather protested to the ministers that he would sooner part with his life than consent to their plan, or to "anything that might infringe any liberty or privilege that justly belonged to his country." Their significant reply was, "that nobody expected or desired his consent; that they did not look on the Agents from New England as plenipotentiaries from another sovereign state; but that if they declared that they would not submit unto the King's pleasure, His Majesty would settle the country as he pleased, and they were to take what would follow." The irrepressible Agent, however, continued to protest, and persuaded his friends at court, and even the Queen, to write to the King, now in Flanders, asking either that his plan might be adopted, or that the charter might be delayed until the King's return to England. Believing that he had thus secured a respite, Mather went to recruit his health "to the Waters," — probably to the fashionable resort at Bath; but he was quickly recalled by the news that the King had, on the 10th of August, signified his approval of the Council's plan of a charter. Mather now tried to obtain all possible concessions in the details. He succeeded in having the territories of Nova Scotia, Maine, and Plymouth annexed to Massachusetts, but failed in having New Hampshire also included. He had the form of oaths amended to suit his views, and obtained the addition of a most important clause confirming all grants made by the General Court, notwithstanding any defect which there might be in form of conveyance. The new charter, thus framed and amended, was signed on Oct. 7, 1691.

Here ended the labors of Mather as Agent for Massachusetts. On the 4th of November he waited on His Majesty to thank him for the charter, and to notify him that the Agents united in recommending that Sir William

Phips should be appointed governor. On March 7, 1691–92, Mather and the newly commissioned governor left London; and on the twenty-ninth sailed from Plymouth, under convoy of the "Nonesuch" frigate, for Boston, where they arrived May 14, 1692.

William H. Whitmore

CHAPTER II.

THE ROYAL GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS. — MASSACHUSETTS DIPLOMACY IN LONDON. — BOSTON A VICE-ROYALTY: ITS COURT AND CHURCH.

BY GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS,
Vice-President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

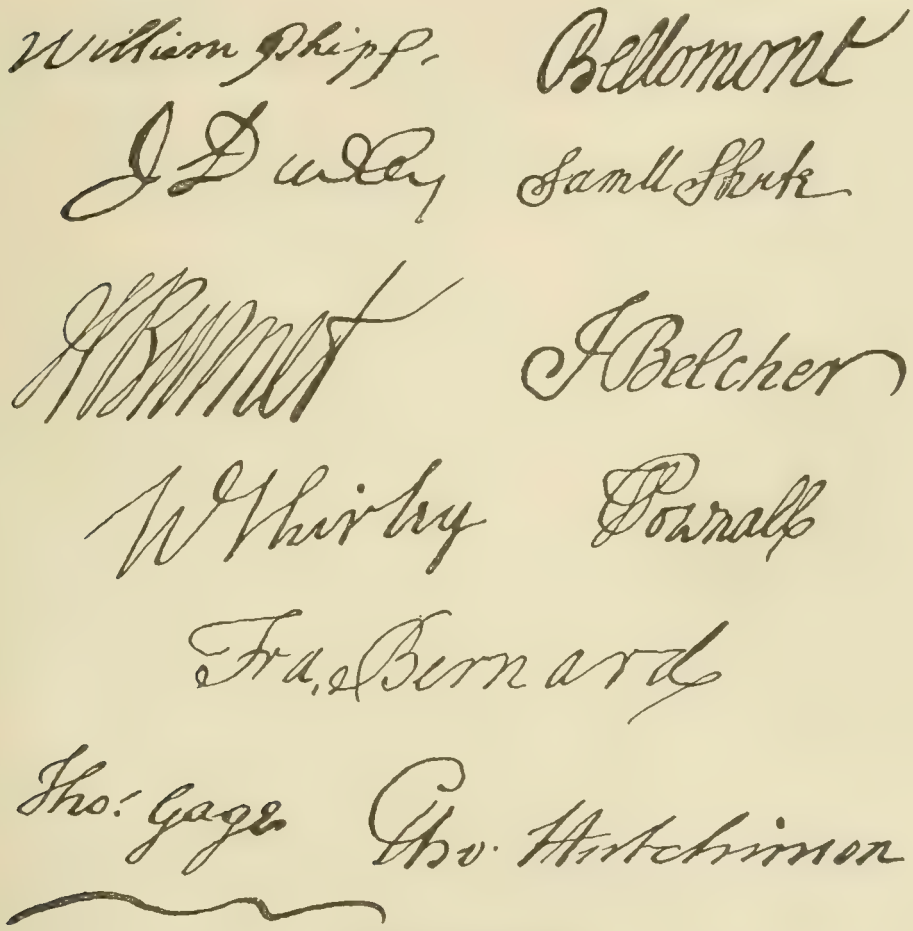
OF all the colonies planted by subjects of the Crown of Great Britain on the four continents and many islands of the globe, not one has ever revolted from the authority of the parent country except those thirteen in North America, — Massachusetts being the leader, — which in due time asserted and achieved their independence. The causes, methods, and agencies which brought about that result, and the instigating motives which prompted and guided it, are to be traced in their spring and workings through the period in our history between 1692 and 1774, during which the government of Massachusetts was administered by officials commissioned by the Crown. Had that *régime* been instituted from the first planting of the colony, instead of having been substituted for a previous one quite unlike it, it is conceivable that the result might have been different in time or circumstance. The fact that previous to the exercise of a direct royal sway over Massachusetts it had, under a different form of government, substantially anticipated the independence which it afterward achieved, prejudiced and perilled at the start the interposition of its authority by the Crown. The people who for two generations had been practised in self-government, constituted an unpromising constituency for the experiment of a foreign rule over them. It is also conceivable that the revolt of Massachusetts might never have occurred, or would, if ever effected, have been brought about quite otherwise as to time and circumstances, if she had been left to retain and exercise the form of self-government enjoyed under her colonial charter. There were party divisions and struggles, sometimes very passionate ones, developed between her two bodies of legislature and executive. There were many persons, some of them quite influential in place and means, who found causes of disaffection and antagonism in the state of affairs, in the usages and traditionary principles of the administration of the colony, and who were restive under the stern, hard sway of what still survived of the old Theocracy. The mother country might really have exercised more authority and

have retained more deference from her subjects here, had she been regarded simply as a resource for appeal, arbitration, or mediating and reconciling interference between parties who could not always manage their affairs successfully when left wholly to themselves, than she could have hoped to do by an assertion of absolute power over them. Then, too, the risks to which the colony was for a century and a half so calamitously exposed in warfare with the French and their Indian allies, might naturally have induced her wiser magistrates to keep themselves under a due allegiance to the King, that they might have a claim on his aid. It is idle, however, to speculate at any length upon what might have happened under certain circumstances had not the continuity of their course been broken by the interposition of a radical change in them. There is an episode in our history dividing two periods,—the earliest and the present one of our government by ourselves,—in which we were brought under a direct subjection of legislative, executive, and judicial authority to the mother country. This is the theme of the following pages.

From the date, when, in 1692, the monarchs of Great Britain assumed the responsibility of selecting governors and other officials for Massachusetts, till the period in 1774–75, when the revolting Province concluded to dispense with them, eleven such chief magistrates had received the royal commission. Their names, in order, are Sir William Phips, Richard Earl of Bellomont, Joseph Dudley, Samuel Shute, William Burnet, Jonathan Belcher, William Shirley, Thomas Pownall, Sir Francis Bernard, Thomas Hutchinson, and General Thomas Gage. Between Dudley and Shute's administrations a commission as governor had been issued to Colonel Elisha Burgess. This he sold for a thousand pounds paid him by the friends of Shute. In temporary vacancies of the chair, William Stoughton, William Tailer, William Dummer, and Thomas Hutchinson were successively qualified to occupy it, having been commissioned as Lieutenant-Governors. Of the eleven Governors just named, only ten really exercised here their full functions, or left tokens of their authority in our legislation. General Gage, for three good reasons, is hardly to be recognized as one of our governors. He had been sent here as a temporary substitute for Hutchinson, who it was intended should return from England to resume his office after making report at Court. Gage was avowedly appointed rather with reference to military than civil functions; and he never really governed, as his authority from the first was thwarted and set at nought. Even as a military officer Gage was so soon superseded by General Howe, that, except as bearing the first shock of the bloody conflict, there is but little mark of him in our history.

Ten royal Governors, then, were recognized as having authority in Massachusetts, and put their names to acts of legislation with the other branches of our Provincial government,—the style being changed with the new charter, from "the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay" to "the Governor, Council, and Representatives convened in General Assembly."

If these Crown officials had been of the very best and wisest among men, considerate of the local and traditional prepossessions, prejudices, and usages of those whom they were to govern, tentative, gentle, and deferential in the exercise of authority; and if they had even subordinated their obligations to advance the supposed interests of the Crown for the sake of a temporizing policy of humoring a self-willed people, — there would hardly



THE ROYAL GOVERNORS.[1]

have been a sensible relief of the shock caused by their presence and administration here. Among the parallelisms which the Puritan colonists had fondly traced between their own providential mission and guidance and those of the " chosen people " of old, they had loved to dwell in their prayers and occasional sermons upon their enjoyment of the privilege emphasized by the Hebrew prophet, of choosing " their governor from the midst of them " (Jer. xxx. 21). Four of their ten royal Governors were, indeed, natives, and of their own stock; and their own foremost divine and politician, Increase

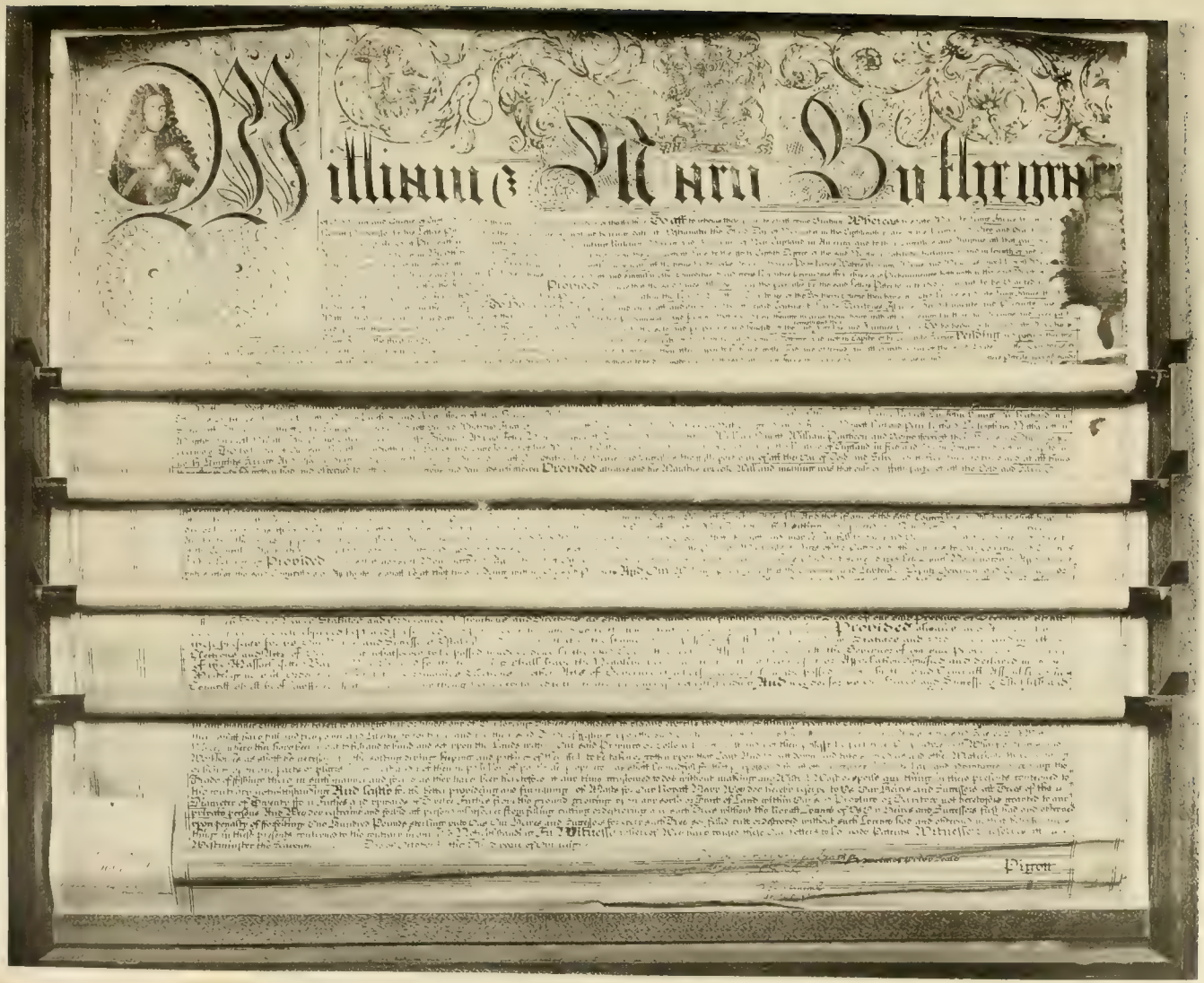
[1] [The seals of the Governors are given in *Heraldic Journal*, i. and ii. — Ed.]

Mather, had been considerately allowed the favor of proposing the first of them. But, none the less, it was by kingly prerogative and not by popular election that these chief magistrates, with others, came into power. The change was a radical one, and it covered possibilities of much more.

Through these Crown officials a foreign government, with its own distinct and often rival interests, had a representation and a sway here such as it had never had before. The reader must find elsewhere general and detailed statements of the changes wrought in the constitution and administration of the government by the substitution of the Provincial for the Colonial charter. They need only to be summarily repeated here. Massachusetts, no longer retaining its individuality, was a part of a province which included the old Plymouth Colony, Maine and Nova Scotia and the lands between them, except New Hampshire. The governor and lieut.-governor were to be appointed and commissioned by the king. In a legislature of two Houses, a popular branch was to be composed of delegates or representatives from the towns (of which there were seventy-five, — seventeen of these being in the old Colony of Plymouth), and a council of twenty-eight (the first members of it having been designated by the king) were to be nominated by the representatives, subject, however, to rejection by the Governor, who also might veto bills passed by the Court. Laws approved by him after their enactment were suspended in their full force for three years, dependent for that period upon the allowance of the king. Judicial officers were to be chosen by the Governor and Council. The General Court held the power of the purse. There was a right of appeal to the English courts, limited to cases considerable in amount.[1]

It should be recognized here that by no means all the people of the colony, especially those whose homes and interests were identified with Boston, were of one mind as regarded the change in the government. Even of those born of the native stock, and most concerned in its local relations, there was no inconsiderable portion, in position and influence, who avowedly or secretly welcomed that change. The rule of the old *régime* had been to some, stern, oppressive, and arbitrary; the clerical and ecclesiastical, the domestic and social espionage had become offensive and irritating. What the lovers of the old ways mourned over as a decay of piety and morality indicated a preference and welcome by others of a relaxed rigidness. And while we distinctly trace the influence of such restiveness among descendants of the Puritan stock, we have to allow for the presence and activity here of a vigorous and unsympathizing class, who, as concerned in trade, or brought here as military and naval officers, soldiers, and sailors during the chronic warfare against the French and their Indian allies, identified their sympathies and interests with the old home, and so were in accord with the assertion here of the royal authority.

[1] [A heliotype of the charter of William and Mary, which united Plymouth with Massachusetts, and instituted the line of royal Governors, is herewith given. The negative was made, by the kind permission of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, from the original which hangs on its several rollers beside the Colonial charter in the office of the Secretary at the State House.—Ed.]



Massachusetts Provincial Charter, 1691.

But after yielding the fullest reasonable admission as to the number and weight of those in the community to whom the newly instituted government might be indifferent or preferable, we can hardly overstate the repugnance, the melancholy regret, the dismay and apprehension of possible contingent losses and evils which the prostration of self-government brought with it to the larger and the more homogeneous elements of the people of Boston. Of the sadness of feeling, of the fond recalling of the past, and the painful retrospects and visions of the future connected with it, the Journal of Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall presents many plaintive reminders. Though he filled honored places under the new government, and shared the most intimate social intercourse and privileges with the representatives of the Crown, he was never in heart reconciled to the change; and before he went, in full years, to the tomb, which he had previously filled with his large family, he felt that the glory had departed from his Israel. The dismay and anxiety which had attended the unsettled interval of the eight years previous to the setting up of the second charter, the exhaustion, poverty, and depression which had disheartened the whole community in a continuous warfare with the French and Indians on sea and land were, indeed, somewhat relieved by the re-establishment of security and order. Yet it would hardly be worth the while to offset the general sorrow for the loss of the old charter by any encouragement or hope which those of the native stock could find in the new organic disposal of them and their interests. Any one who attempts to trace the springs, the occasions, and the directing forces of the revolt which, in less than three quarters of a century afterward, prepared the way for our independence, cannot find his clew a year short of the date when the former self-governed Colony of Massachusetts Bay became a Royal Province. To those who in lineage, sentiment, and habit represented, in the full maturity of active life, the first planters on the soil, the experience might be compared to that of a man in the vigor of two or three score years, who had not even in his nonage been subject to another, and who had felt no crisis of increased freedom when the law made him his own master, and who should find himself then suddenly put under guardianship, as unsound or imbecile. Birthright privileges, with their wonted exercise, the elastic spirit of full manhood, with all the fond associations and usages which had strengthened through two full generations, were rudely arrested. Festerings of discontented feeling from the first experience of the change indicated a constant contrasting of the new dispensation of things with the cherished remembrances of the past. There was a manifestation of something more and worse than awkwardness in the effort at adaptation and conformity with changed habits and rules. These frettings and retrospects would not allow the memory of a previous independence to fade into a mere tradition, but kept it latent as in full vigor of spirit. Under a forced repression it manifested itself in a seldom intermitted, and often in a resisting and pugnacious opposition to the advice and commands of the representatives of the Crown, even when they spoke by positive instructions from the monarch. Even

the most considerate and judicious of the royal Governors — as Shirley and Pownall — found it a most ungracious task to reinspire loyalty and a regard for foreign, disused, and discredited precedents into the breasts of those who for two generations had enjoyed a wild growth of independency. The people had learned that the most agreeable and the least objectionable way of being governed was that of governing themselves. Very naturally this feeling was cherished most strongly among the free husbandmen who lived most remote from Boston, and who were wholly removed from the wiles of royal officials and mere traders. There are marked tokens of this survival and exercise of the full spirit of the old independence in the country members of the House of Representatives. Indeed, the assertion of it broke the previous allowed usage by which towns might be represented by non-residents, and required that their representatives should be chosen from among their own townsmen.

We are led to ask, What were the qualifications of a royal Governor of Massachusetts? — what sort of a man was required; and what kind of service was he expected to render, directly to the Crown or indirectly to the people over whom he was set? We may dispose summarily of the matter last suggested, for it can hardly be conceived that the real welfare and prosperity of the colony, or the benefit or gratification of its inhabitants, was to any considerable extent had in view in the new form of government. Four of the ten Governors, — Phips, Dudley, Belcher, and Hutchinson, — as has been said, were natives of New England, and may be supposed to have been commissioned to office by the king because of that fact, and the inference that they would best understand the interests of the Province, and would be most acceptable in humoring the feelings of its people. But of these Phips, Dudley, and Hutchinson proved to be the least successful and the most odious in their administration, and the least happy in their personal experience in office. Neither one of the whole ten found the office in its conditions or in its discharge to be an agreeable one; no one of them had a wholly placid administration, or escaped being made a subject of complaints sent over to the king. It is to be borne in mind, as a key to all our history as a dependency of the realm of England, that the relation itself was in fact unsubstantial, undefined, unintelligible, and therefore practically unmanageable and unreal. There was no foundation for it in the necessities of the case or in the reason of things. We did not *need* to have a governor and other officials sent to us from across the water, as we had passed the most critical period of exposure, and had firmly rooted our prosperity by our own resources, by native talents, and statesmanship. Amid their earliest risks and straits and perils the colonists had scrupulously and proudly exercised their utmost caution as to allowing any foreign intervention in their affairs, or being beholden for any royal favor beyond that of the old charter. Generally with a formal courtesy, but sometimes with a stiff and complacent assurance, they had signified, when challenged or threatened as to their doings, that they understood and felt perfectly capable of managing their

own affairs, while their friends in the Old World must necessarily be quite uninformed about them. There was no good reason to be given why the local legislation of a competent representative body of the people, well practised in the business, should be transmitted to England, act by act, to await, while in temporary force for three years, the royal approval or disallowance. Neither our security nor our prosperity required anything of the sort. If, beginning with the day of hard, small things, the exiles to this wilderness and their children, by their own toil and wisdom, at their own cost and risk, without ever asking guidance or assistance from England, and always repudiating its interference, had succeeded in establishing here a flourishing Commonwealth, tested by sixty years of trial, what possible emergency or use could, at the end of that period, call for the interposition and supremacy here of Crown officials? The appliance was supererogatory; it was meddlesome, and necessarily mischievous. Of course, this is from the point of view of those most concerned in the matter.

This fundamental fact that we did not need and had no use for royal Governors makes it very difficult for us to conceive, from our point of view, what sort of men were suited to fill an office for which there was no call and no functions. The office, then, and those who were to fill it were to be judged and estimated in intent and qualifications solely with regard to the purposes and interests of the foreign administration. From the king's point of view it was plain that the office was needed as a sort of guardianship over the colonists, to bring them into an allegiance such as they had really never recognized, and to turn them to some better account of interest or profit to the realm than they had heretofore served. Such being the exactions of the office, men were needed to fill it who would uphold the prerogatives of the Crown; who would put themselves into a firm attitude against what might be regarded as disloyal or having a tendency to independence. The more satisfactorily and effectually high officials would serve those ends was the first consideration in their commission. Then, in the second place, no doubt the more amiably and discreetly this could be done with regard to the people to be governed, the better would the official be suited to his place. The temptation, of course, would be the beguilement of weak and complaisant men into officious and calculating subservience to the appointing power. An eye to personal emolument might doubtless be kept open by some who sought the office. Royal officials in the West Indies were in several cases enriched by the use alike of fair and unfair opportunities. But the wool here was too short for plucking.

We may next ask, What were the attractions of the office of a Provincial Governor of Massachusetts, offering inducements for seeking and exercising it? No one who had it proffered to him seems to have declined it, though it does not appear that there was ever much zeal or pressure manifested in any rivalry to obtain it. Probably Colonel Burgess, who sold out his commission for the consideration of a thousand pounds before he had assumed his government, realized more direct profit from it than did any one who administered

the office. There might have been attached to it hopes and prospects, which however were never fulfilled, of rewards and fees and official dignities. Possibly Governor Hutchinson, — but if he, only he, — through the business operations of his relatives, as Bancroft calls him "a smuggler," turned his royal offices to profit. All the other Governors professed that they were impoverished by the trust. Probably no one of them found satisfaction in the discharge of it, or, in yielding it up, failed to regret having ever held it. The superfluousness and unreality of the Crown prerogative here affected all who were concerned in it. Cotton Mather, a good judge in the case, in a letter to Richards, wrote truly, "Massachusetts had proved a burdensome stone, and a break-neck unto them that have sought the ruin of it." And this "seeking the ruin of it" was simply synonymous with the doing anything to cross the will of the people in advising and acting for themselves.

Nearly all of the ten royal Governors, together with all the other burdens of office, had on their hands the conduct, in whole or in part, of one of the five great conflicts and struggles under which the almost continuous warfare with the French and their Indian allies is parted out and distributed, for the sake of distinguishing its stages, or its more signal encounters and disasters. Those of the Governors who had not a prominent part in these campaigns, as well as those most heavily tasked by them, had each a full equivalent in some special vexation or controversy springing from his representation of royal authority over a people who fretted under it, and in heart felt that they ought to be wholly free of it. These specific vexations and controversies were somewhat fairly distributed among the successive chief magistrates set over an unwilling and restive people; but they finally crowded all together upon the last two of them, — Bernard and Hutchinson. The chief of the larger of these matters of contention and bickering had reference to the King's command that his subjects in Massachusetts should settle a liberal and regular salary on his Governor. This, his said subjects decided from the first that they would not do; and notwithstanding all the pleading and cajoling, the advising and the commanding and the threatening, they never did do it. The implication was that the officer in question, being the King's servant, ought to look to his master for his wages. As the people did not want him, had no use for him, and would at any time have gladly been rid of him, it seemed to them a piece of clear effrontery in him to read to them the royal instructions that those wages should be paid from their treasury. Yet so strangely do the development of circumstances and the change in the relations of things alter the matters and the phases of controversy, that it came about that one of the last of the quarrels between the Governor and the aforesaid subjects concerned the fact that the King did undertake to pay wages to his Governor. The subjects then protested against it. What right, they asked, had the King to keep in his pay an officer here to intermeddle with our affairs, while we were perfectly willing to compensate him according to our own judgment for any appreciable service performed by him? Between that first and that last phase of the

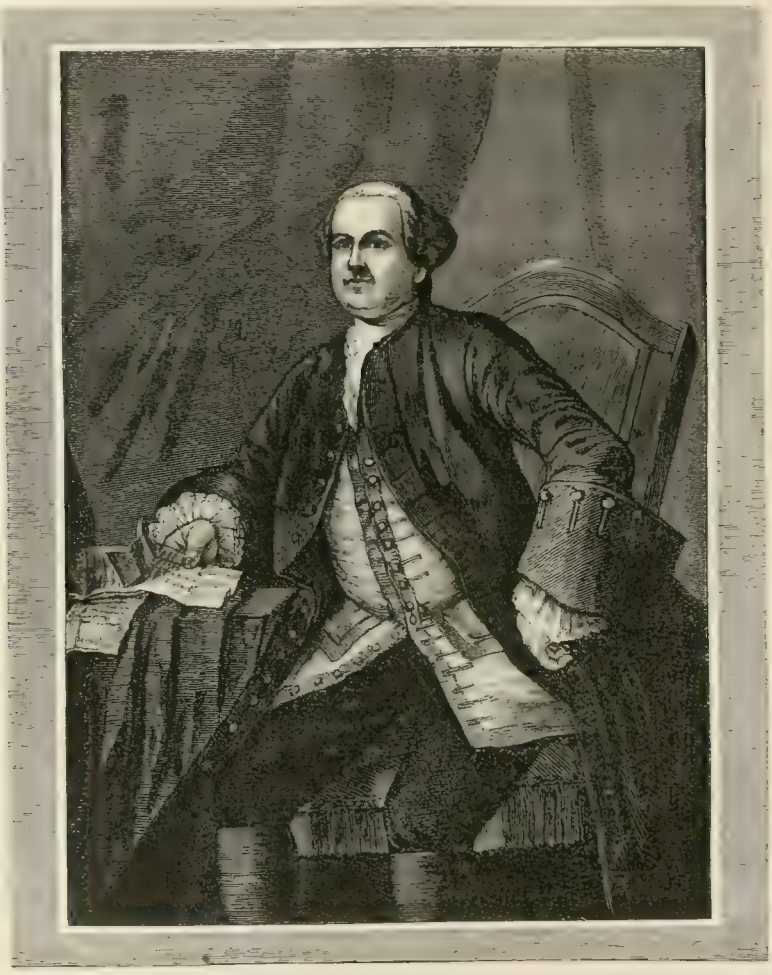
controversy about a salary came in such matters of contention as these, — the assumed right of the royal Governor to negative the choice of a Speaker by the House of Representatives; his right or theirs as to adjournment and the selection of a place other than Boston for holding the legislature; as to the appointment of days for Fasting and Thanksgiving; as to matters regulating the currency; as to the calling of military officers to account, and auditing their disbursements; as to the right of the Governor to quarter troops on the town, or in the Castle, etc.

These are some of the specific points of contention and alienation, by which successively, in changing issues but in ever increasing aggravations of temper, the King's governors were compelled to stand for his prerogative while the people stood for theirs. The story is an exciting one, and the moral which runs through it is that it concerns a forced and unsuccessful arrest of the independency in government with which Massachusetts began, and with the renewed assertion of which she triumphed in her long preliminary struggle with the Crown and Ministry of Great Britain, — first, as it was phrased, for the rights of Englishmen, and then for the fuller immunities and independence of men.

Only with brevity can we now rehearse the successive administrations of the ten acting royal Governors of this Province.

The most picturesque and remarkable in character and personal fortune of all these royal functionaries was the first of them, Sir William Phips, — a characteristic product of the New England soil, times, and ways. Hutchinson thus briefly and fitly designates him: "He was an honest man; but by a series of fortunate incidents, rather than by any uncommon talents, he rose from the lowest condition in life to be the first man in the country." Let us trace him between those extremes. William Phips — it is noteworthy under the circumstances that he had a Christian or a given name, instead of being designated by a number — was one of twenty-one *sons* and of twenty-six children of the same mother, born to James Phips, a blacksmith, or gunsmith, who was an early settler in the woods of Maine, near the mouth of the Kennebec. The tale about this excess of children is told by Cotton Mather, who had means of correct information where his love of the marvellous did not mislead him. But records and history are dumb as to any fact about the most of these scions of a fruitful parentage other than that of their having been born. William having come to the light, Feb. 2, 1651, was left in early childhood without a father. What the mother's task was, in poverty, with hard wilderness surroundings of bears, wolves, and savages, we may well imagine. Her famous son, untaught and ignorant, tended sheep till he was eighteen years of age. Then he helped to build coasters, and sailed in them. This was at the time and afterward a most thriving business, the foundation of fortunes to rugged and enterprising men born in indigence. A good story of the period illustrates the activity and profit of ship-building on the Maine coast. A skipper had appeared from there

at an English port with cargoes, in three successive years respectively, in a schooner, a brig, and finally a large ship. On being rallied about the rapid increase of his vessel, as if it had grown while crossing the seas, he replied that they built ship-stuff down east in lengths, and sawed sections of it off at pleasure, according to the voyage! Young Phips had early visions of suc-



SIR WILLIAM PHIPS.[1]

[1] [This portrait is, by his kind permission, taken from a painting belonging to the Honorable Francis B. Hayes, which this gentleman acquired from the collection of the late Thomas Thompson, by whom it was held to be a portrait of Phips. The manuscript in his hand is marked on the painting "W. P." Its further history is not given. An alleged likeness of Phips on a dilapidated canvas was for some years in this city in the possession of Miss E. B. Blackstone, but is now believed to be in Bangor. (See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, November, 1870, and February, 1876.) The authenticity of this last is doubted in *Sewall Papers*, i. 204. The *Heraldic Journal*, i. 47, 152, says that the arms now to be seen on a tomb in the old burying ground at Charlestown, marked "David Wood, 1762," are those of Phips, to whom the tomb originally belonged. Phips's Life is one of those given by Cotton Mather in the *Magnalia;* and Professor Francis Bowen has in later years contributed one to Sparks's *American Biography*. — ED.]

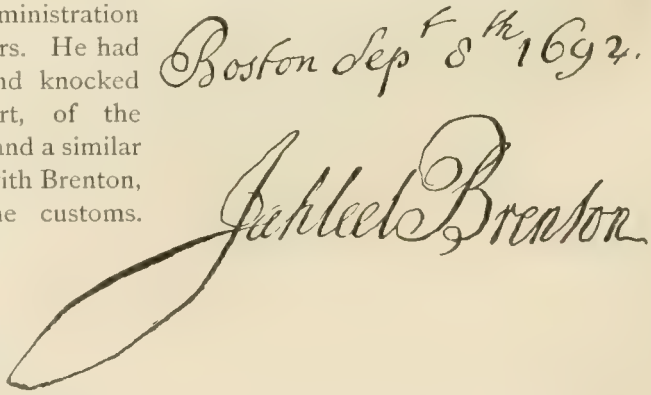
cess and greatness. He came to Boston in 1673, at the age of twenty-two, worked at his trade, and learned for the first time to read, and also to do something that passed for writing. He married a widow, older than himself, who had had property, but had lost much of it. They suffered straits together; but he used to comfort her with the assurance that they would yet have "a fair brick house in the Green Lane of North Boston." And so they did. That "Green Lane" became Charter Street, when, in 1692, he came back as Sir William Phips from the Court of London, bringing the Province Charter as the first Governor under it. Many citizens still living will remember his "fair brick house," as it long served as an Asylum for boys at the corner of Salem and Charter streets.[1]

But a strange, wild, daring, and romantic interval of adventure preceded his honors and his wealth. He wrought at intervals in Maine, and here, as a ship-carpenter, sailed as a lumberer and coaster, and engaged in expeditions against the Indians. In 1684, — a dark time for Massachusetts, — his visions took in a search in the waters of the Spanish main for a treasure-ship known to be sunken there. Going to London, he had the address so to commend himself to the Admiralty and James II. as to obtain the use and command of an eighteen-gun ship of ninety-five men. Possibly the king entrusted to him, besides the search for the sunken treasure, some other business on the high seas of a sort not to be entered on papers. A two years' cruise in the West Indies, in which he showed a most signal intrepidity, heroism, and ingenuity of resource in suppressing a mutinous crew, was unsuccessful, except in acquainting him, through an old Spaniard, near Port de la Plata, of the precise spot where a treasure-laden galleon had foundered nearly fifty years before. He returned to England for a new outfit. The king favored him, but not with another war-ship. The Duke of Albemarle and others, as associates, provided him with a vessel on shares. The hero had heroic success. Espying the rock-imbedded prize, deep in the clear waters, he fished up its bullion ballast to the value of more than a million and a half of dollars in gold and silver, and also diamonds, precious stones and other treasures. His own share in the proceeds was about a hundred thousand dollars. To this was added the honor of knighthood, and a gold cup for Lady Phips of the value of five thousand dollars.

He returned home in the capacity of high-sheriff under Andros, who did not want him, for Phips was utterly ignorant of law, and could not write legibly. He soon made another voyage to England, and returning to Boston built the "fair brick house" of his vision, engaged in a successful military expedition against Acadia, and took and plundered Port Royal and other French settlements, indulging in some very questionable proceedings. He then instigated and conducted as commander a naval expedition against Quebec, which proved a disastrous and humiliating failure.[2] Returning once more to England, he was at hand to aid President Mather in his agency to secure a new Charter, with which, as the first commissioned Governor

[1] [See the Introduction to this volume. — Ed.] [2] [See Colonel Higginson's chapter. — Ed.]

under it, he came back to Boston, May 14, 1692, with the Agent, who was his friend and pastor.[1] The appointment no doubt was regarded as, in intention, conciliatory toward the anxieties and apprehensions of the people of the Province, and it was supposed that it would be gratifying to them. There was, however, something trifling and farcical in this attempt to initiate a new order of things, involving risky experiments, under the lead of an illiterate mechanic, utterly unskilled in legal and administrative affairs, a rough seaman and a man of uncontrollable temper. An additional and very strong distaste was felt by many for his appointment because it was inferred that, owing his advancement to the Mathers, they would be the managing power behind him; and there was an earnest wish and purpose to break down their then too predominating influence. Yet after Phips had risen to these high honors he showed no poor pride, and often alluded to his lowly origin. He gave his fellow ship-carpenters a dinner in Boston; and when borne down by public distractions, would wish himself back to his broad-axe again. He was pure in morals, upright in his dealings, and owed his success in life to his own energy and prowess. He tried, without much avail, to improve his handwriting and spelling, and as a help to control his hot temper he became a communicant in the Church of the Mathers, giving the required relation of his religious experience. All incompetent as he was for the stern exigency, he had to meet the appalling outburst of the Witchcraft delusion, with its spell of horrors. For this purpose he constituted — with a neglect of constitutional legal forms — a Special Court of Oyer and Terminer. During the greater part of the proceedings of this court he was absent at the eastward in an expedition against the Indians, and engaged in building a fort at Pemaquid. When he returned to Boston he found that even his own wife had been "cried out upon" as a witch, and he at once put a stay upon the fatuous proceedings.[2] He was not fitted for his office, though in the main well-disposed. His weak and troubled course lasted during the whole of his brief administration of two and a half years. He had a street-broil with and knocked down Captain Short, of the "Nonesuch" frigate, and a similar pugilistic encounter with Brenton, the collector of the customs. Judge Sewall wrote in his Diary, under date, "Nov. 1, 1694. Captain Dobbins refusing to give bail, the sheriff was taking him to prison, and Sir William Phips rescued him, and told the sheriff he would send him, the sheriff, to prison, if he touched him; which occasioned very warm discourse between



[1] [The Charter had passed the seals, Oct. 7, 1691.—Ed.] [2] [See Mr. Poole's chapter.—Ed.]

him and the lieut.-governor" [Stoughton]. Becoming very unpopular, Phips was complained of and summoned to England; whither he went, Nov. 17, 1694, carrying with him an appeal from just a majority of the House that he might retain his office. Being prosecuted before the court he was devising schemes for his relief, when he died suddenly, Feb. 18, 1695, aged forty-five years.[1] Phips's widow married the rich merchant, Peter Sergeant, who built and occupied the stately mansion afterward purchased by the Province as a residence for the Governor, and known as the Province House. Mr. Sergeant became a man of great weight and influence as a councillor. A nephew of Phips, who was childless, adopted by him, took his surname, and, as Spencer Phips, was Lieut.-Governor between 1733 and 1757.

The following is the inscription on Governor Phips's monument in the Church of St. Mary, Woolnoth, London: —

"Near this place is interred the body of Sir William Phipps, Knight, who in the year 1687, by his great industry, discovered among the rocks near the Banks of Bahama, on the North side of Hispaniola, a Spanish Plate-Ship, which had been under water 44 years, out of which he took in Gold and Silver to the value of £300,-000 Sterling; and with a Fidelity equal to his conduct, brought it all to London, where it was divided between himself and the rest of the Adventurers: for which great service he was knighted by his then Majesty, James II., and afterward, by the command of his present Majesty, and at the request of the Principal Inhabitants of New England, he accepted of the Government of the Massachusetts, in which he continued to the time of his Death, and discharged his Trust with that zeal for the interest of his Country, and with so little regard to his own private Advantage, that he justly gained the good Esteem and Affection of the greatest and best part of the Inhabitants of that Colony. His Lady, to perpetuate his Memory, hath caused this Monument to be erected."

During Phips's administration the composition and character of the Council had greatly changed from those which the king's nominations had given to it, and had contained more popular elements. The old stern Puritan magistrate and chief-justice, William Stoughton, whom the king had commissioned, under the Charter, to his old office of lieut.-governor, assumed the vacant chair of the Governor, which he occupied nearly four years, till May 26, 1699, when it was again filled. It might seem as if the transition between the old and the new *régime* in Massachusetts had been made under such favorable circumstances, through the familiar personalities of Phips and Stoughton, that the people would have hardly been conscious of the change in their form of government. In fact, the change had been so facilitated in this respect, that it was very much relieved of a revolutionary or startling character. There was a cheerful effort, in the renewal of the

[1] [A fac-simile of the invitation, plentifully garnished with death's heads, to Phips's funeral in London, having been given in the *Proceedings* of the Historical Society, is reduced in Bryant and Gay's *United States*, iii. 109. The news of his death reached Boston, May 5, — "at which the people are generally sad," says Sewall; and the next day, "the mourning guns are fired at the Castle and Town." See *Sewall Papers*, i. 404. — Ed.]

old routine in the towns, to gather up the fragments, and to find the ever excellent solace and security of an excited people in industry. But none the less must the strong and stiff old Stoughton have felt the difference between standing among the foremost, as he had done in the colonial period, in sensitiveness to any reminder of accountability across the water, and being the reluctant representative here of that foreign dictation and surveillance.

Stoughton had on his hands a war with the allied French and Savages, in which our settlements as close to the capital as Haverhill, Groton, and the Huguenot colony in Worcester County were desolated. Nor did the treaty of Ryswick, Sept. 20, 1697, stop this warfare, as the news of it was not received here until the following May; and the result was only to suppress the open agency of the French in it, while it was believed that they countenanced the continuance of hostilities against us by the Savages. In this woful ten years of conflict, it was estimated that at least a thousand of the English had been killed or carried captive into Canada.

The long interval during which Stoughton exercised, temporarily, the office of Governor was one of continued suspense to him and to the people, as through the whole of it they were looking anxiously for a new appointment by the Crown; and when they learned that such had been made, were waiting for the long-deferred arrival of the incumbent of office. Joseph Dudley, then in England, as Deputy-Governor of the Isle of Wight, made strenuous efforts to secure his appointment as the successor of Phips; but his time had not yet come. Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, an Irish peer, was first named for the office in 1695, received his commission in 1697, and after a long and dangerous voyage arrived in New York, April 2, 1698, as Governor of that Province, of Massachusetts, and of New Hampshire and New Jersey. He was the first person, not native-born, to represent the royal authority here by kingly commission. It was more than a year before he visited Boston, finding enough to occupy all his time and to test his spirit and fidelity in the vexations and corruptions which engaged him in New York. It is estimated that there was then a population of about 200,000 Europeans in the English colonies in America, of which 75,000 were in New England, and 25,000 in New York. Bellomont set himself vigorously, yet with but poor success even as regarded support by members of his own council, to repress and amend the illegal practices which made the British laws of trade a dead-letter. They could not be enforced, as they were regarded as being radically oppressive, unjust, and tyrannical, — ruinous also to the best interests of Englishmen here and at home. They imposed duties of five per cent both on imports and exports, and restricted all trade to English ships trading directly to English ports.

Bellomont had hesitated in which of the provinces to take up his residence. He was warmly and kindly received on his coming to Boston, May 26, 1699, to remain, as it proved, only fourteen months. On a return visit

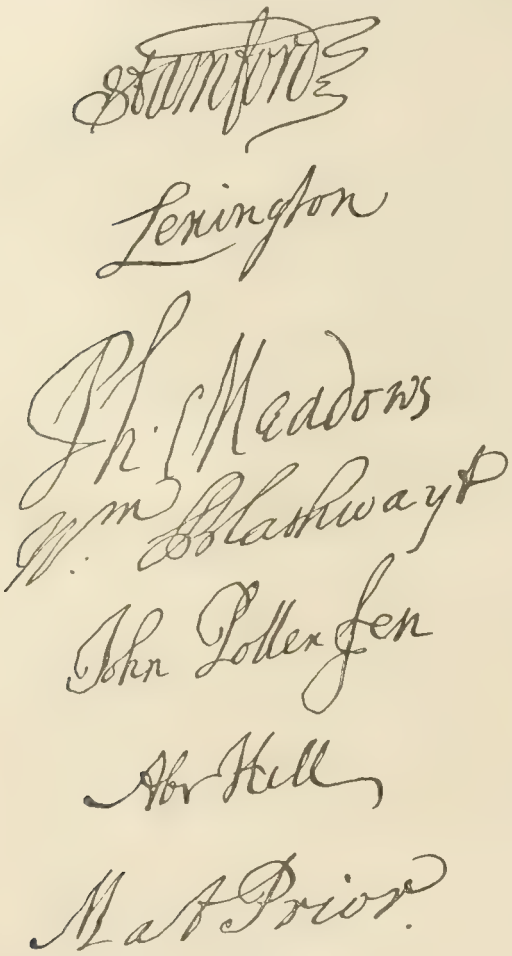
to New York he died there after a brief illness, March 5, 1701. Personally he was popular in Massachusetts, — a vigorous man of sixty-three years of age, fine looking, with elegant manners and courtly ways, affable, gracious, and conciliatory. He tried to please all sorts of people, and especially to ingratiate himself with the stiffer religionists of the old stock. He had some trouble with the Court as to judicial appeals to England, but contrived to pacify the matter. The Earl took care earnestly to impress upon the Court the purpose of the King that there should be a becoming salary settled upon his Governor. This, of course, it was never the intention of the Court, under any circumstances, to comply with. But, pleased with his easy sway, " presents " were made to him, amounting for his fourteen months here to £1,875 sterling, which was more than the predecessor or any royal successor of his received in any form. He had set his own estimate at £1,200 a year. In meeting the Court, he introduced the custom of formal addresses to the two branches. These utterances were shrewdly conceived, complimentary, and evidently *ad captandum*. He had to try to rectify some slips or oversights of Phips, in administering by the Charter. He made an effort to gather, for sending home to King and Council, statistics and other information concerning the country, which information, of course, was superficial and erroneous, — those who thought that such scrutiny and espionage was simply a matter of impertinent curiosity on the part of the home government, not interesting themselves in securing either fulness or accuracy in details. Bellomont would not have been so popular here, had he lived long enough for the people to have learned the tenor of his despatches to the Board of Trade, the Council, and the Bishop of London. Boston had at that time between seven and eight thousand inhabitants, and even an Earl could find in it congenial society and considerable festivity in life.

A main object which the King had had in view in his commission to Bellomont was to engage his energy and activity in the suppression of piracy on the high seas, which then had a scandalous license and an almost unchecked riot. The notorious Kidd, who had been employed to circumvent these freebooters of the ocean, turned out to be the most wily and greedy of them all. Bellomont accomplished something, but there are still some unexplained facts and some dark intricacies about this subject, involving the character and repute of some public and noble as well as private persons; nor did the Governor himself stand clear of suspicion or reproach. The subject finds a treatment in another chapter of this volume.[1]

One of many ineffectual attempts was made under Bellomont to secure a new charter for the incorporation of Harvard College. It failed then, because in the draft which was proposed by those who wished to retain for the college its early and special method of oversight and management no provision was made for its visitation by the king, and because only Congregational ministers were to be allowed on its boards: yet Increase Mather

[1] By the Rev. E. E. Hale, D.D.

afterward charged Joseph Dudley, then in England, with preventing this proposed charter. Though Bellomont had personally found favor and enjoyed peace here in this portion of his government, it cannot be judged that he accomplished anything toward familiarizing the people with the habit of dependency upon foreign dictation, or reconciling them to the withdrawal of any of the privileges which they had formerly exercised. The people were uneasy and antagonistic in every phase of the public troubles presenting themselves in the attempt to adjust the relations and the legislation of the Province to the measures of the King and Council. The English Acts of Navigation, never held in respect, were but slightly regarded, and the Lords of Trade kept prompting the Governor to administer their discipline. The people claimed rights as Englishmen which they insisted were infringed. And here we trace the first manifestations of that blunder on the one side and that resentment on the other which, festering on to their full results, underlaid the opening struggle of the Revolution. The colonists were reminded, in ways often offensive and galling to them, that they were held to all the dependence and obligation of subjects, while they insisted that their privileges were abridged below those enjoyed by Englishmen at home. For reasons satisfactory to our own popular branch in the Assembly, appeals to England were denied or embarrassed. Alarms from the Indians required constant alertness from the Governor and his Council, while the New England charters were in peril from the threats of the Lords of Trade. In the meanwhile, the King himself had troubles of his own, especially from the proposed impeachment of his advisers. He was released by death, March 16, 1702.



SIGNERS OF INSTRUCTIONS.[1]

[1] [These are the signatures to the royal instructions sent to Stoughton, May 15, 1701, on his assuming the chair after the death of Bellomont. Students of English poetry will see a familiar name in the last signature. The original paper is in the *Massachusetts Archives*. — ED.]

Lieut.-Governor Stoughton, on the decease of Bellomont, again took the chair, which he filled till his own life closed, July 7, 1701, when, by provision of the Charter, the Council became the Executive. In the death of Stoughton, son of the stout old Puritan soldier, the commander in our first Indian wars, there passed away one of the sturdiest and most rigid of the native stock. Educated for a preacher, exhibiting marked abilities and winning great admiration as such, and holding the stern faith unqualified and unsoftened to the end of his days, he resolutely declined the work of the ministry. Though he had had no legal training, his long and full experience as a magistrate and councillor qualified him as well as any in a community where there were no educated lawyers for the offices which he filled, among them the highest on the bench. It was as chief-justice in a special court that he sentenced the reputed witches at Salem, and when in a few years the community, distressingly conscious of probable wrong in the dread panic of that stark delusion, made confession in penitential observances, he would offer no sign of humiliation or regret, having, as he averred, faithfully followed the light which God had given him. Childless and unwedded, he led a solitary life at Dorchester.[1] But his grimness and austerity were offset by devoted fidelity to his fellows, and by generous public favors to college and school.[2]

Among the royal Governors of this province, he whose name, rightly or wrongly, is burdened with the heaviest reproach — not even excepting that of Andros, who was neither of Massachusetts birth nor of Puritan lineage — is Joseph Dudley. If judicial impartiality in dealing with public characters is desirable in these pages, it can be approached in this case only by presenting fairly the estimates, dark or bright, which abundant contemporary authorities offer us. As Dudley's character and career, when in course of manifestation before those who may be thought to have known him for what he was, were severely censured and condemned, even to the heaping upon him of the darkest reproaches and stinging obloquy, it may be just, before tracing his course among living friends and foes, to relieve censoriousness by reading what ought to have been considerately truthful, even if indulgently kind, as said of him after his death and burial. Benjamin Colman, minister of the Brattle-Street Church, the most able, judicious, and highly esteemed among the divines of the town at that time, preached a funeral sermon, at a crowded Thursday lecture, on Governor Dudley, immediately after his decease. The Mathers, who had been the bitterest and most distrustful opponents of Dudley, may have been in the pulpit with Colman, while in the pews were seated all the chief in place and influence. The discourse, without extravagance, adulation, or fulsomeness in its encomium or estimate, gives to Dudley an honorable tribute for integrity, fidelity, and excellence. What is most to the point, the discourse contains

[1] [He lived on the northeast corner of Savin-Hill Avenue and Pleasant Street. — ED.]

[2] [There is a good account of Stoughton in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. i. His portrait is given in the chapter on Witchcraft in Boston. See the chapter on Dorchester. — ED.]

this sentence: "The Publick has had already this week a short and just Account . . . of his personal worth and Character." The reference is to an obituary in the Boston *News-Letter*, No. 834, Monday, April 11, 1720. After noting the decease of Dudley and his interment "in the sepulchre of his Father, with all the Honour and respect his Country was capable of doing him," and giving a brief sketch of his life, with the various offices he had filled, we read: —

"He was a Man of rare Endowments and shining Accomplishments, a singular Honour to his Country, and in many Respects the Glory of it. He was early its Darling, always its Ornament, and in his Age its Crown. The Divine, the Philosopher, and the Statesman, all met in him. He was visibly formed for Government, and under his Administration (by God Almighty's Blessing) we enjoyed great quietness, and were safely steer'd thro' a long and difficult Indian and French War.

"His Country have once and again thankfully acknowledged his Abilities and Fidelity in their Addresses to the Throne. He truly Honoured and Lov'd the Religion, Learning, and Vertue of New England, and was himself a worthy Patron and Example of them all. Nor did so bright a soul dwell in a less amiable Body, being a very Comely Person, of a Noble Aspect, and a graceful Mien, having the Gravity of a Judge, and the Goodness of a Father. In a word, he was a finisht Gentleman, of a most polite Address, and had uncommon Elegancies and Charms in his Conversation."[1]

How far listeners and readers accorded with those tributes to Dudley must be inferred from what else there is on record about him. There were those who regarded him as a recreant and a parasite, a fawner to royalty, a cunning courtier, self-seeking, unscrupulous, and not true, even to friends. If we summarize the matter and the grounds of Joseph Dudley's ill-esteem, we might refer it, first, to the regret that he had fallen from the grace of a noble and revered lineage, and then to the belief that he had not been faithful to a people who had generously advanced him. In another place in this volume will be found his record before he becomes a subject of notice here as one of our royal Governors.[2] His father, Thomas Dudley, one of the most distinguished among the first exile colonists, associate and alternate with the revered Winthrop in the highest places of magistracy, dying July 31, 1653, at the age of seventy-five, had left as the child of his old age, born July 23, 1647, this son Joseph, a youth of six years. Mr. Allen, minister of Dedham, marrying the widowed mother of Joseph, had the charge of him in his boyhood. Graduating at Harvard in 1665, he had

[1] Dr. Palfrey suggests, "This is what would be called in our day the testimony of 'the press' to Dudley's merit. More precisely stated, it is the testimony of the Scottish adventurer, John Campbell, postmaster" to one from whom he had received official and personal favors. Our ablest and most faithful historian, whose own discriminating estimate of Dudley led him to regard the Governor as on the whole a mean, unscrupulous, and wily self-seeker, also expresses his regret that the excellent Dr. Colman should have adroitly appeared to praise a man whom he could not truly have honored.

[2] [See Mr. Whitmore's chapter, preceding this in the present volume, for an account of his presidency. Mr. Drake epitomizes his career in his chapter on Roxbury, where his portrait is given. The index to Vol. I. will lead to incidents in his life during the colonial period. — ED.]

as a classmate the only Indian youth, out of many that had been students, who received a degree. In the embittered correspondence which passed in 1707–08 between the Mathers and Dudley, then governor, Increase Mather reminds him that he, Dudley, had given him, as his "spiritual father," the credit of his religious awakening; and adds, "There was a time when I encouraged the church with whom I have been laboring in the work of the Lord these forty-six years and more, to call you to be my assistant in the ministry," — Dudley having for a while been a preacher.

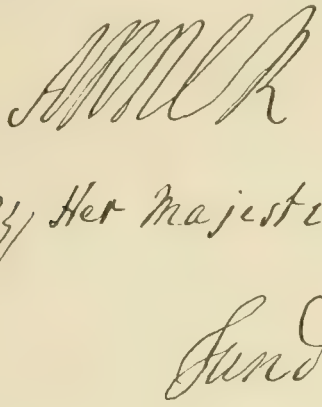
The letters of the Mathers, father and son, to Governor Dudley, and Dudley's single reply to both of them, — always excepting some of the documents relating to the troubles with the Quakers, — are the most embittered in their personalities and invectives of the whole mass of highly-seasoned papers which have been preserved in our cabinets. The Mather letters are dated on the same day, Jan. 20, 1707–8. The father contented himself with what covers, in print, two pages of octavo; the son wrote at three times that length. Perfidy, hypocrisy, bribery, cruelty, and corrupt dealing in divers forms are the burden of the charges against the Governor. The reply is to a degree dignified and moderate, with something of caustic sarcasm in its tone and tenor, especially in its galling reminder to the Mathers that their conceit and assumption of clerical power were well observed by their brethren, and by the people generally; and that their glory was for the future to fade. The Governor allowed a fortnight to pass before he sent this answer, and thus gave his wrath a space for cooling, while he had the advantage of deliberation. During this interval the fact that the Mathers had written to Dudley in a somewhat pointed way had become noised abroad by one or another of the parties having divulged it, and those most concerned, especially Cotton Mather, were waiting the result. Sewall writes in his Diary, on January 23, that, on returning with him from a funeral, Cotton Mather gave him a copy of his and his father's letters, and added: "I wait with concern to see what the issue of this plain dealing will be!" Again, January 30, Sewall writes: "To the Funeral of my Neighbour, Sam. Engs. Walked with Mr. Pemberton [his minister at the South Church], who talked to me very warmly about Mr. C. M.'s Letter to the Governour; seemed to resent it, and expect the Gov^r should animadvert upon him. The Lord appear for the help of his people! Said if he were as the Governour he would humble him [Cotton Mather], though it cost him his head! — speaking with great vehemency, just as I parted with him at his Gate." Again: "February 5. Mr. Colman preached the [Thursday] Lecture; Gal. v. 25. Spoke of other walking (than in the Spirit); it blotted our Sermons, blotted our Prayers, blotted our Admonitions and Exhortations. 'Tis reckoned he lashed Dr. Mather, and Mr. Cotton Mather, and Mr. Bridge [minister of the First Church], for what they have written, preached, and prayed about the present contest with the Governour." Again: "Election, May 26, 1708. Mr. John Norton preaches a Flattering Sermon as to the Governour." Meanwhile Sewall himself was often placed in an embarrassing position in

this sharp feud. He was very intimate with the Mathers, revered the father, though he occasionally dealt tartly with the son. Sewall's convictions and sympathies were with those who mistrusted Dudley. But Sewall's oldest son was husband of the Governor's daughter, — an unhappy connection. The Diary is cautious and reserved on all these delicate matters, but the writer puts down enough to enable us to give him his place and thought about Dudley.[1]

It was evident that those who at first looked to the young man as one whom they might trust as a strong representative of the principles identified with his lineage, and whom under that expectation they rapidly advanced in places and honors, were grievously disappointed in him. To them he seemed to waver, trim, and calculate chances in patronage. He cast in his lot with the prerogative. He was regarded by them as a tool of Andros, and was among those seized and imprisoned with that "usurper," in the great uprising of the people. The reason given to him for his being put under guard in his own house, and afterward committed to the jail, was "lest the outraged people should set upon him in their rage." Dudley was sent to England with his principal. Commissioned afterward to the Province of New York as chief-justice, he had there roused new enmities by condemning to death the patriot Leisler. On another return to England, his efforts to succeed Phips as Governor of Massachusetts were thwarted by the Agents of the Province, — Constantine Phips, and Sir Henry Ashurst. He had to content himself for the while with a seat in Parliament and the Lieut.-Governorship of the Isle of Wight. With the aid of Randolph and some court influence, he finally succeeded in securing the coveted commission from King William, whose death soon afterward made it necessary that the commission should be renewed by Queen Anne. It must have been with mingled and conflicting emotions that Dudley, on June 11, 1702, arrived in a frigate in Boston harbor, after ten or eleven years' absence. He had left it after an imprisonment of five months. He came now as the chief magistrate, representing royalty. He met the Council on the same day, and published his commission, with that of John Povey as Lieut.-Governor, — an entire stranger here. Dudley was ceremoniously received, though the Council, chosen a fortnight before according to the Charter, contained many of his enemies, who had imprisoned him and sought to prevent his new appointment. He avowedly committed himself to the side of the prerogative, and spoke patronizingly to those who looked upon him with worse than distrust. Hutchinson, whose experiences fifty years afterward were to be similar to Dudley's, says, "The people were more jealous of him than they would have been of any other person." He at once set himself to accomplish the objects of shrewd English politicians, which, of course, made the interests of New England secondary. Massachusetts was to be held under a stiff hand. She was to be put to use against France, and

[1] The correspondence of the Mathers and Dudley is printed in 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 126-137.

made serviceable to English commerce and revenue. The French king having recognized the pretender to the English crown, of course a declaration of war by Queen Anne was the necessary consequence; and that meant another savage inroad upon Massachusetts. The twelve years' reign of the Queen, with such a Governor in her interest, was necessarily irritating and troubling to Massachusetts. Dudley announced three special



instructions imposed upon him by the monarch: (1) Positively requiring of the Court to provide for rebuilding the fort at Pemaquid, which the Court, for reasons satisfactory to itself, refused to do; (2) That a suitable official residence should be assigned to him,—this also was refused; and (3) That a proper salary should be settled upon himself, the lieut.-governor, and the judges, "as was done in all the other colonies." Of course this last demand was wholly inadmissible, involving, as it did, the payment of another person's servant by those who really had no desire or use for him. The alternative which the Court adopted and consistently followed, so long as these unwelcome royal representatives were harbored here, was to make, from time to time, generally half yearly, "presents," varying in stinginess or generosity according as the Governor more or less provoked opposition, or gave proof of an unfriendly or kindly spirit. It was under Dudley's administration that the people first really felt the full meaning of the substitution among them of subjection to foreign espionage and dictation for self-government. Dudley refused the money grants, or "presents," till his Council advised him to be content with them as better than nothing. He got hardly more than £600 in any year, — not half of what had been "given" to Bellomont. He was in constant bickering with the House of Representatives. He used his negative against each and all of those nominated by the House for the Council, if in any way obnoxious to himself. One of these rejected councillors, Mr. Oakes, a determined opponent of Dudley, was chosen as Speaker of the House. Dudley assumed that as a prerogative right, though not recognized by the Charter, he could also veto the Speaker; but after much dissension he was compelled to yield the point. Conferences were held between the House and Council

about the required building of the fort at Pemaquid. But these were futile, as the proposition was considered at the time by those who understood the matter as not judicious. Dudley visited Pemaquid in 1703, with an escort of his own choosing; not asking, as had been usual, a committee of House and Council.

A second letter of instructions to him from the Queen, which Dudley communicated, insisted upon the matter of a fixed and proper salary for her governor and his deputy. This too was wholly ineffectual. The House evaded the demand, and the ill-feeling deepened.

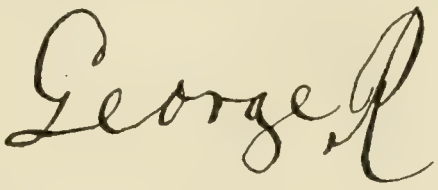
And now, consequent upon the declaration of war with France, came a renewal of the horrors of savage warfare, with desolations and costly expeditions, killing the flower of our population, and burdening the Province with debt and paper money. In February, 1703, three hundred French and Indians, under De Rouville, perpetrated their massacres in Deerfield, and all our frontiers were threatened. After several fruitless expeditions, an army and fleet were raised to sweep the coast of Maine all the way to Nova Scotia,—Colonel Church being in command, aided by transports, whaleboats, and armed vessels. He went up the Passamaquoddy and to Mount Desert, plundering, depredating, and desolating all the way; and though he reached Port Royal, which was in a defenceless state, much to the disgust of our people he made no attack upon it. The Indians meanwhile, in marauding upon our border towns, came within twenty miles of Boston.[1] To aggravate and inflame the sharp antagonisms and animosities of the times, some merchants and traders were, on reasonable grounds, suspected, accused, and then prosecuted by the General Court, instead of by the regular judicial tribunals, as guilty of trafficking in arms and goods with the enemy who was working so much mischief. The Governor himself was boldly and bitterly charged with connivance in, and sharing the profits of, this vile business. A pamphlet of stinging reproaches and invectives, evidently in the main prepared in Boston, was published against him in London. To this there was a reply, followed by a rejoinder.[2] The House, without submitting the measure to the Council, addressed the Queen, seeking the removal of the Governor for reasons strongly stated and vouched, as proving his unworthiness and unfitness as her representative, and his unreconcilable enmity to the best interests of this community. Meanwhile his lieutenant, Povey, to whom a grant of £200 had been made in consideration of his being Captain of the Castle in the harbor, in disgust at the meanness of the sum, on which he could not subsist, moved himself off in 1711, and William Tailer, appointed to fill the place, took the oaths in October of that year.

[1] [See Col. Higginson's ch. in this vol.—ED.]

[2] The three pamphlets, recently reprinted in the second volume of the *Sewall Papers*, have fire in them, even to this day.

It is a curious fact that, in the efforts to rid the Province of Dudley, the Agents of Massachusetts in England, with the help of some Dissenting ministers and the accord of Cotton Mather, tried to procure a commission as Governor for Sir Charles Hobby. He was, indeed, a Boston boy, son of a merchant here. He had been a colonel of one of our regiments, and for bravery at Jamaica — possibly backed by a money *douceur* — had been knighted. But he was well known as a man of fashion and a rake. He failed of the honor sought for him.

On Sept. 15, 1714, news came to town of the death of Anne and the accession of George I. A sloop sent express from England with government orders was wrecked on Cohasset rocks on the 12th of November, and the dispatches, with all on board, were lost. Six months having elapsed without new commissions or official orders, the Council, according to provision of the Charter, assumed the executive. On March 21, 1715, Dudley occupied the chair again for a short time, till the 9th of November, when the recently-commissioned Lieut.-Governor Tailer took the place, waiting for the arrival of his principal. Dudley retired from all public affairs to his fine estate and mansion at West Roxbury, where he died, April 2, 1720, aged seventy-two. His distinguished son, Paul Dudley, chief-justice of the province, did many things for his own and after times which give him a grateful memory. In the judgment of charity, stretched to its uttermost strain, it is barely possible that Governor Dudley may have been harshly disesteemed and reproached by his contemporaries, and so by historians. It is certain, however, that he came back here twice from England to represent and enforce the very policy judged malign and offensive to his own people, which he, in their trust and confidence, had been sent thither to thwart. His townsmen and former friends could not find an explanation for his course which was consistent with simplicity, integrity, and unselfishness. The Providence which set him in power here was a dark one, requiring, as some one said, like a Hebrew scroll, to be read backwards.



Under the reign of the German prince elevated by election to the throne of Great Britain as George I., a stupid incompetent as he was, Massachusetts waited awhile, after proclaiming him, to see through what channel his prerogative was to be administered here. The matter that wears most the appearance of jobbery in connection with the office of Governor of Massachusetts under the Crown was the commission to it, through court influence, obtained March 17, 1715, by Colonel Elisha Burgess. By what light or standard he estimated what might be its pecuniary value, we are ignorant. We can draw our inference only from the fact that under the negotiations of friends of the Province then in London, — Ashurst, Belcher, afterward Governor, and Dummer the Agent, — he parted with his commission for a

bonus of £1,000 in favor of Colonel Samuel Shute.[1] This gentleman was a brother of the afterward Lord Barrington, grandchildren of the famous Puritan divine, Joseph Caryl. They were decided Dissenters. This quality in the new governor recommended him highly to the old party in the province, already annoyed and fretting under the prestige which Episcopal principles and usages were acquiring through Crown officials. It would appear, however, that if Shute had not many degrees modified his Dissenting principles so far as to be in friendly relations with the Church of England before he left home, he must have done so after his experiences here; for under date of Dec. 21, 1722, Judge Sewall records in his Diary that, on the question raised as to an adjournment of the court over the 25th of December, "The Governor mentioned how ill it would appear to have votes passed on that day;" and on further argument "said he was of the Church of England." William Dummer, son-in-law of Dudley, was Shute's Lieut.-Governor. Shute, on his arrival here in a merchant ship Oct. 4, 1716, was received with demonstrative though inexpensive parade. He also came to be a stiff and troublesome representative of the royal prerogative, bent upon keeping the Province reminded of its subjection to foreign terms set for it in its trade and dependence; to watch and repress every measure of restive self-assertion by our Assembly, and to stand for each contested issue against the popular tendency. In general terms it may be said that between him, as with the other royal Governors, and the people over whom he was set there was a steady struggle, in the forced attempt made by him and resisted by them, to substitute new principles and rules for the traditional and inherited ways which had grown up under the old independency. The two parties were continually showing their hands, generally to each other's surprise and chagrin. The game was to check-mate each other. The utmost stretch of the reserved or allowed rights assured by the Charter was adroitly used to parry or reduce every constructive inference which the Governor drew either from his commission or his instructions. Only in measures of defence or in expeditions against the pestering savage foe were he and the people ever in hearty accord. The cunning and selfish policy so resolutely entered upon then and followed up to the time of our Revolution — and not by any means unrecognized to-day — by which England sought to repress our engagement in manufacturing industry, especially in woollens, to keep us dependent on her tools and factories, was clearly defined and maintained. We were to confine ourselves to producing timber, tar, turpentine, etc., for English commerce. The trouble to which Shute first acceded concerned a strong party-struggle in the Legislature and among the people about the alternative of a public or a private bank as a resource under the bad state of trade, the scarcity of money, and the burden of debt, with depreciation

[1] [Sumner (*East Boston*, p. 232) mentions having the parchment of Shute's commission in his possession. It is now, under General Sumner's will, in Harvard College Library. A heliotype of part of the first sheet of it is given herewith. The seal rests on the second sheet, folded. It shows the portrait of King George I — Ed.]

GOVERNOR SHUTE'S COMMISSION.

of the paper issues incurred in the exhausting hostilities with the Indians. Shute was a man of fair abilities, honest, and well-intentioned, but somewhat self-indulgent and passionate. After a year's experience of him, Cotton Mather wrote to Shute's brother, Lord Barrington, a most fulsome letter in his commendation. He realized to the full the inherent and practically insurmountable difficulties of an office which, under the circumstances, no man living could have filled to the satisfaction of the king and people. Those difficulties were, on the part of the king, actual ignorance, prejudiced opinions, and mistaken judgments as to the real condition and the best interests of his colonies in points in which there might be mutually common interests between them and the mother country, together with an assuming and disdainful spirit in turning the colonists, as an inferior party, simply to the advancement of their fellow-subjects across the water. On the part of the colonists the difficulties were a painful and irritating sense of these foreign prejudices and wrongs, and a profound conviction that they had a right to manage their own affairs, as they had been wont to do.

Shute's administration was one continuous quarrel with the House of Representatives, changing its form and subject-matter only to be raised more intensely upon a new point before a previous one had been disposed of. Sometimes the Council took his side; at others a majority sided with the House,—in either case embarrassing and crossing him. He joined with the opposers of the banking scheme, but seemed utterly incompetent with his own judgment to devise any financial policy for relieving the burdens of the Province. Another emission of bills for £100,000, to run for ten years, only increased the existing perplexities. The Governor earnestly engaged in efforts for pacific treaties with the Eastern Indians in order to thwart the influence and plottings of the Jesuit Father Rasle, who was known to be instigating them to continued hostilities. This active and zealous priest continued for the next eight years to be the object of intense detestation by our people. His papers were seized, while he escaped, when an expedition was sent, in 1721, against his savage disciples. As these papers gave full proof of his plottings, he was at last killed, in another expedition, Aug. 12, 1724, and his chapel and village at Norridgewock were destroyed. It does not appear, however, that he had any less right to serve the supposed interest of his own savage disciples, as allies of the French in the long and bloody struggle for dominion on this continent, than had the English to take their own chaplains with them in their war parties.[1]

Besides this Indian war, Shute had four distinct controversies with the delegates of the people, neither of which could he bring to a satisfactory settlement. The first was a strife in which he took side with John Bridger, the king's Surveyor of Forests, against the people of Maine and their sympathizers here, led on by Cooke of the Council, in evading the law which reserved certain trees for ship-timber for the king. The second was a

[1] [See Colonel Higginson's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

quarrel on the Impost Bill. The third was a renewal of the claim, raised by Dudley, of a right to negative the Speaker, — his resource being to dissolve the Court when the House stood out against him. The fourth arose from his persistency in demanding a fixed salary, to which the House, so far from yielding, expressed its resentment by reducing the "present" to him to £500. A candid reader of the records of these bitter altercations can hardly fail to divide the blame of what was personal in feeling — independent of the merits of the issues contested — between the two parties. But when the Agent of Massachusetts in London, the excellent and serviceable Jeremy Dummer, besides nobly defending the charter when it was perilled, wrote over to the Court that their hectoring of the Governor was unreasonable and mischievous, the House discharged him from his trust. In this measure the Council refused to concur; but the House, holding the purse, stopped his pay. The royal attorney-general wrote over to Shute that he had a right of negative on the Speaker; and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations approved his course. He had been instructed to demand £1,000 salary; but the House voted him what, allowing for depreciation in the currency, was worth £360. Beyond the feeling in the case, the plea in reasoning was that the representatives of the people, in all constitutional governments, had absolute control in money grants, and that they were sole judges as to occasions and amounts, while changing demands and exigent circumstances, and their varying ability, justified their not making any fixed appropriations in the way of salaries.

The small-pox, after having been twenty years in abeyance, renewed its dreaded visitation in 1721. Nearly six thousand persons took it in Boston, of whom nearly one thousand died in the year. Inoculation was then first introduced, against violent and enormous opposition. Cotton Mather did noble service in its defence, in spite of calumny and threats of personal violence. The General Court, on account of the infection, sat at Cambridge, and there was an incidental controversy on the right of the Court or the Governor to designate any other place than Boston for its session. Cotton Mather, in a private letter, described the government of the time as "a venomous crew" in "a spiteful town" and "a poisoned country." Fresh disputes arose on the declaration of war in 1722 against the Eastern Indians, on its conduct, and on the prerogative of the Court as to disbursements, and the calling officers to account.

Shute, having some time previously received permission to visit England, left on the opening of the year 1723, somewhat abruptly, to urge his complaints against our General Court. Lieut.-Governor William Dummer took the chair, which, as the event proved, he was to occupy nearly six years. Shute arrived in England fully charged with his burden of grievances against his intractable field of administration. The court for hearing and adjudication was transferred from Boston to the Chamber of the Privy Council. Our House of Representatives prepared to hold its side in the contest by reinforcing its Agents with their pleas and rejoinders, and voted

£100 to one of them to employ legal counsel. But the Council nonconcurred alike in the proposed complaint against Shute, the address to the king, and the fee for counsel. None the less, the Speaker of the House signed its own decrees, and the Council sent an address of its own, though it afterward consented to the employ of the Agents. The Lords of Trade and the Council seem to have given a patient and candid hearing to a statement of the grievances urged by Shute, such as his being constantly thwarted, principally by the influence of the country members in our House of Representatives, and in their claim to adjourn themselves, to appoint Thanksgiving and Fast days, and to regulate military affairs, — all without his sanction; their refusing him a fixed and honorable salary; their neglect to protect the king's timber, and so forth. The Agents of the Province tried all their skill to defend and justify their constituents, pressing their assertions and arguments not only adroitly, but with such art and casuistry as, in the opinion of some Massachusetts men at home and in England, trespassed upon truth and right.

It must be frankly admitted that if the mother country had really in right and reason any prerogative authority over us, we were not only indocile, but stiffly self-willed, refractory, and in fact rebellious. The decision, though rendered against those men and measures of which Shute complained, was calm and moderate, even if decisive in its terms. A purpose approved by the Court here on petition of the ministers — as a revival of their old sway — to hold a religious synod was withstood, while the proceedings before the Privy Council were in progress. The marvel is that the charter, which really secured us more of liberty than was then enjoyed by any of the other colonies, was not taken from us, as some of the wisest and most moderate feared it would be. A temporary truce was found in the sealing, in London, Aug. 12, 1725, of a so-called "Explanatory Charter."[1] When this was offered to the acceptance of the Province, it was — by no means, however, with unanimity — approved Jan. 15, 1726. This secured to the Governor a negative on the nomination of Speaker, and limited the term for which the House might adjourn itself to two days; but it contained no injunction for securing "fixed and honorable salaries" to His Majesty's servants here. Shute might now have returned to Boston as substantially fortified and reinforced for his unattractive administration. He had been heard to say, even with an oath, that he would see "who should be Governor of Massachusetts — he or Cooke," the Agent of the Province. While he was waiting for a man-of-war to transport him, his commission fell by the death of George I., his successor, George II., acceding to the throne, June, 1727.[2] In the change in the Ministry Shute was pensioned off at £600 a year, in the enjoyment of which he reached his four-score of years.

[1] [The examinations leading to this will be found in *The Report of the lords of the Committee upon Governor Shute's Memorial, with his Majesty's Order in Council thereupon*, 1725, which as reprinted in Boston was marked, "Examined by J. Willard, Secr." — Ed.]

[2] [The new king was not proclaimed till August. — "14th, King George the Second proclaimed at the Town House. The 3 regiments in arms, viz., Col. Taylor's, Phips's, Fitch's." — Jeremiah Bumstead's Diary, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1861, p. 314. — Ed.]

Had there been any practicable reconciliation into a harmony of working in the relations between Massachusetts and the royal authority claimed over her, it might have seemed that William Dummer, acting as Governor for nearly six years, was peculiarly suited to serve as mediator, umpire, and arbiter. A native of the province, with strong family ties and friendships binding him here, he had lived much abroad, and had become enlarged and generous in his views. He was not a strong partisan, nor did he lack a generous patriotism. As Lieut.-Governor he generally supported Shute, even at the cost of offending his nearest friends. He was on one occasion "snubbed" by the House, which, instead of anything like the usual compensation for like services, voted him so contemptible a "present" that he declined it. His task was found in the conduct of the war with the Eastern Indians, which he managed with vigor, in spite of his sharp conflict with the House upon the commissioning and paying of military officers. A temporary treaty was made by him with the Indians in December, 1725, and trucking-houses were established among them.

William Burnet — a son of the historian bishop, and governor of New York and New Jersey — was appointed to the chief magistracy of Massachusetts March 7, 1728, and arrived at Boston July 13 following. His term here was a short one, — of less than fourteen months, — as he died at the Province House, Sept. 7, 1729. Brief, however, as that term was, there extended through it one bitter strife. He was welcomed with more of pomp and parade than had ever been observed in Boston on any previous occasion, and at an expense to the treasury of £1,100. There was a cavalcade, lavish festivity, addresses, and a poetical rhapsody anticipating "the soaring eagle" style by the famous Mather Byles. Burnet was a true English gentleman, cultivated, courteous, affable, and social in his manners and habits, accessible and acceptable to all classes. Had he been of any real use or necessity here, or had he represented any function other than that of a foreign sway, — under any form of which the people would have been restive, — he might have found this an agreeable residence. He had every quality personally for pleasing and conciliating. But "the twenty-third" of his instructions from the king, which bade him insist upon the settlement of a fixed salary of at least £1,000 upon his representative, furnished the root of bitterness. One cannot but recognize the firm loyalty, the self-respect, the dignity and persistency with which Burnet stood to his instruction, nobly rejecting, as an attempt at bribery, all the evasive ingenuity of the recusant House in offering him three times the sum as a present, while he was straitened by actual pecuniary need. And with equal recognition we must estimate the pluck and principle of the representatives of the people of Massachusetts in planting themselves then where the war of the Revolution found them, — on the position that all impositions, taxes, and disbursements of money were to be made by their own free-will, and not by dictation of king, council, or parliament.

The contest opened at once. In the Governor's first address, July 24, he imparted his "instruction" as to the matter of salary, and avowed his purpose to insist that it should be complied with. As if to avert any plea of poverty which the House might advance, he referred to the

GOVERNOR BURNET.[1]

parade, display, and expense which had been lavished on his own reception, as evidence of the prosperity and ability of the Province. But the Court was as firm as himself. Instead of "the settlement" of a fixed salary, was that of the irrevocable purpose that no such salary should be

[1] [There are portraits of Burnet belonging to the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, and in the Senate Chamber at Boston. An engraving in Drake's *Boston* is followed in this cut. — ED.]

allowed. The House intended only to make money grants at its own free-will, and so graduated as to signify from time to time its own feelings and appreciation of services. A grant of £1,700 was offered to him to defray his first expenses, and towards his support. In that shape he, with dignity, refused the proffer. Then the form was so far changed as to offer him £300 for the cost of his journey; but still no salary. He remonstrated, and then threatened. To firmness Burnet soon added what was called "insolence." He refused to allow the House to close its session, and to sign the pay-roll for members and expenses till his demand was complied with. Thus he subjected the Province to costs far exceeding the required amount for a salary. He warned them that their conduct would be brought to the attention of Parliament, which would "look after the support of the Governor *and something more*," — a threat which looked to the abrogation of the charter. The House became dignifiedly wrathful, and sent a paper to the constituents in the towns vindicating its course of action. This was sustained by town-meetings; that in Boston deciding unanimously against the king's demand. There were a few timid and cautious persons, some of them in the Council, standing for the prerogative; and, with warnings that we might fare worse, they advised yielding. But the House — to antedate the modern use of a word — *stuck*. Another proffer was made to Burnet, — a grant of £3,000. It was of course refused, for this generosity of a defiant Court would be offset by the displeasure and rebuke of the king, as a compounding with recusancy. To free the House from the rebellious influence of Boston, he moved the Court to Salem, punning upon its peaceful name, and upon that of Concord. But the British, neither then nor half a century later, had reason to regard those towns as aptly designated. The House protested against its removal, and voted the act illegal, but still *stuck;* its constituency approving and agreeing to support it. The Governor found a graceful reason for yielding, in a resolution passed by the House to refer the issue in conflict directly to the king by an address, naming its agents and appropriating money for their payment. The Council refusing its concurrence, some Boston merchants provided the necessary sum; for which the House thanked them, promising reimbursement.

On the presenting of the address by the Agents in London, the atmosphere there being different, the Board of Trade of course stood by the Governor and censured the House. The Agents wrote to Boston that if the House persisted in thwarting the king's instruction, Parliament would take up the quarrel. The reply from this side was, "Better let Parliament fix the salary, than that the Province should yield its liberties by its own act," — for we had friends even in Parliament then, as afterward. A change of ministry often worked for our benefit. As Walpole's was then in peril, he wished for no added trouble about the colonies: so the House risked the venture. The excellent but courtly agent, Jeremy Dummer, wrote to the House advising complaisance to the king, and that as it was agreed on the amount of a grant it were wiser to vote it fixed for a term of years, or

at least through an administration; else he feared a discomfiture. The members of the House were meanwhile, in the lack of Burnet's signature, kept without their pay. In straits for his own needs he exacted an additional fee on the clearance of vessels. This, however, the Board of Trade disallowed. He refused to approve the choice of an attorney-general, unless he had the nomination, — a matter which was laid over for his successor. The Board of Trade next sent over an order that £1,000 should be fixed as the Governor's salary during his whole term, and the Governor tried to compel action by adjourning the House over and over, and from place to place, to harass it. The House grew warmer and more resolute at "being compelled to measures against its judgment, and driven from one part of the province to another."[1]

In the midst of this harsh dissension, Governor Burnet, while driving towards Boston in his carriage from Cambridge, was overturned on the causeway, cast into the water, and so chilled as to be thrown into a fever, resulting in his death in a week after. Chagrin and excitement are supposed to have hastened that event, on Sept. 7, 1729. He was buried, with great pomp, at the public charge, at a cost of £1,100. His wife had previously died in New York. Five years after his death the General Court voted his orphan children £3,000. Lieut.-Governor Dummer again filled the chair for nearly a year. He acceded to the long-standing disputes, endeavored, in a firm but tempered way, to represent the instructions of the Crown, and would receive no grant as a substitute for a salary. As to the sturdy refusal of the House in this matter of a salary, even the Tory Chalmers[2] censures the course of the British ministry. He says that by persisting in the use of the king's name to enforce the demand for the salary, when they knew it was of no use, they nearly destroyed his — the Governor's — very inconsiderable influence. The refusal of the House to yield to the dictation was on the ground "that it would deprive the people of their rights as Englishmen." The English journals in the Whig interest applauded "the noble stand of this Province against the unconstitutional demands of Burnet, as endearing them to all friends of liberty."

And now came a repetition in part of a previous strange experience of Massachusetts, in that, while the people had as a Governor "one of themselves," of royal instead of popular designation, he, even at the cost of proving "a turn-coat," became the champion of measures he had been commissioned to oppose. The odious Dudley had the lead in this ungrateful service in return for trust and honors. Jonathan Belcher, who now succeeded to the chair, was the grandson of Andrew, an early innkeeper in Cambridge, and a son of Andrew, a prosperous merchant in Boston and a provincial coun-

[1] [The House of Representatives by an order, April 17, 1729, directed the "members for Boston" to prepare a history of this contest over the Salary, from the coming of Sir William Phips; and it was printed as *A Collection of the Proceedings of the Great and General Court, containing instructions from the Crown for fixing a salary, etc.* Boston, T. Fleet, in Pudding Lane, 1729, p. 112. — Ed.]

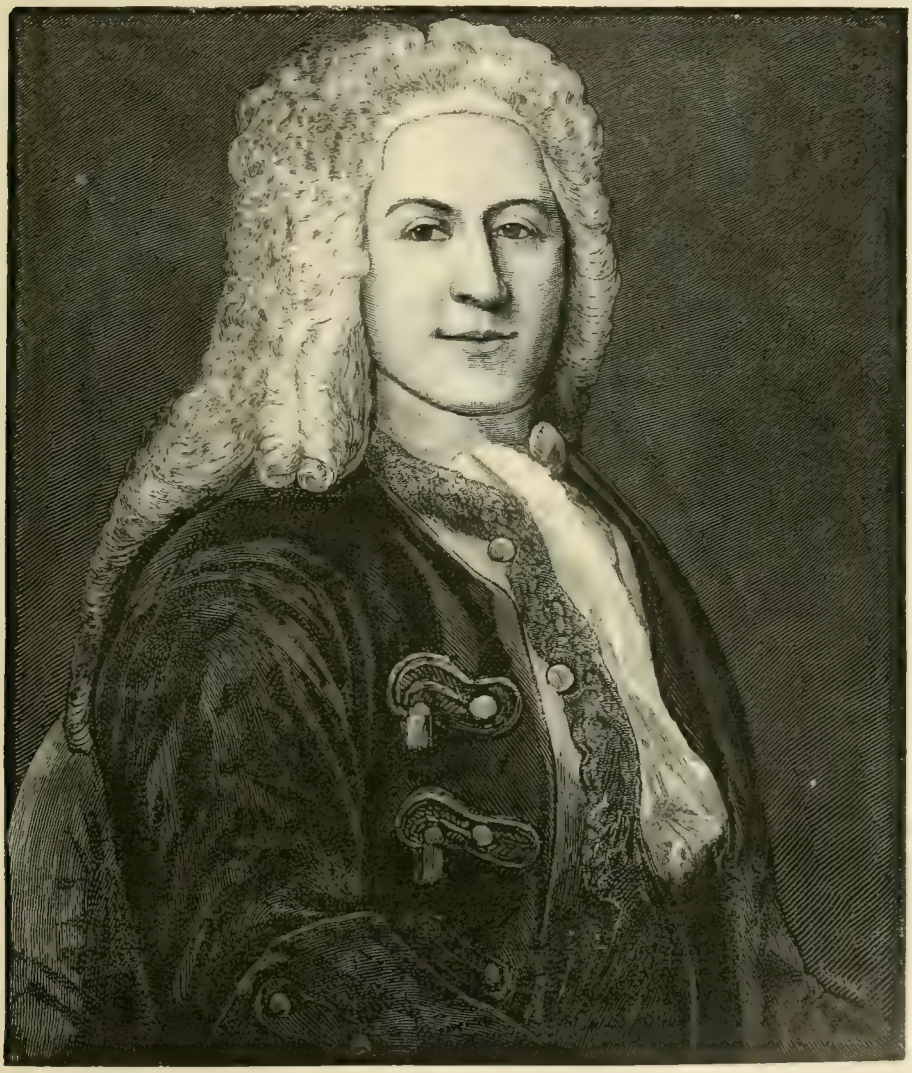
[2] *Revolt*, etc., ii. 131.

cillor. The mother of Jonathan was a daughter of Deputy-Governor Danforth, under the Colony charter. After graduating at Harvard, and travelling much abroad, he returned to Boston as a merchant, and became a representative and councillor. Though a polished and sociable man, he was crooked, intriguing, and excitable in temper. He made himself known at first as a prerogative man, but on sudden occasion he had turned about and withstood Burnet's persistency for a fixed salary. For this cause he was employed by the House, without the concurrence of the Council, as an agent in London to advance its interest in its appeal to the king against Burnet. Being in London when the tidings of Burnet's death arrived, and availing himself of party rivalries in the Court, he contrived, by sly and adroit manœuvring, to convince the Government that he was admirably suited for the office of arbiter in the matters at issue. He was commissioned Governor of Massachusetts Jan. 8, 1730. William Tailer was restored as Lieut.-Governor in place of Dummer, but, dying in 1732, was succeeded by Spencer Phips. Belcher had a son of the same name who, after graduating at Harvard in 1728, was a student at law in the Temple, and served his father in London.

The new Governor landed in Boston from a war-ship Aug. 10, 1730. He also was received with parade and festivities, with warm expressions of grateful loyalty, and with a sermon. He seems to have stood faithful to his paternal religion. In his first speech to the Court the next month he planted himself on the prerogative which he was to represent here. He said he had positive instructions from the king to require a fixed salary of £1,000, and if it was refused he was to return immediately to England; adding a downright threat from the monarch to lay the contumacy of the Province before Parliament, insisting that its undutiful and rebellious spirit should be checked. The House was cool and firm. It offered him £1,000 for his services and expenses, and another like sum "to enable him to manage the public affairs." The Council concurred, but proposed in an amendment "that the latter grant be fixed as annual, and then continued for the present Governor." The House said "No!" to both propositions. There was a conference between House and Council in presence of Belcher. He was calm and adroit, his aim being to get the whole Council on his side; and he alternated between threats and flatteries. Some few of the representatives would have yielded, but the Boston men were inflexible. Five hundred pounds more were granted him "for services," and a like sum was deposited in the Bank of England to be used in payment of agents. The Governor afterward regretted that he had approved of this deposit, when he found it turned to account in supporting complaints against himself.

A bill was prepared and offered in the House providing in a very qualified way a compensation of £1,000 for this Governor, as a native, knowing the country well, and so as presumably impartial while representing the

wishes of the monarch; but it was not to be binding as to his successors. This bill it was understood the Governor would approve; but as it did not pass, he gave up the fight with an endeavor to secure a modification of his instructions from England. The Duke of Newcastle sent him, in August, 1735, an order, first, to accept the sum granted for the year, and afterward to take the most he could get. Thus effectually, on the side of the resolved popular purpose, closed a controversy of such continued and pertinacious a character. A point of honor was saved to the Crown by the condition that



GOVERNOR BELCHER.[1]

[1] [This cut follows a portrait, painted in 1729, hanging in the gallery of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is by Liopoldt. See Perkins's *Copley*, p. 25. His likeness was also taken by R. Phillips, and a mezzotint engraving of it was made in 1734 by I. Fabor, measuring 9½ by

whatever grant was made to the Governor should be assigned at the opening of the session of the Court, so as to avoid any possible reference in it to approbation or displeasure as regarded his official course.

By Belcher's order Massachusetts sacrificed five hundred men in the war with Spain, in 1739, to help Admiral Vernon in his expedition against Cuba. For the rest, his administration was agitated by a continuous financial controversy. The pecuniary affairs of the Province were in a most distracted condition, and the treasury was long wholly empty, public creditors in vain demanding their pay. The point in contention concerned the issue of bills to be current longer than the date limited by the king, for 1641. But Boston merchants got round the king's order by a scheme of their own. A Land Bank Company was organized, though opposed by the Governor, amid threats of popular disturbance.[1] An Act of Parliament, which it was declared "does and shall extend to the Colonies and Plantations," dissolved this company. Another controversy, long pending, related to the boundaries between Plymouth and Rhode Island, and Massachusetts and New Hampshire. This was settled under Belcher, to the loss to Massachusetts, both in the north and in the south, of much territory that had been claimed by her.

Belcher was removed on May 6, 1741, and, after four years, was made Governor of New Jersey. Retaining his affection for his native place, he enjoined that his remains should be brought to Cambridge for burial. He died, Aug. 31, 1757.

William Shirley, born in London in 1694, having resided in Boston eight years as an eminent lawyer, was commissioned May 16, 1741, as successor to Belcher, and held the chair till he embarked on his recall to England, Sept. 12, 1756. An interval of four years of his term — from Sept. 11, 1749, to Aug. 7, 1753 — he had passed in England and France, as commissioner on the boundaries of their possessions in America, — Spencer Phips, the Lieut.-Governor, acting in his absence. Shirley's agency and activity here were divided in much the larger measure to his military services in the critical conduct of the later struggles of our French and Indian wars, and for the rest to a troubled civil administration. His ability and spirit were of a high

12½ inches. It represents him holding his commission, shows a glimpse of Boston in the distance, and beneath are his arms with the motto: "Loyal au mort." There is a Belcher genealogy in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1873; see also, 1865. p. 207, for items. In the cabinet of the Hist. Society are eight volumes of the letter-books of Belcher, as follows: vol. i., September, 1731, to November, 1732; vol. ii., November, 1732, to January, 1734; vol. iii., January, 1734, to April, 1735; vol. iv., August, 1739, to September, 1740; vol. v., September, 1740, to July, 1743, — "this volume was found at Milton, in the house of John Swift, the property of Hon. E. H. Robbins, by whom it was presented to J. McKean, and by him given to the Historical Society to make their series more complete;" vol. vi., 1747–1748 (written principally from Burlington in New Jersey: the volume is marked, "Joseph Eckley, given to him by a relation in the family. Given to J. Stickney by David Eckley, Esq., the second son of the late Dr. Eckley, and by Stickney given to Nathaniel G Snelling, Esq., 11 Mar: 1815"); vol. vii., October, 1750, to August, 1752 (from Burlington and Elizabethtown); viii., July to December, 1755 (imperfect, from Elizabethtown). — Ed.]

[1] [See Mr. Scudder's chapter in this vol.—Ed.]

order in military matters, and were perhaps exaggerated in his own ambitious estimate of his capacities. But he was brave and earnest in the work, and with a genius for planning campaigns. The disastrous expedition led by Braddock, in the death of that General, put Shirley in command of all the British forces in America, till General Abercrombie, and then the Earl of Loudoun, was sent over as General. The chief interest, therefore, of Shirley's administration centres in the campaigns which he helped to plan and to bring to triumphant results in extinguishing French dominion on this continent as the consequence of the last declaration of war with France, in 1744. Most conspicuous among these was that splendid achievement of the Provincial arms, the reduction of the fortress of Louisburg.[1] The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, proved to be but a truce.

Shirley had his full share of sharp collisions and controversies with the intractable legislators of Massachusetts, as they were driven even beyond their wits' end by their financial perplexities. He tried to maintain the authority of his royal instructions against all the banking schemes, and all issues of bills not redeemable in coin at the end of the term of their contract. But Boston merchants again circumvented the king. Relief and partial deliverance were found in the rich remittance of English coin sent here to remunerate the services of the Province against Louisburg. The historian of this period would have need — as is uncalled for here — to trace the workings and ferments of the intense religious excitement caused by the visit and preaching of Whitefield, which stirred the people with a new sensation, and led to a deluge of polemical pamphlets.[2]

During the absence of Governor Shirley, on his boundary commission, a little fishing settlement had been made at Pulling Point. Those interested in it asked of the Governor permission to call it by his name. Thus we have for a tongue of land in our harbor the name Point Shirley.[3] He re-embarked on his recall to England, on Sept. 25, parting with the General Court in kindly terms.

On Aug. 11, 1749, Governor Shirley had with much ceremony laid the corner-stone of the present King's Chapel, succeeding to the former edifice of wood.[4] This stone is at the northeast corner, and the services of the occasion took place in the church then standing. The beautiful marble monument and bust which commemorate the Governor's wife, Lady Frances Shirley, who died in Dorchester in 1746, mark a severe affliction sustained by him in the loss of one greatly beloved and esteemed, and whose decease called forth deep and wide sympathy. It was said that Shirley was much indebted to the high connections of this lady for his first advancement. While on his mission in France he secretly married a young Roman Catho-

[1] [See Colonel Higginson's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See Dr. McKenzie's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[3] [See the account of a visit of Shirley to the Point, and of a dinner given him there at the time, in Boston *News-Letter*, Sept. 13, 1753, copied in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1859, p. 111. — Ed.]

[4] [See Mr. Bynner's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

lic, the daughter of his landlord, a connection which proved to him the source of much mortification and regret. He was, after he left here, commissioned Governor of one of the Bahama Islands, in which office being succeeded by a son he came back to his seat between Dorchester and Roxbury, where he died, March 24, 1771, and was entombed under King's Chapel.[1]

Lieut.-Governor Phips, who had taken the chair when Shirley embarked for England, felt incompetent to act in the military capacity required of him in the meeting of the Council for the conduct of the war, held in Boston in January, 1757, and the Province was therefore represented by a commission. Phips died on April 4 following, and, under the Presidency of Sir William Pepperrell, the Council, according to the charter, became the Executive. News was soon received that Thomas Pownall had been appointed Governor on March 12, 1757, and might be expected soon to arrive, as he did on August 3. He had been twice before in Boston, in the employment of and in confidential relations with Shirley. He had conceived a mistrust of that Governor, doubting his military capacity, and suspecting him of purposes and schemes which looked rather to his own advancement than to the service of the king. Passing twice, as in the interest of the exigencies of the military measures, between England and America in the darkest and most critical period of the war with France, just preceding its triumphant close, he is supposed to have made such representations as secured his own commission. He was generally regarded as able, honest, and wise. He seems to have more shrewdly and intelligently than any of his predecessors understood the real temper of the people whom he had come to govern, and to have divined the tendencies that were here working towards the coming struggle which resulted in the independence of the colonies. He stood calmly and firmly for the prerogative of the king, but as far as possible endeavored to study and adapt himself to the humors and sensitiveness of the people. So he received many evidences of popular favor, as well as especial esteem and respect from his associates in office. When he was recalled after a short term, at his own request, unusual compliments were paid to him. Still, he did not find his position and situation pleasant to him; and, though he might have remained, he sought relief, and was in 1760

[1] [A daughter of Shirley married John Erving, of Boston; and the late Samuel G. Drake had engraved for his *Five Years' French and Indian War* a portrait of Shirley, painted in 1750 by Hudson, and belonging to a descendant of Erving, — Shirley Erving, Esq. The likeness in the frontispiece of this volume follows this engraving. Pelham, in 1747, issued "a curious print of his Excellency, done in mezzotinto, to be sold by him, at his school in Queen Street." (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1866, p. 201.) For an account of the Shirley House, later known as the Eustis house, given also in the cut, see Mr. Drake's chapter in this volume. It is shown also in one of the views of Boston taken in the Revolutionary period, and reproduced in Vol III. See also Drake's *Dean of Roxbury*, p 120 The Shirley arms, which still may be seen within King's Chapel, are figured also in the *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 12. Shirley was buried in the Chapel, March 24, 1771. The panel with the royal arms represents the one, now in the Historical Society's Rooms, which was originally displayed above the door of the Province House. The Cross, now standing above the entrance of Harvard College Library, was brought from Louisburg by the Massachusetts troops, and is also shown in the cut. — ED.]

transferred successively to New Jersey as Lieut.-Governor, and to South Carolina as Governor. He was a member of Parliament from 1768 to 1780, and, using his experience gained in America as to the tendency of the British measures in the colonies, he uttered in our behalf advice and warn-

GOVERNOR POWNALL.[1]

[1] [This cut follows a likeness owned by the Historical Society. It is stated in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov. 1875, that the original portrait of Pownall is at Earl Orford's, in Norfolk, and that the Historical Society's picture, presented by the late Lucius Manlius Sargent, is said to have been painted from an engraving, perhaps the one which bears this inscription: "Cotes, pinxit: Earlom fecit. Thomas Pownall, Esq., member of Parliament, late Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief and Vice-Admiral of His Majesty's Provinces, Massachusetts Bay and South Carolina, and Lieut.-Governor of New Jersey, June 5, 1777." — ED.]

ings and protests which were not regarded. He was a man of fine culture, and a voluminous author. Living to the age of eighty-three, and dying in 1805, he saw this country, in fulfilment of his own prophecies, take its place among the nations.

It was generally the case that the personal and official variances and altercations between the royal Governors and the legislature and people of Massachusetts were held in abeyance at intervals when disturbing or threatening perils of a comprehensive character, and arising chiefly from the long extended struggle of the English colonies in French and Indian warfare, engrossed the popular interests and made the colonists feel their dependence upon British arms and subsidies. Pownall came into office at the very darkest period of the war, when the colonists, burdened with debt, decimated by slaughter, disheartened by many military disasters, by dissensions in the counsels of officers of proved incompetence, and by despair for the future, had well-nigh given over hope. But before Pownall left the country the prospect had brightened, and great successes had been achieved. Pitt's return to office had invigorated British resolve and the whole administration of affairs. He lifted our own Provincial officers, up to the colonelcies, to an equality with those of the regulars. Sept. 9, 1760, witnessed the extinguishment of French dominion on this continent; and peace was formally ratified in 1763. England had spent in the war seventy-three millions sterling. Was it in her own aggrandizement, or for our protection? To compel us to share in the burden — beyond our own enormous sacrifices of money and life — was the motive of those schemes for taxing us which led to our revolt. It was under Pownall's administration here that the General the Earl of Loudoun, just before he was superseded in his command, was worsted in his fierce struggle with our Legislature, in his requisition for quartering British troops in Boston. He had to content himself with the Castle.

Pownall embarked for his return to England, June 3, 1760. Thomas Hutchinson, who had been commissioned Jan. 31, 1758, as Lieut.-Governor, and who took his place as such June 1, 1758, had an opportunity to try his hand at the helm for two months after the departure of Pownall. Hutchinson might early in this part of his career have taken warning of the risks to which he was subjecting himself by holding at one time more high offices than had any one before him, and such as have never since been allowed to the same person. He was Lieut.-Governor, Councillor, Chief-Justice of the Superior Court, and Suffolk Judge of Probate. This plurality of office-holding led to the contest in the Legislature of 1762 against the Justices of the Superior Court having a place in either branch of it, and against the Lieut.-Governor being at the same time a Councillor.

Sir Francis Bernard, born in England in 1714, and who had been Governor of New Jersey, was commissioned Governor of Massachusetts Jan. 14, 1760,

and arrived in Boston on the 2d of August following. He came to find affairs on an apparently peaceful and prosperous footing. He stayed till all was in a turmoil, and left only just before the storm broke. It seemed to be the aim of this prerogative Governor, who came in with the young King George III., to make it appear that the grand design of this monarch was to be to secure the liberties and privileges of his colonists, while the people would take great satisfaction in recognizing all the demands of their sovereign and his parliament. The "Molasses Duty," imposed as a source of revenue to the Crown, and bearing so onerously as to provoke a general evasion of it, first engaged the Governor's zeal against the traders. The officers of Customs were rigorous in collecting exorbitant claims and forfeitures of the merchants engaged in foreign trade, and enriched themselves at the expense of the treasury; and there was a contest between the Governor and the Legislature as to the rights of the attorney-general in bringing suits against the pilfering officials. Then came the sturdy struggle, with the pleadings of the ablest men for the people and for the Crown as advocates or opponents,— James Otis earning his laurels on the writs of assistance, empowering the officers of the Customs to enlist the help of anybody at hand to enter and search any place at pleasure for dutiable goods. These, however, were grievances of a local character, chiefly felt in Boston. The Representatives for a while preserved an amicable relation with Bernard; and in a fit of good humor the Court made him a present of Mount Desert. The measures which stirred the popular spirit, and rapidly trained the Province to determined resistance to ministerial encroachments on its liberties, were those connected with the imposition of the Stamp Act and other duties, with the purpose of raising a revenue from the Province for the British exchequer. From first to last, resolutely, defiantly, and successfully, these impositions were rejected. As, from time to time in the development of the conflict, the people, by their stern opposition — sometimes marked by a dignified, logical, and argumentative pleading; sometimes by a turbulent outburst of lawless violence and mob-rule — compelled a removal of the tax in one or another form, the British legislature coupled with the special relief the unqualified assertion of the absolute right to obtain from us a revenue in some shape. This general claim carried the controversy down to fundamental principles. As to the demand that we should help in some way to bear the burden of the debt incurred by Great Britain in the continuous warfare with the French and Indians on this continent, the reply was that Britain had come in to our aid only after we had exhausted our own resources single-handed in the contest; that we had already suffered in the loss of valuable lives, in debts incurred, and in our wretched condition from a paper currency more than our full share of the burden; and that Britain had an eye rather to her own stretch of empire than to our protection. But, as to the fundamental principle reached in the contest, the sole power of the purse was claimed as resting in our legislative body in all matters concerning ourselves, as fully and as rigidly

as it was asserted by the House of Commons for Britain. Bernard kept all the elements of discontent and passion in a constant ferment by hectoring and proroguing the Legislature, and the people were forced to try the virtue of conventions, town-meetings, and committees of correspondence with the towns and with the other colonies. The Stamp Act closed the courts and instigated outrages and riots. Its enforced repeal quickened outbursts of popular joy, which made a special triumph significant of the conviction that the whole stake would be sure, if resolve and pluck stood by the fundamental principle. Then came the acrimonies and the turbulences connected with the attempts to quarter foreign troops on the citizens of Boston, in response to the repeated suggestions of more than one of the royal Governors that a present military force could alone subdue the rebellious spirit of the town, inflamed by a few demagogues. To claim the whole of right and reason on our side in these embittered controversies, or to justify or even palliate the acts of personal violence and mob outrage then perpetrated,—such as insults to sworn officials, tarring, feathering, and burning in effigy; the sacking and destruction of private houses, with pillage, and the turning of Boston harbor into a tea-pot,— is what the historian of our calm and judicial times may assume or decline according to his own temper. There will henceforward be two ways of telling parts of this story. It will always be incumbent on the historian to relate that our rights and cause had supporters in the British Parliament, to whom our early successes were as much to be attributed as to the abilities and arguments of our own patriots.

Bernard was recalled in the summer of 1769, and sailed homeward on the 31st of July to make report of the state of affairs here, and of his own administration, as the basis for future efforts either to conciliate or to subdue. He left us, mistrusted and detested, with the state of public affairs as unsettled and ominous as it well could be.[1]

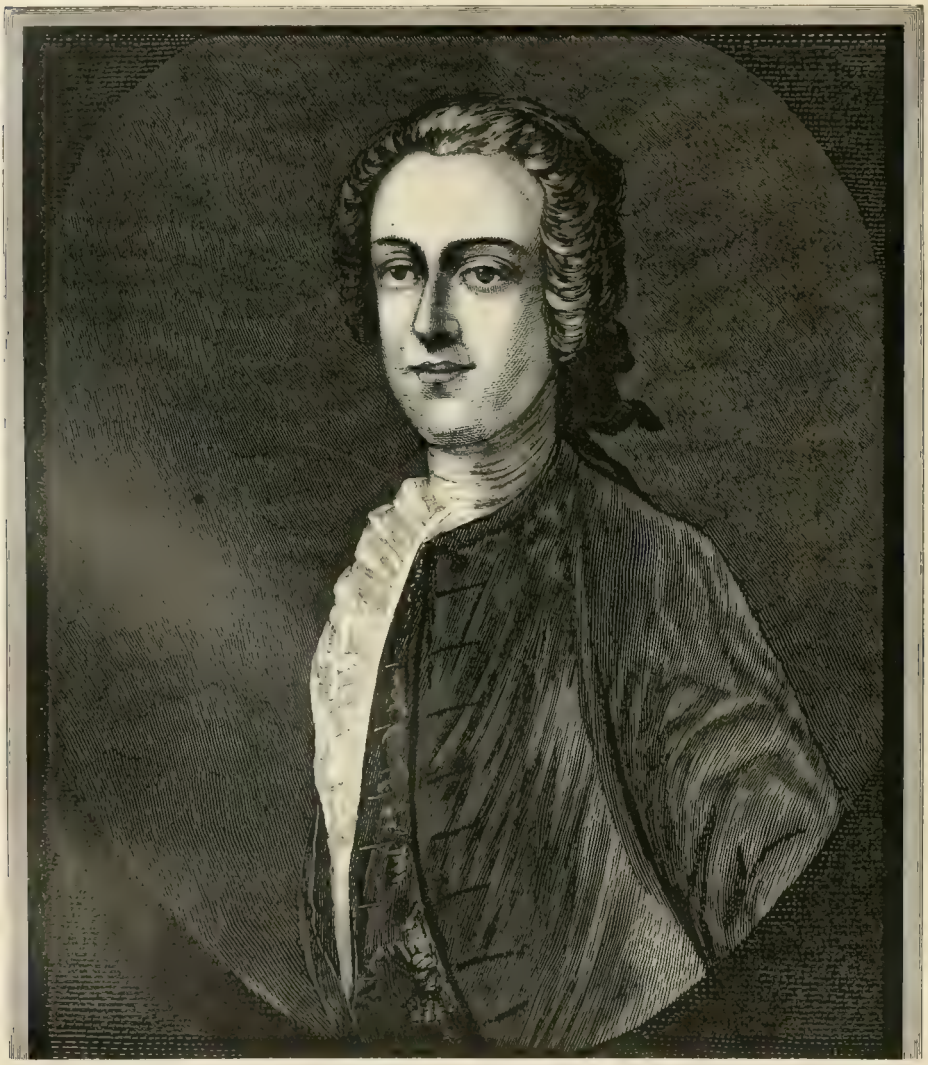
It has often been asserted that if at this juncture Britain had furnished us with a chief magistrate who was gifted and guided by certain ideal qualities and virtues for his office, adapted to the sort of people whom he was to govern and the work he was to do peacefully, the Revolution would have been long deferred, and would have come about, if ever, in quite different ways. This is more than doubtful. It may be questioned whether, even if we had been allowed at this juncture to have chosen our own governor, and had put Sam Adams himself into the office, swearing fealty to the King and fidelity to the Parliament, on any conceivable terms of recognition of the assumed royal prerogative, there would have been a peaceful settlement of the contentions, and a harmony of future relations. Just before Doctor Franklin left his agency in London to return home, con-

[1] [The papers of Governor Bernard, thirteen volumes, are in the Sparks MSS. in Harvard College Library. Vols. i.–viii. are letter-books, 1758–72; ix.–xii., correspondence, 1758–79; xiii., orders and instructions, 1758–61. Sparks bought them in London in 1846. —Ed.]

fidential interviews with him were sought and held by the Earl of Chatham, to see if they could moderate the strife and secure an adjustment of all the difficulties in the case. Here was the wisest American, — patriotic, calm in his moderation, keen in his sagacity, far-sighted and conciliatory in temper; and he gave positive assurance that the colonists were not aiming for independence. Here, too, was the Earl of Chatham, — more honored by us as Mr. Pitt, — who had proved himself in Parliament to be the most earnest and eloquent champion of the colonists in his rebukes of the measures of the Ministry, and his prophetic warnings of the result. The patriot peer wished the advice of the patriot philosopher and statesman as to the terms of the propositions which he might offer to Parliament for conciliation. Neither could accord with the other's views. There was an irreconcilable variance, an insurmountable difficulty in the case. No scheme consistent with the asserted prerogative, claims, and functions of the parent State could harmoniously adjust itself to what Massachusetts held to be her reserved rights.

But whatever might have been the development of the discords in this Province, had the wisest and best man then living been at this crisis made its royal Governor, it was the conviction of many of his contemporaries, as it has been the well-nigh universal judgment of their posterity, that the honor and the ordeal fell upon the worst possible person. Thomas Hutchinson had enjoyed every privilege, distinction, favor, and office which the people of his native Province, where his family had lived since its first settlement, could bestow upon him. He had written laboriously, faithfully, and discreetly its earlier history, and his claims to our gratitude and respect for that service must always be ungrudgingly emphasized. He first came into the Council in 1752; had held the plurality of offices before mentioned; had acted as Governor between Pownall's and Bernard's administration, and filled the chair after the latter's departure. In the vexations which at once came upon him then, he had asked, whether sincerely or otherwise, to be relieved of office; but it is represented that his full ambition was crowned when his commission as Governor, issued Nov. 28, 1770, reached here in March, 1771. Having been in close confidence and sympathy with Bernard, however he may have disguised or prevaricated about the fact, he consistently adopted the measures and policy of his predecessor. Of his general course, and of the motives which guided what most certainly appears to have been a crooked and disingenuous line of conduct, one who is interested in the study of his record must judge as discriminatingly as possible — with however strained interpretations of charity, allowing for the heats of the time — from the abundant materials which are readily at hand. There are words of exculpation and palliation set down for him, but they are few, and they do not seem impartial. The prevailing and often contemptuously and bitterly pronounced estimate of him was that he was untruthful, mean-spirited, unworthily ambitious, sordid, calculating, and cringing. He had given proof of marked ability; had done valuable services to the province and the people; and in matters not conflicting

with his own lower interests might even claim grateful and respectful consideration. Before the full reasons for mistrusting and condemning him were known, the House had even voted to make him its agent at London to secure a recognition of its grievances; but he decided that he could not leave his place. John Adams, who had full means of knowing and estimating him, pronounced upon him with stern severity.[1] Nor will the force



THOMAS HUTCHINSON.[2]

[1] *Works*, ii. 278.

[2] [There is an original portrait belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which measures 18 × 14 inches, and is supposed to have been painted by Copley. The Society acquired it in 1796. (*Proceedings*, i. 401, 417; Perkins, *Works of Copley*, 76.) It was engraved on steel in 1847, and appeared in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal Reg.*, October, 1847; in Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, and in some copies of Drake's *Boston*. The Historical Society also received from Peter Wainwright, in 1835, another likeness, marked "Edward Truman, pinx., 1741," which had formerly belonged to Jonathan Mayhew, and which is followed in the above cut. — Ed.]

of the patriot's utterance be weakened when one reads the counter estimate of Adams made by Hutchinson in the volume which he wrote in England. Two leading facts, however, stand significantly prominent in Hutchinson's record: First, he wrote and exhibited letters *addressed* to men of influence about the Court and Parliament, in which he strongly pleaded in behalf of the Province in the stand taken by it against its grievances. These letters were not sent abroad. He wrote quite other letters in tone and purport which did reach their destination, and which contained very urgent requests that they should be kept with the utmost secrecy, and that his hand in them should not be divulged. These confidential and disguised communications were of the most offensive tenor to the popular party here, — defamatory of prominent individuals, misrepresenting the truth about persons, opinions, and measures; of a misleading character in statements and advice, and recommending and urging harsh agencies, decided hostilities, and repression through a strong military force to be quartered on the Province. These insidious and treacherous letters, through an ingenious and mysterious agency, in which Doctor Franklin had the principal hand, were obtained in England, sent back here, and gradually made public, to the consternation of an exasperated people. They are now to be read in our Archives, and many of them are in print.

Hutchinson informed the General Court, in June, 1772, that the king had settled upon him a salary of £1,500. It soon appeared also that the law officers of the Province were to receive a royal stipend. The House resolved that these royal salaries were an infraction of the Charter, making the king's officers independent, and masters of the people.

The rapid development of quarrels and resistance, the measures of patriots, dignified and well advised, as offensive and defensive, or tumultuous, violent, and illegal, find a relation in other pages of this work,[1] which follow the wise methods of committees of correspondence, or trace the doings of the "Mohawks" who emptied the tea-chests into the harbor. Thomas Gage, commissioned to supersede Hutchinson as Governor, but in reality coming as general of an army, arrived here May 13, 1774, and was soon followed by his regiments. Hutchinson, whose last act with Gage was to close the port of Boston, sailed for England, a sad and broken man, on June 1, and died there in retirement, June 3, 1780, in his sixty-ninth year. In that retirement he wrote a continuation of his valuable history down to the time of his leaving the country. This remained in manuscript till its publication was secured in London, in 1828, largely through the solicitation of the Hon. James Savage and a few others, prompted by the efforts of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is a matter of grateful recognition that we have in this volume — what the candid and the just will always highly appreciate — the relation of Hutchinson's own story as told by himself. He has written it well, with self-restraint, dignity, and without passion, bitterness, or obtrusive malice.[2] His pages close, alike on the side of Britain

[1] [See Vol. III., Revolutionary Period, ch. i. — Ed.] [2] [See Vol. I., Introduction. — Ed.]

and of this Province, the state of guardianship infelicitously exercised and fretfully endured by the Crown of England and the people of Massachusetts. After that, in the expressive phrase of the great dramatist, —

> "The baby beats the nurse, and quite athwart
> Goes all decorum."[1]

In reviewing this brief sketch of the administration of a succession of royal officials sent here to govern this Province after it had for more than fifty years substantially governed itself, the story has been one wholly of restlessness, altercation, and failure. It can hardly fail but that some readers may find rising in their minds a question something like this: How was it that among these ten royal Governors there did not happen to be a single one who, either by honest or sinister aim in his policy, was guided by a prevailing purpose to conciliate and humor a refractory people; relaxing his own rule, and even the prerogative, in order to adjust an unwelcome authority so that it should be as little offensive as possible; and even subordinating the direct instructions of the king to the practical exigencies of time and occasion, so that whatever else might be said of him, whether a native or a foreigner, he might win the applause of being a friend of the people? In that number of ten there was a range for a considerable variety in natural temper, disposition, and executive discretion. And even if a popular policy had trespassed upon a literal fidelity to the sworn official obligations of the representative of the Crown, the offender, if kindly and ingenious, might readily have attempted to justify himself, and failing in that might have retired. But not a single one of these Crown officials — least of all one native to the soil — made any measurable advance towards this policy. The people here had very slight opportunity or occasion to reciprocate to a Crown official any complacent favors, as if they stood on a perfectly easy footing with each other. The most that could be drawn from any one of these royal Governors was a promise to plead with the king for certain concessions or relaxations for the future, on the condition that the people in the meanwhile manifested their docility by a patient, if not a cheerful, compliance with his instructions. It would at least have been interesting, for variety's sake, to one reviewing the portion of our history just sketched, to have had to recognize at least a single chief magistrate who might be spoken of as a popular favorite, bent upon serving the people rather than the monarch. Even an inclination or a disposition to have espoused the popular and local interests would have been gratefully recognized, and would have availed something. But no trace of any such will or purpose appears in the course of those who held the royal commission here, least of all among those of whom it might most naturally have been looked for, — the natives of the Province. It is to be remembered, however, that with the exception of Hutchinson, these home-bred officials had been to a degree weaned from the habits and principles of the place of their nativity. They had crossed the seas and *had* changed their minds. They had been

[1] *Measure for Measure*, I. IV.

conversant with courts and courtiers, with free-thinkers and free-livers. They had had a larger outlook than their compatriots, and had recognized in the straitness, simplicity, and limitations of their countrymen, their often ungenial religious habits, and their provincial notions, qualities which it would be hypocrisy in themselves to indulge. The power of the clergy had made its last and unsuccessful assertion of itself in opposition to the change of charters, with the consequent fundamental innovations which the new one brought with it. The leading congregational ministers in the capital and its near neighborhood were already not wholly in accord as representing the traditional straitness of the former "elders," and a liberal and relaxed spirit manifested itself in some of them towards the imported loyalty which tolerated some unwonted forms and observances. But the country ministers were, hardly with exception, stiffly true to the inheritance for which they had been born and trained. It was by these last that the country representatives were kept watchful for all that threatened the old ways. These country ministers annually gathered in convention in Boston, at the season of the election; and they were not likely to forget that their predecessors, "the elders," had been wont to have a share in the councils of the magistrates.

The king's governors were, without an exception, loyal to him. No evidence or instance has been disclosed, to our knowledge, of intrigue or bargaining which required a weakening of that loyalty, even to allay popular opposition, much less to advance popular measures. There seems to have been something in the conscious dignity of holding a commission from the parent country over one of its wilful and restive progeny, which made the king's governor identify himself with the authority of the master. His honors received from the king were higher than any which he could receive from his subjects, even if they were likely to add any of their own. Nor were the conditions and difficulties of office-holding of a sort to be relieved by any conciliatory policy. In this representation of foreign dictation and control, there was a direct necessity of restricting the liberties of the people and of opposing what they knew to be their own interests. The single and avowed purpose and demand of the royal councillors that the colonists should not engage in any manufacturing industries, nor even be free to barter any goods or wares of their own households over their own borders, one with another, had in it every quality of injustice and tyranny. A special effort under this edict aimed at the suppression of the manufacture of woollen goods. Flocks of sheep might nibble over the pastures and yield their fleeces for the spinning and carding of the good wives in all our rural settlements; nevertheless Britain insisted upon the right to weave cloths for us, and forbade our making our own. The harsh demand suggests to us the domestic discipline by which a mother takes away the clothing of a refractory young urchin, and sends him to bed in the daytime. Industry, ingenuity, and thrift worked like electricity in the very fibres and muscles of the true yeomanry of Massachusetts. Knowing well under whose service and wages they and their boys and girls would surely come if not fully

employed, they had naturally supplemented the labors of the farm with those of the shop, the mill, and the factory. The coming in hither, about 1718, of a considerable company of Scotch Irish from the neighborhood of Londonderry, had stimulated the business of raising and spinning flax, and the manufacture of linen. Quite an enthusiasm was excited in Boston for this enterprise. A town-meeting was held, at which good Chief-Justice Sewall presided, for the purpose of establishing spinning-schools for the instruction of children. A building was erected for the purpose opposite the present Park Street meeting-house. Quite a jolly festivity was made on one occasion when the Common was covered by the good women of the town all busy with their spinning-wheels, and waited upon by a crowded concourse of admiring friends of the other sex.[1] It was a curious manifestation of the unmaternal and jealous spirit of the mother country toward her step-daughter, that as the Governors sent over information about the introduction of one or another handicraft here which, while drawing upon the natural resources of our people, would make them independent of the products of the workshops of England, an interdict or repressive condition would be placed upon it; and in proportion as our own manufactures were suppressed the duties on imported articles would be raised. Britain began then the policy which she has pursued up to our own time, of employing exclusive trade and protecting tariffs while aiming to the end of constituting herself the workshop of the world, and having attained the result through machinery and pauperized labor, demanding that other Governments adopt the principles of free-trade. During Bernard's and Hutchinson's administrations the people adopted as a resource for self-protection, and as an offset to English selfishness, the policy of making non-importation agreements. This measure was a galling one to English merchants and traders, as their warehouses soon became glutted with the goods which had been finding so lively a market in the colonies. It was an act of apparent self-denial and disablement, the liberty to subject themselves to which could not be denied by any Parliamentary bill; and the destruction of the tea gave occasion for a vengeful attempt to destroy the whole trade of Boston by closing the port. This act in turn engaged sympathy for the suffering people of the town, opened every access to it from the adjoining country by land into a highway for pouring into it needful supplies, and was the most effective measure for making even the most distant colonies to feel that they had a common cause as the basis of a future union.

Emphasis has been fairly laid in previous remarks upon the fidelity, never swerved by any attempts to win popular favor, with which all the royal Governors studied to secure the prerogative and to obey the instructions of the king and his councillors. So far they deserve the credit of faithful service under hard conditions. But if we proceed to ask whether they served their monarch discreetly, if they interpreted with keen sagacity the current in which they were moving and tried in vain to direct a safe

[1] [See Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

course, and if they gave right information and good advice to the rulers across the water, we find reason to withhold anything like commendation from those Governors. The question has often been discussed as to the precise date and occasion, if there were such, when an opinion, purpose, or resolution was first reached in Massachusetts that looked to an assertion of absolute independence of the royal authority, with a conscious effort and preparation for achieving it. Extreme opinions have found forcible expression on this point, and the records of individuals and of bodies of men from town-meetings up to the Continental Congress may be quoted in support of either and both those opinions. Our leading patriots have been denounced as hypocrites, or double-tongued, on the strength of the assertion that their speeches and writings contain equally distinct disavowals of aiming for an independence, connected with professions of hearty loyalty to the Crown, and also demands, threats, and defiances which are consistent only with an assurance that if they were not already independent they meant to be so. All this is true. These utter inconsistencies of avowal and purpose are to be found in the writings and were upon the lips of the patriots of those days. But they are wholly divested of all real duplicity and deception when viewed in connection with the ever-shifting phases of affairs and the development of the quarrel. It is true, likewise, that if a measure of like character, but on a large scale, with that referred to above in the interview between Franklin and Chatham, had been attempted as between our House of Representatives and a royal Governor instructed for the purpose, it would have been futile. Suppose the king had instructed his viceroy to invite our General Court, after the fullest deliberation, and with the encouragement that their results would be considered with equal wisdom and candor, to propose some scheme or plan on which, to the satisfaction of both parties, the colony should henceforward stand in its relations to the mother country, — it is very plain that no such scheme could have been agreed upon. The policy and the assumed prerogative, which would have been of axiomatic authority for the mother country, was in direct and irreconcilable antagonism with the estimate and basis of their *natural rights* held by the people of Massachusetts.

The royal Governors did not divine the real truth on this fundamental point; or, if they did so, they failed to represent it to the monarch, and offered advice as to repressive measures and intimidation by an overawing military force quartered here, which was of the most misleading and mischievous character. There may be found to-day in the official papers sent home by all the royal Governors, — with the single exception of those of Sir William Phips, — the most distinct assertions that the animating feeling and intent of all the disaffection here were consistent only with an absolute resolve to be independent of all royal and parliamentary control. This popular revolt from authority was, however, alleged to be not a spontaneous and permanent resolve of the people, but to be inspired, renewed, and kept in passionate manifestation mainly by a few wily and able demagogues, who

plied all their arts and tricks to deceive and stimulate the people. The consequent advice, therefore, was that a military force should be quartered here, and that the aforesaid demagogues be sent to England for trial for treason. On the whole, we may conclude that Britain gained nothing by that change in our Charter which put us under governors commissioned by the Crown, instead of allowing us, as before, to choose our own. Connecticut, which was left through all this period to enjoy its old privilege in this respect, was not found to be any more fretful under a foreign allegiance, or any more ready to renounce it when the crisis came, than was Massachusetts to be released from guardianship.

In connection with this sketch of the administration of the Province by Crown governors, some reference must be made to those who as members of the Council shared their executive functions. As previously noted, the royal authority was by the Charter to be represented here by a Council of twenty-eight members, who should balance the power exercised by the popular branch of the legislature in the House of Representatives. The king initiated the membership of this council when the Charter took effect, by naming those who it was his pleasure should compose it. He did the same thing again, as we shall soon see, when the Charter, royal prerogative, and the relation of subjects to the mother country were about to be renounced forever by the people in assertion of their absolute independence. It might reward the research of any curious inquirer to explain by what purpose and through whose advice and information the king selected the particular men named in the Charter as the first members of it. Doubtless, Mather and the other agents had the privilege of exercising some influence or of offering some suggestions on this important matter, as they had in indicating Phips as the first governor. But the very object of the council, with the functions intrusted to it, signified that the king relied upon it as well as upon his governor to represent his authority, and in fact to sustain and reinforce that of the governor against any excess of popular influence. The king and his advisers were sufficiently astute to look to it that in the first composition of the council reference should be had to his own supposed interest and wishes. It happened that all those whom he nominated in the instrument were residents in the province. Not one of them came over here as a stranger to present himself first as a councillor. Still the king intended to have, and thought he had secured on the executive board, some who should represent his prerogative. And such there were, and such there continued to be, in men who, as dividing issues opened wider, stood stoutly with the governor against the spirit, tendency, and measures of the popular branch in the legislature. The king's advisers then, in his selection, must have known who there were here who were in more or less sympathy with his own interests and views. The existence of such a class in the higher ranks of the magistracy and society, who were known to be prerogative men, will call for brief notice further on. No serious trouble occurred under the

short administration of Phips on account of the first composition of the council. With few exceptions, of perhaps a half-dozen whom the House would never have nominated for the honor, most of its members were acceptable to the people. And when on the following year, at the first election, the House nominated councillors for the governor's approbation, there was rather an increase on the board of those who were even in sympathy with the old order of things. But from that date onward one of the chronic altercations between the Governor and the House centred upon his irritation over some of its nominations, his rejection of them, the resentment of the Representatives, and their efforts to circumvent his opposition in that direction. Phips had negatived only a single nominee. Dudley vetoed five of those offered to him by election of the House. The House on one occasion showed its temper by choosing for its Speaker a rejected councillor. This provoked the Governor to claim a right to veto the Speaker, — opening a new strife which, as has been seen, was settled in favor of the Crown's official by a "Supplementary Charter." Thenceforward the governor's aim was to secure a council on the majority, at least, of whose members he might rely to embarrass or prevent the full enactment by the House of any measures offensive to himself. The consequences were a succession of feuds, of conferences, of acts of cross policy, and a constant shifting of the balance of power, with attempts at mutual circumvention between the two bodies. On occasions, each of them sent its special agent to the king and pleaded its own rights and grievances. During the period of the administration by the Provincial Charter, the Council was in the main in real or forced sympathy with the royal Governor, though there were some critical seasons on which it temporized or stood out against him. As the final struggle was matured in its more exasperating measures of Parliamentary dictation and popular resistance, the Council became powerless as an arbitrator, and its composition according to the Charter gave way to the arbitrary designation by the king of a body known as "Mandamus Councillors."

Reference has been frequently made in previous pages of this sketch to accredited Agents of Massachusetts, paid and employed in her service near the British Court. There is something very significant and suggestive in this arrangement when it is traced to its purpose and followed out in its workings. The arrangement may be regarded as a curious and ingenious offset, in a spirit of complacency and self-assertion on the part of the Province, to what it viewed as a sort of supererogatory officiousness on the part of the Crown. The king sent over here a governor to represent himself. The Province reciprocated by stationing its agent near him. The agents had ambassadorial, though not plenipotentiary, powers. So far as either of those terms was in any degree applicable in the case, it would require that its use should be based upon some assumed or supposed view of a sort of independence in the colony or province. That was in fact the underlying ground and reason of this remarkable employment and accrediting of representative

agents by Massachusetts. In fact the only key by which we can interpret and consistently explain the course of the popular administration of Massachusetts in this matter, in their nominal subjection to the English dictation, is the frank avowal that that subjection was never regarded as thoroughly real. At the bottom of their hearts the men of Massachusetts felt that there was no foundation in the nature, in the right, or in the reason of things for that constructive relation which the English monarchs and council assumed Massachusetts to hold to them. The relation was artificial, forced, and undefinable. What looks like wilfulness, or obstinacy, or perversity, or arrogance in her attitude toward England was simply the disguise or the form in which was manifested the unrepressed feeling that still could not frankly assert itself for what it really was. No other explanation makes intelligible the facts which run through our whole history, — which make our history. This underlying feeling was that the passage of the ocean, the reclaiming of a wilderness at their own charges, and the organization of a secure and prosperous Commonwealth, which was gradually adapting itself to a new nationality, had secured for the colonists the absolute right to manage their own affairs. This makes our history lucid. Ignorance, or a non-recognition of this fact on the part of England, may redeem her course toward Massachusetts from the charge of oppression and tyranny, at the same time that it accounts for her failure. In no later colony of Great Britain, in the East or the West, has there ever been any parallelism of her relations to Massachusetts.

Through a large portion alike of the Colonial and the Provincial epoch of our State the authorities here, so far as they represented the feelings of our own people, might rely on having friends and sympathizers at the British Court without the expense, always burdensome, of sending and supporting agents there. Cromwell's government would never have harmed the people of this colony. While contending with commissioners, lords of trade, and governors, Massachusetts might often rely also on the party in opposition to the Ministry for the time being, and likewise on a strong sympathy from a party of the liberty-loving English people as voluntary, spontaneous, and unpaid advocates and defenders. But our authorities, from first to last, always acted on the conviction — which proved to be substantially correct — that the English monarch and his advisers were necessarily ignorant of the true interests of this country, which were, of course, better understood here than there. So it was the policy and wisdom of Massachusetts to enlighten that ignorance, and from her own point of view to represent her own cause, and habitually to keep a friend at court, and on special emergencies a carefully drilled and instructed agent of her own training. To this day no ambassador goes from Washington to represent our nation abroad with more carefully prepared instructions, limitations, and conditions of terms, and with a more direct accountability to the appointing power than did the men whom Massachusetts continuously sent as her agents to England. And Massachusetts stood peculiarly in this respect among the colonies. No other of them, except in a limited way, did like her; and so far as

other colonies on occasions sent their agents to England, or employed special representatives there, it was done in imitation of Massachusetts, — sometimes even to thwart the agents of Massachusetts.

These diplomatic agencies signify a latent sense of rightful independency. For the relations into which Massachusetts put herself with England were truly diplomatic. How accurately, indeed, some of the officials in England who had to deal with the Massachusetts agents divined this pretentious character in which they presented themselves, is well signified in the following incident: When a second draft of the Province Charter had been prepared, the Lords of the Council presented a copy of it to Agent Mather, with the request that any objections might be made known to the Attorney-General. Mather was so dissatisfied that he declared he would rather part with his life than submit to some of its provisions. He was told that the consent of the agents was not essential, and "that they were not plenipotentiaries, as for a sovereign State."[1]

These agents of Massachusetts were sent on special errands from Massachusetts from the earliest years of her history. With the exception of an interval previous to the final vacating of the Colony Charter, during which she did not think it wise or safe to risk any of her leading men in that perilous office, — and in fact could not find any such willing to assume it, — agents, either transient or resident, sent or chosen in England, were continued in an unbroken series down to the Revolution. At that last crisis these agents were not formally recognized as such, nor were their names registered at the public offices; but still they were heard in that capacity.

We shall best understand the office and functions of these agents as simulated diplomatic officials in our Provincial epoch, by tracing them as meeting emergencies in the earlier Colonial period. When the first government established here began, with a high hand, to exercise its authority by clearing its jurisdiction of all unwelcome and offending persons, it was, of course, well understood that such victims would at once spread their grievances with bitter complaining before the authorities at home. Our Court felt it essential to withstand their influence by presenting its own side of the story. So we find on the records that in 1641 Salem and Roxbury churches were to be asked to allow their ministers, Peter and Weld, and the Boston church to allow its member, Mr. Hibbins, a merchant, "to go for England upon some weighty occasions for the good of the country, as is conceived." These first agents well understood their errand. If they had any other than verbal instructions, such did not transpire or get into print or on record in England. Chalmers says[2] that it was considered as proved on the trial of Peter, twenty years afterward, that the mission of these three colleagues was "to promote the interest of reformation by stirring up the war and driving it on." And he insinuates that the intrigues, "perhaps the money," of these agents procured the passage by the Commons of an ordinance, in March, 1643, "for the encouragement of New England," by

[1] [See chap. i. of this volume. — Ed.]

[2] *Revolt*, etc.

freeing "that colony from taxation, either inward or outward, or in this kingdom or in America, till the House take further order to the contrary." Here certainly was a good beginning in an arrangement which involves some of the important ends of diplomacy. It would have been well for Peter had he found his way back here to safe protection in the wilderness, and so have escaped hanging and quartering.

Again, in 1646, Edward Winslow was commissioned as agent "to negotiate for this Colony with the Parliament from which we have lately suffered, for that there was none to inform the same in our behalf." He was especially to defend the colony from the complaints of those to whom it had denied a right of appeal from our Court to England. He was furnished with most careful, explicit, and well-guarded instructions, "fairly and orderly written." He was to make as many friends as possible, while the magistrates separately were to aid him by writing to their friends. Massachusetts thought herself warranted in asking the commissioners of the United Colonies to share the expenses of Winslow's mission. He had been accredited in due form to the Committee on Plantations, and he was plied with new instructions up to 1649.

In December, 1660, very particular instructions were sent to Captain (afterward Governor) Leverett, Richard Saltonstall, and Henry Ashurst, as Commissioners for Massachusetts, to meet all charges against her, to plead her interests, and to keep a general watch over all public affairs at the critical epoch of the restoration of Charles II.; and funds were deposited for expenses. Henry Ashurst, Esq., and his two sons, Sir Henry and William, — alderman and member of Parliament, — were long and faithfully in the employ of the Colony and Province. Sir Henry afterward complained on being superseded by Phips, and on account of inadequate remuneration. In the long and weary period from this date to the fall of the Colony Charter the need of agents well-skilled in diplomacy was emergent, and the service was unwelcome, arduous, and hazardous. In December, 1661, a committee was chosen to prepare very careful instructions, to be signed by the Governor, for the Agents Bradstreet and Norton, and to provide for their pay.[1]

[1] The reader is at liberty to select any epithet he may think appropriate to characterize the following communication addressed by our General Court, in August, 1661, to Charles II., bearing in mind, however, the fact that the address had to serve in the place of any deference paid, or intended to be paid, to the King's orders: —

"Illustrious Sir, — That majesty and benignity both sat upon the throne whereunto your outcasts made their former address, witness this second eucharistical approach unto the best of kings, who, to other titles of royalty common to him with other gods amongst men, delighted therein more peculiarly to conform himself to the God of gods, in that he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted, neither hath he hid his face from him, but when he cried he heard. Our petition was the representation of an exile's necessities. This script, gratulatory and lowly, is the reflection of the gracious rays of Christian majesty. There we besought your favor by presenting to a compassionate eye that bottle full of tears shed by us in this Jeshimon.* Here we also acknowledge the efficacy of regal influence to qualify these salt waters. The mission of ours was accompanied with these churches sitting in sackcloth; the reception of yours was the holding forth the sceptre of life."

They express the hope that Charles will prove a greater and a better king than David. His Majesty came grievously short of this, having only the faults of David, — worse ones, too, — and none of his virtues. [It is doubtful if this address was ever sent. See Vol. I. p. 353.—Ed.]

* *Jeshimon*, — a desert (1 Sam. xxiii. 24).

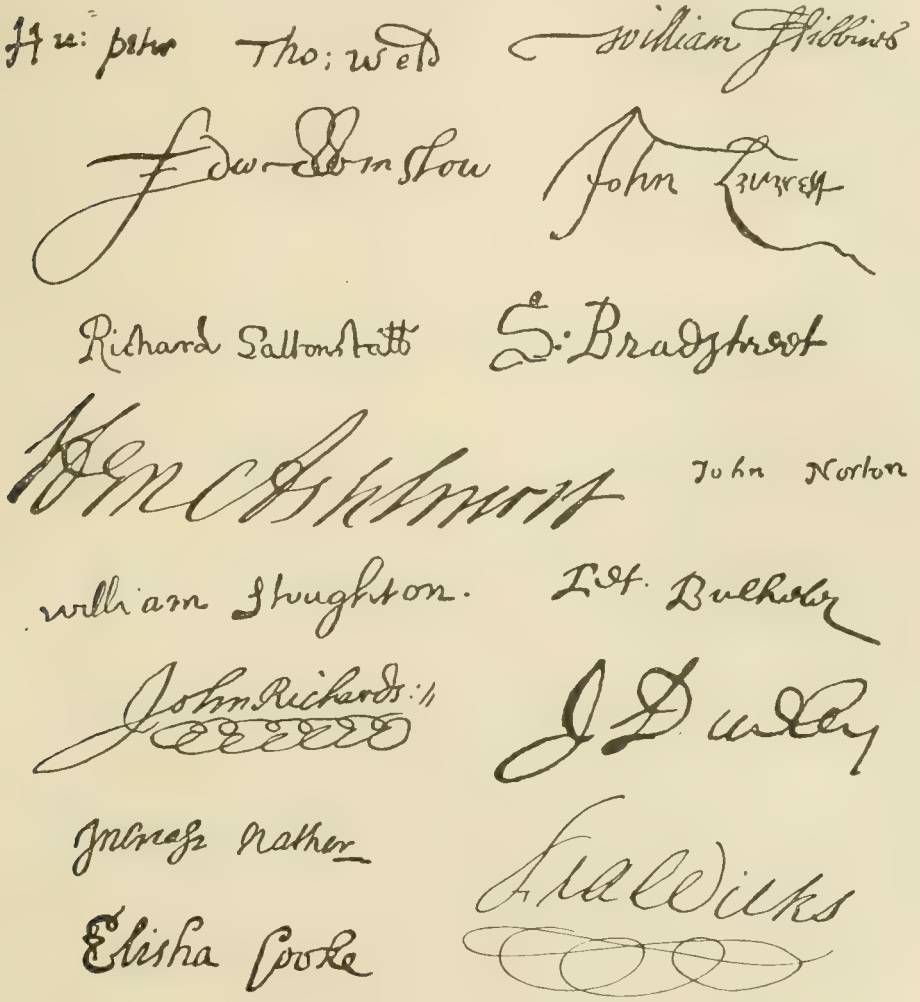
The king was irritated by the limitation of the powers of these agents for agreements and concessions, as they were restricted in their authority as carefully as are modern ambassadors between nations. Charles demanded that agents should be sent well accredited and charged with full powers. The reluctant emissaries took care to stipulate for "public assurance that if their persons were detained in England, their damages should be made good." In 1664 the king had ordered that Governor Bellingham and Magistrate Hathorne be sent over to him as agents, with full powers to bind the Colony to his terms. But it was not prudent at that time for such men to go on such an errand; and this was the safer side of the water.[1] During the presidency of Dudley and the "usurpation" of Andros, on to the reconstruction of the government, it was beyond measure important that Massachusetts should have able, discreet, strong, and true-hearted men close to King and Council, and skilful in winning friends either in the Government, in the Opposition, or in both. All the arts of diplomacy were needed. Enemies, watchful, shrewd, and unscrupulous abounded. Money had supreme power, and poverty was exposure to many risks. The councils of Massachusetts were divided. A prerogative and a popular party were manifesting themselves in well-pronounced elements. The business of an agent was perilous and exacting; not even colleagues, still less a single one, could be entrusted with full or even more than a trifle of discretionary power. When the king, urged on by our enemies or by his Council, after writing many letters, had come to understand the temper of the stoutly recusant and intractable people called his "subjects," he was positive and persistent that any one whom he would consent to accept as a qualified agent should prove that he was such, by being authorized and empowered to make full concession to his demands without any by-play, temporizing, or pleading off. It must be owned that he had had enough of that. The policy of his aforesaid "subjects" was delay, or, to use a more trivial term for a sly artifice, "dilly-dallying," — temporizing, evading, parrying threatened blows by a change of posture, and pleading all sorts of ingenious excuses, even to the extent of excusing excuses. The strong hope committed to this policy then, as afterward through the Provincial agencies, and confirmed by long and hitherto successful trial, was that plots and counter-plots, and riots and revolution in England might distract the attention of authorities and give us time to toughen our sinews. The state papers of Massachusetts, while it was a colony and a province of Britain, have been generally pronounced to be unmatched for acuteness, ingenuity, and plausibility; and candor must add, for cunning evasiveness and roguish subtlety. But as the demands of Charles II. and James II. grew in absolute imperiousness for agents with full powers of concession, Massachusetts became all the more stringent in limiting those powers. At one interval it was thought wiser not to send an agent; at another, no competent person

[1] [For the work of the Massachusetts agents in the endeavor to save the Colonial Charter, see Mr. Deane's chapter in Vol. I. — Ed.]

would venture himself on the errand. When it came to be understood that the required concessions were not to be made to the royal demands, nor yet to orders in Council, nor to the requisitions of the Lords of Trade, but that, instead of conceding, agents must trust to their wits for a fast-and-loose skill in evading and apologizing, the service was indeed a hard one; and fitness and willingness for it could hardly go together. Then, too, those who had done their best in that service, and had stood the badgering and cornering of the contestants at Court as keen-witted as themselves, finding the task futile, had, in their discomfiture, written to our authorities of the hopelessness of opposition and the wisdom of yielding much or little. And then the authorities and the people here, who could but ill appreciate the straits of their agents, would feel aggrieved or angry at the thwarting of their schemes, and would visit their disappointment upon their baffled emissaries in the shape of coldness, neglect, or censure. Nearly every agent on reaching home — the wisest and the best of them in their fidelity — met with an unrewarding and ungracious reception. Some of them were even said to have died of hearts broken by the loss of the esteem and confidence of the people. In 1676, to thwart the machinations of Randolph, the strong-hearted and sagacious William Stoughton — Puritan to the core, though with a prudential willingness to bend to necessity — was sent with a clerical colleague, Peter Bulkeley, and with rigidly guarded instructions. Bulkeley did waver, and fell under the ban; and even the stiff Stoughton came under distrust. He was chosen with Dudley for another mission in 1681, but he had had enough of coldness and reproach, and refused to go. So John Richards was substituted for him, and fared no better. These last appointments were the result of a sort of compromise between the two parties in the House and in the Magistracy, as to whether some concessions should be made to the authorities in England, or whether a stand should be made for all the old Charter privileges. So it was thought advisable to send two men who, to a certain extent, should be a check on each other, as differing in shades of opinion and feeling about critical matters at issue. Dudley was much mistrusted, and received fewer ballots than his colleague. The Court was warily on its guard about these emissaries, Dudley and Richards. They were hampered by most elaborate and cautious instructions; and even the stingy powers left to them were to be "jointly, and not severally, exercised." By the vessel in which these agents sailed, Randolph wrote to the Bishop of London: "Necessity, and not duty, hath obliged this Government to send over two Agents to England. They are like the two Consuls of Rome, Cæsar and Bibulus. Major Dudley is a great opposer of the faction here. If he finds things resolutely managed, he will cringe and bow to anything. He hath his fortune to make in the world, etc."

The special and difficult agency of Increase Mather and his colleagues in connection with the Charter, and his grievances over the ill-requital of his services find due treatment in the first chapter of this volume.

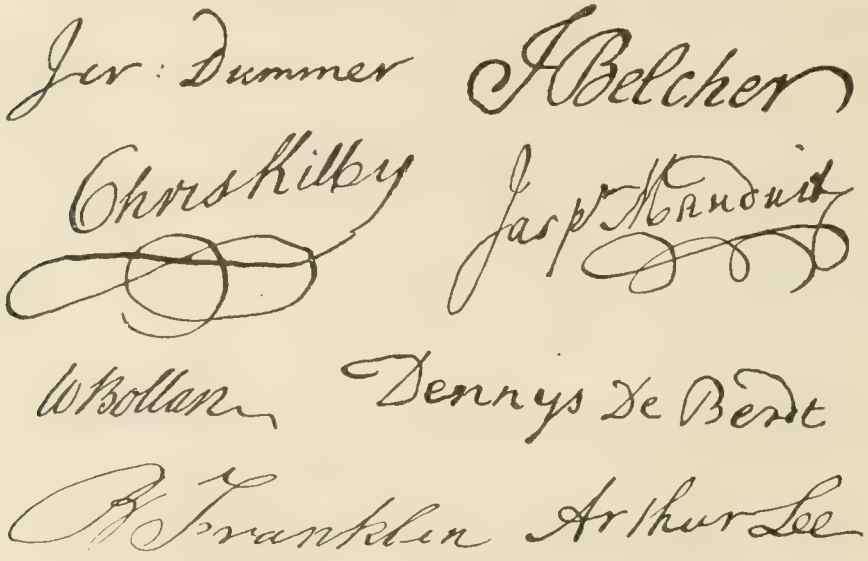
This backward reference to the Colonial Agencies prepares us to recognize the habit and experience of the popular magistracy of Massachusetts, in maintaining what were substantially diplomatic relations with the English Court and Council. Under the Provincial Charter the need of these agencies was even more stringently felt, while the embarrassments and difficulties attending them were increased. The king had his ambassador here in the shape of a governor, a sort of *chargé d'affaires*, with a secre-



THE COLONIAL AND PROVINCIAL AGENTS.

tary of legation, — only he wished the Province to pay these officials. Massachusetts, in reciprocating the compliment, undertook to pay her own emissaries. But as to this pay there arose on occasions a troublesome perplexity. If it was to be drawn from the Province treasury, not only the representatives of the people but the Council and Governor must choose, commission, and draw the warrant for the salary of the agent. We find,

therefore, that in the continuous and embittered strifes which arose between the intractable "subjects" here and their royal Governors, when Massachusetts wished to be represented by agents, after her old Colonial pattern, the House had often to make shift to send them by its separate commission, and to provide for their remuneration by some indirect method other than the public treasury. Sometimes the Council concurred in such agencies without the furtherance of the Governor, and there were occasions which induced the Council to empower an agent of its own. Sewall, in his Diary, gives details of the lively controversy, in 1709, between Governor Dudley and the House, on the appointment by the latter of William Ashurst as agent, while his brother Henry was agent for Connecticut, at a time when there was pending a contest about disputed territory between the two colonies.



THE COLONIAL AND PROVINCIAL AGENTS.

Considerable charges were also incurred by Massachusetts in paying for legal counsel employed by her agents. These Provincial agencies were trusts of heavy responsibility and required very able men. Benjamin Franklin in his turn did good service for Massachusetts and other provinces, as did Edmund Burke for New York.

Massachusetts was excellently and faithfully served by members of the Ashurst family, who were in full sympathy with the religious and political principles which had sway here. Still, one of the brothers was censured for weakness in our cause, nor did either of them nor the father receive due compensation. Associated with them for a time, and our agent from 1710 to 1721, was the able, accomplished, and courtly Jeremy Dummer, grandson of our former immigrant at Newbury. A graduate of Harvard, he had lived abroad several years as a cultivated scholar; and on revisiting his native land was sent back as agent. He was an associate of Boling-

broke, and of other men in power. He parted with all Puritan strictness, adopting somewhat free principles, and had so addicted himself to pleasure that he was exercised by a peculiar depth of penitence as he approached his end. But he was constant and discreet in serving Massachusetts, as well as Connecticut, and did many acts of friendliness, besides efficiently employing his pen in defence of the charters. Yet as an exhibition of the techiness of our popular leaders, he was dropped in 1721, to be re-employed in 1723, because he had advised to certain concessions to the royal Governor.

In 1723 recourse was had by Massachusetts to the services in London of Mr. Anthony Anderson, who had sent hither the heads of the complaints which had been brought against the action of our General Court. The House and Council not being able to agree upon an "Address" in reply, each sent a separate one. Elisha Cooke was commissioned from here to help, and Dummer was again called in to aid. But in 1725 these three agents could not accord. In plain terms, they quarrelled. In 1729, during the contentions with Governor Burnet, Francis Wilkes and Jonathan Belcher, both New England merchants, were intrusted with agencies in behalf of the House. As the Council had not concurred in the appointment, nor in the appropriation of £300 for pay, other Boston merchants became responsible for the funds. Christopher Kilby, of Boston, whose name is perpetuated in a street, was our agent from 1739 to 1749. Jasper Mauduit in 1763, acting as agent without much satisfaction to himself or to his constituents, asked to be relieved. Other able men were called to this difficult service, and as the controversy with the mother country approached to the final upturn it became more and more necessary for Massachusetts to be served by men of mark in intellect and spirit, and at the same time more difficult for her to find such men, who would stand for her side with comfort and safety to themselves. Dr. Franklin filled the ideal of such a representative.

A very interesting and delicate matter presents itself for passing notice in connection with the diplomacy of the Agents of Massachusetts.

Corresponding to the shrewdness, acuteness, and subtle policy of what may be called our state papers of the period — already referred to — were certain proceedings on the part of some of our agents which have been made the grounds of an imputation on their honor as gentlemen, bound to respect certain confidential rights of others. Bearing in mind that a large part of the business of these agents was to penetrate and thwart the secret plottings of our enemies at the Court, and to acquaint themselves with the confidential communications which disaffected persons sent from here touching our popular leaders and their measures, we can scarcely be surprised that these agents, so restricted in the exercise of their own discretion, plied every means of serving their employers in any other way. The agents were well aware that from the earliest days of the colony the King, the Ministry, and the Committees of the Lords were constantly receiving and being influenced by secret information, often unscrupulous and defamatory, and always tending to mischief, sent from residents or chance

visitors here. It was the aim of the agents, if not their duty, to ferret out these foes and their secrets. They tried to do this. The Tory Chalmers [1] alleges instances of what he regards as dishonorable doings in this direction. He doubtless laid his stress upon the signal case of Dr. Franklin, soon to be again referred to. Going back to the first year of our colony, Chalmers affirms that "the letters written to their friends by the Browns, whom Endicott sent home from Salem, were feloniously intercepted and read in our General Court, on the pretence, equally mean and unjust, that they might possibly injure the plantation. Thus early was introduced into the politics of Massachusetts the dishonorable practice of appropriating the communications of private friendship, wrongfully obtained, to the malevolent purposes of party. It then rooted in her system, and in after times produced abundantly." Again, Chalmers quotes from a letter of Colonel Nichols, one of Charles II.'s Commissioners here, to the Secretary of State, charges of the surreptitious procurement in England of important papers to be sent to Massachusetts, and affirms positively that one such paper was stolen out of Lord Arlington's office. Chalmers adds: "No standing agents were maintained in England during Charles II.'s reign; but the General Court was faithfully served by various emissaries, — by Collins, Thomson, and others, — who intrigued for it and transmitted intelligence. From the clerks of the Privy Council, who were retained in treacherous pay, they procured the fullest information, and even the state papers."

Randolph also charged the agents with having got hold of his papers, and of having accomplices in treacherous parties in the Court. Just previous to our revolt our patriots bent all their skill to ferreting out the machinations of their enemies and getting at their secrets. As to the artifice and trickery involved in the matter, it would not be easy to say on which side was the more of these ingenuities.

The most signal instance of these alleged breaches of confidence and damaging exposures was that of Franklin's sending here letters of a most mischievous and aggravating tenor, written by Hutchinson and other Tories, under the seal of secrecy, to public men in England. But Hutchinson had previously sent to England confidential letters from Franklin to friends here.

William Bollan, who, in 1762, had been dropped as Agent of the General Court for neglecting correspondence, was afterward employed as such by the Council; and he succeeded in getting back to favor here by sending to Massachusetts thirty-three letters of Governor Bernard; for which act he was, of course, abused in England.

The most serious and important of all the instances in which charges of dishonorable and base conduct in an Agent of Massachusetts in London are founded upon the alleged use of fraud in obtaining private papers designed for information of the home government, is that which attaches to the most eminent of our agents, at the most critical period. Dr. Franklin had been acting as Agent for Pennsylvania and Georgia, and rendering valuable service

[1] *Annals*, 146 and 149.

to all the colonies, when, on the death of our Provincial Agent, Dennis de Berdt, in May, 1770, he was appointed to that office by the Assembly of Massachusetts, October 24 following. His commission was for one year, and was renewed while he remained in England. He was "to appear for the House at the Court of Great Britain, before His Majesty in Council, or in either House of Parliament, or before any public Board." Of course, Governor Hutchinson did not ratify this appointment, nor was he asked to do so. When Franklin, with his credentials, waited upon Lord Hillsborough the American Secretary, his Lordship refused to read them, or to recognize him in his official capacity, insisting, and procuring from the Board of Trade a resolution, that no agent should be received from any colony unless accredited by its Assembly and Governor. Franklin said that the governors had no need of an agent, while the people had; and he contrived to discharge his mission indirectly by writing. Two years afterward he performed for Massachusetts a service, the method of which visited upon him in England unmeasured obloquy and the foulest charges, while at the same time it was the occasion of a well-nigh fatal duel. Franklin allowed the storm of abuse and rage to break over without any public explanation or vindication of himself at the time. But he left in writing, to be published after his death, a full statement, save in one important particular, of the whole transaction, — one of those calm, majestic, and nobly dignified expositions of a clouded and misrepresented matter, which indicate at once the honest man and the true philosopher. He says that up to a certain time he had believed that all the measures of government so offensive and irritating to Massachusetts, — like the sending over of regiments to overawe the people, and other like tyrannical and oppressive acts, — originated in England, and were the devices of our enemies there. In conversation with an eminent man in office, he had incidentally expressed this assumption. His friend told him he was in error, and that the most odious of all these measures which had so inflamed the people of Massachusetts, so far from originating in England, were advised, urged, helped, and directed by persons resident and in office in Massachusetts. Franklin, amazed at the statement, demanded full evidence, which was promised him. This friend then brought to Franklin a large bundle of letters from Hutchinson, from his brother-in-law Lieut.-Governor Oliver, and four other prerogative men here, the contents of which proved that in writing to public officials in England they had made such statements and offered such advice as were really "the foundation of all the grievances of the Province." Franklin was astounded at the development; and, expressing a belief that an exposure would do more than anything else to allay the indignation here, he begged that he might be allowed to send the originals hither. Permission was granted on four conditions, — that the letters should not be printed; that no copies should be taken; that they should be privately shown to a few leading men, and that they should be returned to England. Franklin adds that the writers of these treacherous letters had taken exactly the same liberty with

confidential communications which he and other friends of America had written, — copies of them, surreptitiously obtained, having been sent to England. As a matter of course, under the heat of indignation the above conditions were violated, by the buzzing and whispering in the air at the consternation over the astounding disclosure, and the letters got into print. Franklin never disclosed the secret as to the person through whom he received these papers. In this dramatic way ends our correspondence as subjects with royal officials.[1]

This review of the administration of Massachusetts by Crown Governors would be incomplete without a reference to the social influences wrought in Boston, the capital of the Province, by the presence of such officials. Boston became the scene and centre of a miniature Court, with the state, the forms and ceremonies of a vice-royalty. Without any set purpose or intent to insure that result it was in effect realized. A knight, a baronet, and even an earl, though but an Irish one, were among the commissioned chief magistrates of the Province. Wherever such titled personages discharge the functions of royalty, with their subordinates and dependents, they offer the essential elements and the component materials of a Court. The consequent incidents of parade, etiquette, precedence, and observance came in to complete, after a fashion, something which imitated the original at the residence of the monarch himself. A stately edifice, assigned and furnished with reference to the public uses of royal functionaries, and a consecrated edifice where the forms of the national religion may be observed with dignity by an authorized priest, will contribute other helps to constitute a real Court. The direct influence and agency of the Crown appeared and forced themselves upon the notice of the native population, who loved the old ways. Sewall, who as Judge and Councillor was high in office under the Provincial government till near the end of his long life, was a cautious but a sad participant in and observer of the changes around him. His Diary is a record of regrets and sorrows over the decay of the old piety, and the intrusion of hated reminders of what the fathers rejected and left for their wilderness home.

The middle classes of society, — and they were nearly the whole of it, — the thrifty mechanics and industrious toilers in their plain households and their inherited habits of piety were often shocked and grieved at what they saw. Scarlet had not been a favorite color with them. The royal insignia had scarce been seen by the mass of the people. The train-bands of the colony, with indigenous officers and a drill peculiar to them, marching only

[1] [These letters were printed in Boston in 1773, and in London the next year, and a synopsis of them is given in Parton's *Franklin*. Franklin's account of his connection with them was first given in W. T. Franklin's edition of his *Works*, 1817, and is reprinted in Bigelow's *Franklin*, ii. 206; see also Sparks's *Franklin*, i. 356; iv. 405; viii. 49. Hutchinson's account is in his *Massachusetts Bay*, iii. 394. The best examination of the question as to the source whence Franklin obtained them is in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1878, p. 42. See further in Walpole, *Last Journals*, i. 255, 289; Campbell, *Chancellors*, vi. 105; Grahame, *United States*, iv. 345; Massey, *England*, ii.; Adolphus, *England*, ii. 34, etc. — Ed.]

to fife and drum, were a jeer to the regulars which Randolph and Andros introduced here. With the royal Governor and the Collector of the Customs — the pay and pickings of the latter far exceeding those of the former — came a retinue of subordinates who very soon made quite a distinct class among the residents. None of these new-comers were induced by anything attractive in the manners or ways of the native stock to conform to them, while fashion, novelty, and freedom had a natural tendency to draw many of the people of the town to the Court party. It was one of the fretting experiences even of many of the higher and more intelligent classes of our home population, to observe how what they regarded as corrupting and demoralizing influences wrought through the new elements upon the old. The Rose and Crown Inn, and the Royal Exchange Tavern were thought much worse places than any of the old ordinaries, probably because the king's health was so often drunk in them, and certain packs of painted cards were in such free use. The chronic warfare with the French and Indians brought into our harbor high naval officers with their squadrons and riotous crews. Our little Court, so far from attempting conformity, seemed to prefer to put itself in contrast with the country manners. Many of the private letters which have come to light, as written here at the time by foreigners, turn the local usages and reverences to ridicule. There was often rather an ungracious compliance on their part, where policy and good feeling would have dictated a different way. Governor Burnet, though the son of a bishop and himself a writer on sacred themes, did not much affect places of worship even of his own church. As a good country lady said of him, "he was not fond of going to meeting." He seems to have been specially annoyed by the length of the "grace" before and after meals at the tables where he was a guest. He complained of them to Colonel Tailer, who was sent to the borders of Rhode Island to escort him to Boston, and asked when these long graces would shorten. Tailer told him they would increase in length till he reached Boston, and then would shorten all the way till he reached his government in New Hampshire, where his Excellency would find no grace at all. There Episcopacy was in vogue. One of our grave old magistrates, who invited Burnet to dine, asked him aloud, as the guests reached the table, "whether he would prefer that grace should be said sitting, or standing." Burnet bluffly replied, "Standing or sitting; any way, or no way, just as you please."

Even the costumes and equipages which came in with the new rulers had their effect upon the staid and frugal people of the town. The gold lace, the ruffled cuffs, the scarlet uniforms, the powdered wigs, the swords, the small-clothes, the buckles, the elaborate state of the Governor, — who was escorted even to the Thursday lecture by halberds, — the robes of the judges, the chariot-and-four, with liveried black footmen, were tokens of a changed and impaired heritage to the old folks, the more so because they saw that their children were taken by them. There had been deferential manners, official stateliness, and distinguishing apparel, with stiffness and elaborate

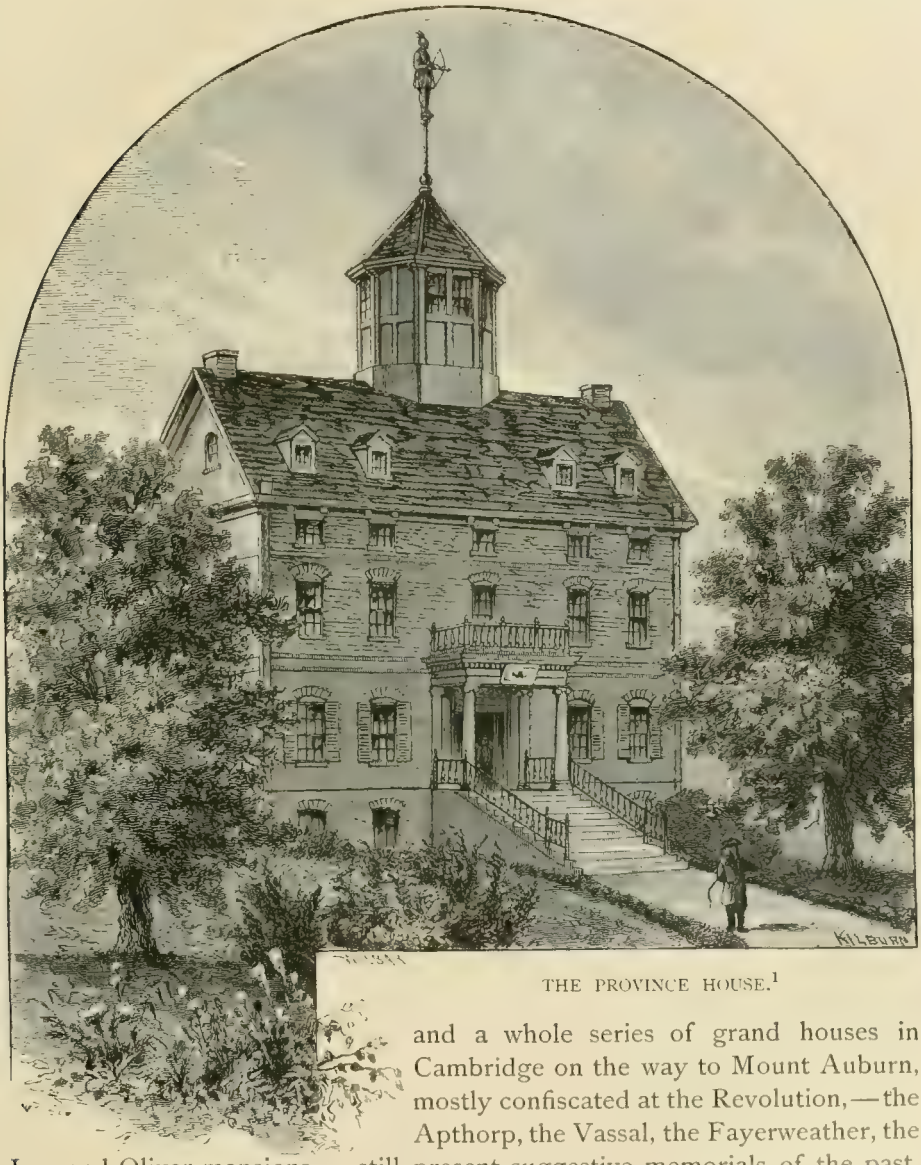
etiquette, in the Colonial times; and social distinctions had been formally observed. But these had been of a sort not indicative of assumption or arrogance by the privileged class, nor to induce obsequiousness on the part of the common people; for the honors and places which they had themselves bestowed would be recognized with a self-respect not always felt in the deference paid to titled emptiness or pride. True worth, real service, and stations honorably filled had before received deserved regard.

The Province itself, and especially its capital, was then able to furnish from itself a few who would grace a Court in costume and manners, in fashion, civility, and display. There were persons of intelligence, wealth, and culture here, who had travelled, seen the world, and caught dignity and polish. The general tone of manners among them, called by us "the old style," was in its youth then. The mode of dress for the gentry, the material and shape of garments, were in keeping with parade and formality. Some persons here had then begun to have "ancestors;" indeed a few had begun to be ancestors themselves, so that they could have their portraits painted, when abroad or at home, by Smibert, Blackburn, and Copley, in brocade and lace, in wig and queue, in frill and wristlets, in head-dress or in powder.[1] A farmer or mechanic, a sailor, a merchant, then a magistrate and gentleman, was the scale for rising. In England the accepted formula is that it requires a century to set a perfect grass lawn, and three centuries to breed a gentleman or a lady. The more rapid development here accomplished the latter result in three generations; and under favorable circumstances two or even one generation has effected it. Between the families of the Crown officers, who by no means were all gentry, and the professional and rich mercantile classes here there was constant intercourse, a round of gayeties, dinner and evening parties, assemblies and masquerades. Kings and queens acceded and died; princes and princesses were born, and royal birthdays occurred with sufficient frequency to allow for salutes and bonfires; while on sad occasions court-mourning and services in King's Chapel reflected the observances at home. The first time the General Assembly, as a Court, listened to the Episcopal service and to a sermon by a Church-of-England clergyman was when they went to hear the rector of the chapel read prayers and preach on the death of George II. Jan. 1, 1761. But this the Court did in the afternoon, having paid the higher compliment to Dr. Cooper of attending at Brattle Street in the forenoon. Proclamations for Fast and Thanksgiving days had then a royal flavor in them.

There were many noble mansions, — manor houses, indeed, — in the town and suburbs, some of them still standing. At the North End, then the Court-region of the town, were many square brick houses, detached, with spacious grounds, stately trees, fine gardens and pastures. The royal Governors, though the Province House, soon to be referred to, was provided for them, had town or country residences of their own. Besides his grand mansion at the North End, Governor Hutchinson had a summer dwelling on Milton

[1] [See Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

Hill, which, with its magnificent view of the harbor and its extensive grounds, was an enviable residence. It still stands, though outwardly changed. The dwellings of Governor Belcher in Milton, Governor Bernard in Jamaica Plain, Judge Auchmuty in Roxbury, Governor Shirley on the edge of Dorchester, Ralph Inman in Cambridgeport, and Isaac Royal in Medford,



THE PROVINCE HOUSE.[1]

and a whole series of grand houses in Cambridge on the way to Mount Auburn, mostly confiscated at the Revolution, — the Apthorp, the Vassal, the Fayerweather, the Lee and Oliver mansions, — still present suggestive memorials of the past. These edifices likewise marked large land estates, with spacious barns, stables, deer-parks, farms, and gardens, with barges for the bay and rivers.

[1] [This house has been more than once represented in engravings: Drake's *Landmarks*, 235; *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 1; Bryant and Gay's *United States*, iii. 328; *Harper's Magazine*, 1876, ii. 187. See Mr. Bynner's chapter in Vol. I. — Ed]

The Province House, so-called, was the central scene of the chief pageantries, gayeties, and formalities of the king's vice-court in Boston. This once stately and comfortable mansion, with its fitting accompaniments, was not originally built for the occupancy of the royal Governors. It was at first a private residence, — relatively speaking, the most sumptuous at the time in Boston. Hawthorne, in his *Legends of the Province House*, with his free blending of fact and fiction, may well stand as the poetic chronicler of its history. Excepting always his revolting night-mare story of "Lady Eleanor's Mantle," in which his weird imagination, working together madness, pestilence, and a sacramental cup, horrifies the reader, his *Legends* are admirable in their substance, their narrations, and their personages. Still, in his case, as in the cases of all who poetize and romanticize with events and characters of our own or of any other history, all draughts upon the imagination and all fictitious groupings, — with their fanciful touches, their exaggerations and anachronisms, — are made at the expense of real instruction and information, as well as of truth. Men may yet come to realize that in God's universe and under God's Providence there is nothing so wonderful, nothing so awing, nothing so interesting as sober and veritable facts.

The builder, owner, and first occupant of the Province House was Mr. Peter Sergeant, a rich London merchant, who came to reside here in 1667, and died here Feb. 8, 1714. He was a very prominent man in town and province, filling many offices. He was one of the Judges of the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer for the Witchcraft trials. He had helped to depose Andros, and was afterward one of the Council. He was the third husband of Governor Sir William Phips's widow, and she was his third wife.

Nearly opposite the now abandoned Old South Church, on Washington Street, one may notice a narrow alley, called Province-House Court. We must obliterate the paltry buildings now standing on either side of this alley, and restore an expanse of lawn and noble trees, as we recall the past on that spot. We shall then have what was the "High Street," the sinuous highway leading from Cornhill to Roxbury. On this, a space of nearly a hundred feet, running back nearly three hundred feet, and widening as it deepened, was Mr. Sergeant's homestead, which he built just a hundred years before the last royal functionary who resided there had no further use for it. Here the owner reared a square structure of brick, spacious, elegant, convenient, and in tasteful style, with all proper adornments, and standing far back from the highway. It was of three stories, with a gambrel roof and a lofty cupola. This was surmounted by a gilt-bronzed figure of an Indian with a drawn bow and arrow, the handiwork of Deacon Shem Drown, who made the grasshopper on Faneuil Hall, in imitation of that on the London Exchange.[1] An elaborate iron balustrade over the portico of the main entrance contained the initials of the owner and the date, — "16 P. S. 79." From the street a paved driveway led up to the house, and

[1] [This image of the Indian is now in the keeping of the Historical Society. See Dr. Ellis's communication in the *Proceedings*, December, 1876, p. 178. — Ed.]

a palatial doorway, reached by massive stone steps, gave access to the interior. Large trees shaded the dwelling, and flowering shrubs ornamented the grounds. The court-yard was surrounded by an elegant fence with ornamented posts, and bordering on the street were two small out-buildings, which in the after official days served as porters' lodges. The interior was in keeping. A spacious hall, with easy stairway, richly carved balustrades, panelled and corniced parlors, with deep-throated chimnies, furnishings, hangings, and all the paraphernalia of luxury, were there.

In expectation of the coming of Colonel Burgess as Governor, the authorities of the Province — up to that time without an official dwelling, and then in quest of one — were advised by a committee to purchase Mr. Sergeant's, then on sale, after his death. The deeds were passed to the Province in April, 1716, for £2,300, additional sums being then and afterward appropriated for repairs and adornments. The Royal Arms, elaborately carved in deal and gilt, were set up over the doorway. This emblem, rescued when, on the reading of the Declaration of Independence, there was a general sack and burning of all royal insignia in the town, is now preserved in the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[1]

Probably the first official occupant of the Province House was Governor Samuel Shute, in 1716. The wide court-yard offered a fine space for military evolutions, at the reception of a dignitary standing upon the steps of the mansion. It would seem as if the edifice was occupied rather as an occasional lodging-place of the Governors, and as an office for the transaction of public business, than as a home for their families: as it has been seen, most of the Governors, if not all of them, had houses of their own. They would keep furnished apartments and trained servants in the official mansion, where, on occasions, they might pass the night, and also entertain transient guests. Officers of the Royal Navy, when coming into the harbor, and Collectors of the Customs would go there to transact their business, to pay their respects to the Chief Magistrate, and to share in festivities and banquets, for which there were abundant resources in larder and cellar. The Governor was escorted in state to the council-chamber near by.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British, in 1776, the house was used for our own public business, till the building of the present State House in 1796. In February, 1811, the estate was deeded as a gift by the Commonwealth to the Massachusetts General Hospital, to which it will revert on the expiration of a lease, made in 1817 for ninety-nine years. After the estate had been crowded and built upon on all sides, what was left of the original came to strange uses, — for "Orphic Minstrels," drinking saloons, and what not. A fire, Oct. 25, 1864, left only a portion of the walls, now hardly recognizable.

King's Chapel finds its historic recognition on other pages of this work. Reference is made to it here only as the edifice, its records, and the worshippers in it are illustrative of the Court-epoch of life in Boston under the

[1] [It is shown in the frontispiece of this volume. — Ed.]

royal Governors. A state pew, with canopy and drapery, was fitted up in the chapel for the Earl of Bellomont, and the royal Governor and his Deputy were always to be of the vestry. When Joseph Dudley came home as Governor, he seems at least in part to have turned his back upon his own place for worship and communion. His own armorial bearings and escutcheon were hung on one of the pillars of the Chapel, as were those of other gentry. Governor Hutchinson after him did the same. The edifice, in fact, and all that was done within its walls, and its objects and purposes, was a type and obtrusion of the royal interference with the usages, the traditions, and the dearest attachments of the people. Men of note sat and worshipped in that first royal chapel. Among its worshippers were true Episcopalians by birth and conviction, and others who, without any special convictions, might reasonably seek there a substitute for that espionage and unwelcome form of religious dispensation found in the meeting-houses. Suspended from the pillars were the escutcheons of Sir Edmund Andros, Francis Nicholson, Captain Hamilton, and Governors Dudley, Shute, Burnet, Belcher, and Shirley. The altar-piece, with the gilded *Gloria*, the Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the organ, the surpliced priest, and above all the green boughs of Christmas, composed altogether a sight which some young Puritan eyes longed, and some older ones were shocked, to see.

The scenes and doings, the actors and the parties in the ceremonials of that little royal Court with its Church are to be viewed by us in the retrospect of our imaginations, as they stand in vivid contrast with the manners, the habits, and surroundings of the native population here. Of course, those of lighter principles and less grave spirits would be pleased with the novelty, and caught by the glitter of such unwonted and often exciting displays. But those of sterner views would see and know much that would grieve them. There were freedoms and scandals which came in with these Court personages that caused serious forebodings over a declining simplicity and morality. And on the other hand there was an enlargement of view, a relaxing of an unwholesome rigidness, and an expansion of interests which on the whole were of an improving and liberalizing influence, as they brought an isolated community on the edge of a wilderness into larger relations with the world.

George E. Ellis.

CHAPTER III.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS.

BY COLONEL THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

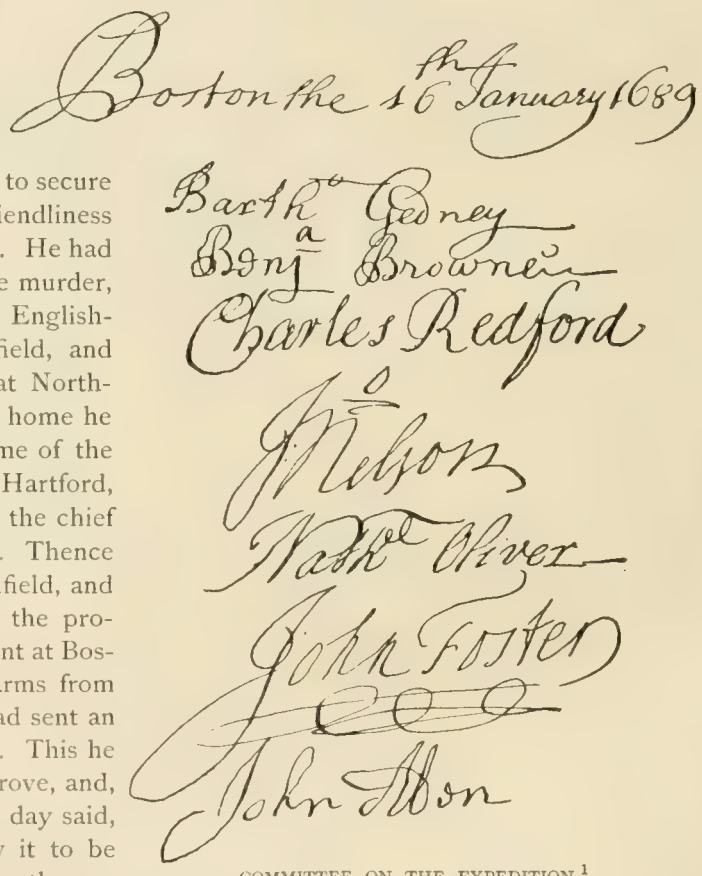
THE readers of Sewall's Diary find it interesting to observe the changed place already occupied by the Indians of Massachusetts at the close of the seventeenth century. The red man, once so formidable, appears as a harmless farm-servant or the coachman of some prosperous citizen, — although the laws soon after discouraged such employment, and called attention to the "malicious, surly, and revengeful spirit" of the Indian, even in this capacity. It furthermore appears in Sewall that even where the natives had become Christianized and half-civilized, the race-prejudice so far survived that it was hard to find a comfortable lodging for an Indian preacher who visited Boston.[1] The well-known difference in this respect between the English and French pioneers — the latter showing perfect willingness to share Indian habits, food and lodging, intermarrying with them, and adopting readily their dress and speech — did much to explain the origin of the French and Indian wars. It was not possible that the aborigines should not be easily won to the side of a race so cordial and friendly. When we add to this the peculiar adaptability of the Roman Catholic worship to savage tribes; and when we remember that the French were, from the Indian point of view, the more martial and heroic race, delighting to explore new countries and build new forts, while the English colonists were absorbed in the humbler pursuit of agriculture and commerce, — we can easily explain the Indian preference. We can understand, too, how the French in Canada, with far smaller numbers, were not merely able to hold their own, but seemed likely at one time to drive the English even from the strip of Atlantic coast they occupied.

It is not the object of this chapter to narrate the history of the French and Indian wars, except as they affected the New England colonies, and especially Massachusetts, of which Maine then formed a part. The state of affairs described in Sewall's Diary belonged especially to the town of Boston and its immediate suburbs. After the death of King Philip, in 1676,

[1] *Sewall Papers*, ii. 212, 354, 380, 438.

the tribes nearest to Boston were quelled forever; but further east the contest still went on, until the treaty of Casco, in 1678. The tribe most formidable was that known as the Abenakis, which held almost undisturbed possession of Eastern Maine, Northern New Hampshire, and the neighboring regions of Canada. These Indians had been to some extent Christianized by Catholic missionaries; and many of them, during an interval of eight or ten years of peace, had removed to the vicinity of Quebec and Montreal.

"About the year 1685," wrote Edward Randolph, a year or two after that date, "the French of Canada encroached upon the lands of the subjects of the Crown of England, building forts upon the heads of their great rivers, and, extending their bounds, disturbed the inhabitants." This was one of the first notes of warning of that formidable combination which was destined to double the terrors of the Indian foe, and to prepare the way for nearly a century of interrupted and recurring strife. In August, 1688, Sir Edmund Andros, making the tour of his newly consolidated province, visited the Five Nations at Albany, in order to secure their continued friendliness against the French. He had lately heard of the murder, by Indians, of five Englishmen near Springfield, and of as many more at Northfield. On his way home he consulted with some of the native chiefs at Hartford, and with some of the chief men of the colony. Thence he went to Northfield, and there learned that the provisional government at Boston had heard alarms from Casco Bay, and had sent an armed force there. This he did not at all approve, and, as a letter of that day said, would not "allow it to be called a war, but murtherous acts, and he will inquire the grounds; is not pleased that any soldiers were levied in his absence to send eastward, and hath released from prison In-



COMMITTEE ON THE EXPEDITION.[1]

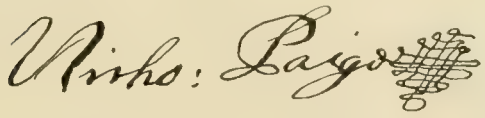
[1] [These signatures are appended to a document from the committee to consider the intended expedition to Nova Scotia, on file at the State House. *Mass. Archives*, xxxv. 173. — ED.]

dians that were sent thence." Nevertheless, to meet the occasion, Governor Andros issued a proclamation calling upon the Indians to surrender all captives and to give up murderers. It effected nothing, and with impetuous wrath the Governor enlisted from seven hundred to a thousand men,[1] and marched into the Indian country. He built forts and left garrisons, but, as usual in such enterprises, hardly encountered an Indian.

It was inevitable that all this should lead to suspicion and discontent. It was said that Sir Edmund was secretly in league with the French to surrender the New England settlements to them, in case of revolution in England. It was believed that he had gone to Albany in the French interest, and that he had planned to sacrifice the Massachusetts troops. Indian prisoners were reported as saying that the Mohawks had been hired by the Governor to attack the English, and that they had been told that the French were to seize Boston in the spring. When an Indian actually declared, in presence of some Sudbury men, "that the Governor was a rogue, and had hired the Indians to kill the English," they arrested him at once and brought him to the Governor for punishment; but the final result was that the complainants were imprisoned and threatened, while the Indian went free. However groundless may have been these suspicions, they all contributed something, no doubt, to the popular indignation which at length overthrew the government of Andros.[2]

Behind these Indian outbreaks there lay in reality a foe more dangerous than Andros. Denonville, the French Governor of Canada, afterward wrote to the home government that the attacks and successes of the natives about this time were due to his own good understanding with them through the Jesuit priests.[3] Champigny, the Intendant, wrote that most of the Indians concerned were from the mission villages near Quebec; and that he himself had supplied them with gunpowder for the war. Though this early portion of the long contest was popularly called "King William's War," it really began in the summer of 1688, while France and England were still at peace.[4] In April, 1689, came the news of the landing of William of

[1] [Colonel Church tells how Andros sent for him to accompany the force, but Church declined. Captain Nicholas Paige served Andros,



however, by riding down the south shore on horseback, and inciting the enlistments. — Ed.]

[2] [See chap. i. of this volume. — Ed.]

[3] "La bonne intelligence que j'ai eue avec ces sauvages par les soins des Jésuites." — Parkman, *Frontenac*, p. 222.

[4] [Another popular name, more common at the castward, was "St. Castin's War." There is an account of the French in Maine at this time in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 82. The general reader will best pursue the events to follow in Palfrey's *New England*, iv., and Parkman's *Frontenac;* but for the French side there is the contemporary account of Charlevoix's *La Nouvelle France*, which has been translated and annotated by John G. Shea. The local historians of Maine have gone over the conflict within its borders. Williamson is more elaborate than Sullivan; and there is much in more confined monographs like Folsom's *Saco and Biddeford*, Willis's *Portland*, etc. Cotton Mather tells the story of this war after his fashion in his *Decennium Luctuosum*, which was published in Boston, "at the Brick Shop," by Samuel Phillips, in 1699; it included the story "repeated and improved in a sermon at Boston Lecture." — Ed.]

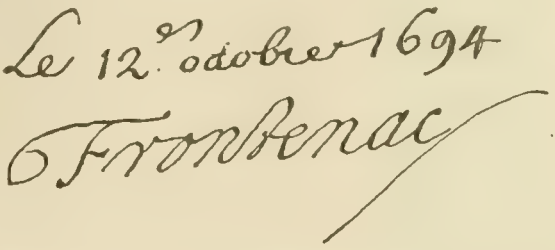
Orange; then followed the revolt of the people of Boston, the displacement of Andros, and the replacement of Bradstreet their former governor. When the Maine garrisons heard the news, they could not be kept in the Indian country; some mutinied and returned, others were recalled by the Council. Then the Indian attacks burst forth afresh, and the colonists found that the absence of Andros was even more dangerous than his presence.

At Cocheco, now Dover, New Hampshire, four of the five stockaded houses were entered by Indian squaws, who asked permission to remain over night. So great was the confidence of the people that the squaws were freely admitted, and were even instructed how to fasten and unfasten the doors. They used the knowledge to let their companions in. In one of these houses Major Waldron, the chief man of the settlement, then eighty years old, was roused by the attack, and sprang up for self-defence. Driving back his assailants with his sword through two rooms, he turned to reach his pistols, and was stunned by the blow of a hatchet. He was then bound, placed in an arm-chair, with cries of "Who shall judge Indians now?" and while the Indians ate the food which they compelled the rest of the family to prepare, each savage struck the old man a blow with his knife, saying, "Thus I cross out my account." He was killed with his own sword at last; the family were all murdered, the house burned, the little settlement devastated.

Pemaquid, in Maine, was a stockade work, defended by seven or eight cannon; it had been garrisoned by a hundred and fifty-six men, but less than thirty, perhaps not more than twenty, were left. It was assailed by one hundred Indians; they were Christians, a part of the flock of Père Thury, a priest of the seminary of Quebec, who was present at the attack. In his narrative of the affair the priest says that he exhorted the Indians to refrain from drunkenness and cruelty; but he seems to have conducted the enterprise in the very spirit of the mediæval crusades. The Indians got possession of houses behind the fort, and kept up a fire so constant as to force the small garrison to surrender. The few survivors yielded, under a promise that their lives should be spared. The Indians obeyed the counsel of their spiritual superior so far as to break the rum-barrels in the fort, in order to prevent disorder; they abstained from torturing their prisoners, and even from scalping them; and Père Thury in his account seems to think it something to boast of that they killed on the spot those whom they wished to kill. It was a curious instance of that double influence often exerted by the French priests during these wars, — stimulating and practically leading the Indians, but also doing what they could to mitigate their savage ways of fighting. The capture of Pemaquid is remarkable as one of the few instances where the American Indians have taken a fortified place by direct and continuous attack; and Père Thury afterward became celebrated as an energetic military leader of his converts.[1]

[1] [For the attack on Pemaquid see Hutchinson, *Massachusetts Bay*, i.; Mather, *Magnalia*, ii.; *Andros Tracts*, iii.; and 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i.; Hough's "Pemaquid Papers" in *Maine Historical Collections*, v.; Thornton, *Ancient Pemaquid;* Johnston, *Bristol, Bremen, and Pemaquid;* besides Parkman and the general works. — Ed.]

These were the first in a long series of alarms which filled the New England colonies with terror. Behind all the Indian forays was a trained soldier of fifty years' experience, — Frontenac; and the colonists, now that the first generation of fighters had passed away, had no military leader to be compared with him. Courage seems not to have been wanting to the English, but the skill and leadership were on the other side. The French had from the beginning the power of absolutely identifying themselves with their Indian allies; when on the war-path they were sometimes dressed and painted like them. Fort Loyal, a work defended by eight cannon, and situated near what is now the foot of India Street, in Portland, Maine, found itself besieged in due form, with trenches, by skilled soldiers. Davis, the commandant, amazed at last with the foe opposed to him, asked for a parley, and demanded "if there were any Frenchmen among them." They answered that they were Frenchmen, and promised quarter to the English, who surrendered. At once the captives were turned over to the Indian allies, who slew and carried off whom they would. When the commandant protested against this, he was told that he and his countrymen had rebelled against their lawful king, James II., and deserved no mercy. He was carried away to Quebec, where Frontenac treated him kindly, and disavowed the treachery of Pontneuf, the French commander.[1]



In estimating the courage shown by the English colonists, we must remember how peculiarly terrific, both to the imagination and in real contest, was this combination which they had to encounter. The military skill and resources of European veterans were brought against them, combined with the stealthiness, the swiftness, and the cruelty of a race of savages. In the early wars, however dangerous, the Englishmen had possessed the advantage; they had the weapons, the gunpowder, the coats of mail, the discipline. Now, all this advantage was in a manner turned against them. In fighting the French troops, they were like brave peasants against a regular army, except that no regular army has such savage allies. It shows the English nature that, despite all this, the only effect of every call for help from the frontier settlements was to bring out more stubborn determination. Not yet fully appreciating the advantage enjoyed by the enemy, the colonists even believed it possible to undertake offensive measures. They sent delegates to a congress held at New York in May, 1690; and this body agreed upon the bold project of attacking Montreal by land, in which enterprise New

[1] [Parkman, *Frontenac*, p. 231, says: "Compare Monseignat and La Potherie with Mather's *Magnalia*, and the declaration of Davis in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i.;" and adds references to Leclercq, *Établissement de la Foi*; Bradstreet's letter in *Doc. Hist. of New York*, ii. 259. Willis, *History of Portland*, gives a map of the fort. Shea gives references in his *Charlevoix*, iv. 133.—Ed.]

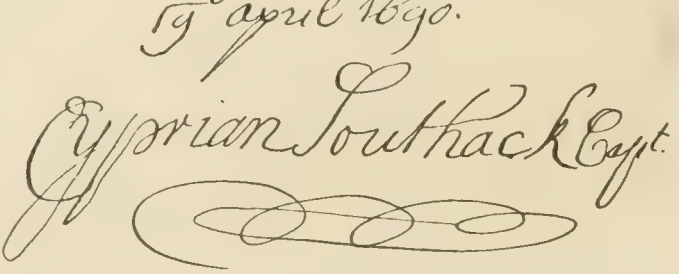
York was to take the lead,[1] while to the New England colonies was assigned the formidable exploit of capturing Quebec by sea.

This attempt would hardly have been made, but that an earlier expedition against Port Royal had succeeded.[2] A fort garrisoned by seventy men had been captured by a force of four or five hundred militia-men, sent in seven transports, and commanded by a rough sailor, Sir William Phips.[3] It was rashly assumed that he who had taken Port Royal could take Quebec, and the same commander was assigned to the new expedition. He was a man of blunt energy and a good deal of patriotism; and he had won a fortune and the honor of knighthood by fishing up the treasure sunk in a Spanish galleon. Such was the commander proposed; and, being such, he held the public confidence. But the treasury was empty; the home government refused all help; and the colony had not recovered from the exhaustion of Philip's War, or from the excitements which had deposed Andros. Private subscription did something; the credit of the colony, such as it was, did more: thirty-two ships were impressed for the enterprise, and

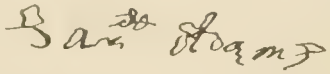
[1] [The command of this abortive expedition fell to General Fitz-John Winthrop (son of the second John Winthrop), who died in Boston, Nov. 27, 1707. Parkman, *Frontenac*, p. 257, and Shea, *Charlevoix*, iv. 145, give the authorities. — Ed.]

[2] [It will be remembered that England claimed the present territory of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and when, some months later, the Provincial Charter of Massachusetts was drafted, it was made to cover these regions. — Ed.]

[3] [Parkman, *Frontenac*, pp. 237–39, gives a list of contemporary authorities; and references are given in Shea's *Charlevoix*, iv. 155. See also Bowen, *Life of Sir William Phips;* Murdoch, *Nova Scotia*, ch. xxii., and the general authorities already named. The life of Phips in Mather's *Magnalia* is highly eulogistic, but hardly trustworthy. Another Boston man, Colonel Penn Townsend, had been appointed in March commander-in-chief of this expedition; but Phips "offering to go in person," Townsend "relinquishes with thanks." (*Sewall Papers*, i. 316.) Dr. Bullivant says in his Journal that Nelson, who had played an important part in the overturning of Andros, had been applied to "for generalissimo, as the fittest person for such an enterprise; but the country deputies said he was a merchant and not to be trusted; so it is offered to Sir William Phips, and the ministers are said with great difficulty to obtain his lady's consent to it. . . . 3d April, Gen. Phips's men mustered at the Town-house. Greenough, Hall, Bernard, Coleman, Willey, Skates, made commanders by the general. Coleman next day hooted at by his company, induced thereto by young Winslow, whom they chose their Captain. The General and Council dissolve it and turn out Winslow. . . . Apr. 20, Sir William Phips's ship weighed from Boston and came to an anchor at Long Island head."—*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1878, p. 107.



Captain Cyprian Southack, the Boston pilot, commanded one of the fleet. The "Boneta," a private armed ship, was at this time commanded by Captain Samuel Adams. Sewall also records how Captain Fayerweather was at this



time "making batteries at the Castle, and putting the place into a yet more defensible posture." — Ed.]

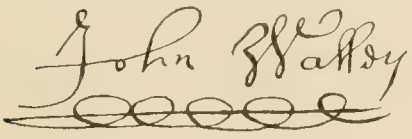
were filled with men, partly volunteers, partly drafted.[1] In August, the fleet sailed from Nantasket. "Including sailors, it carried twenty-two hundred men, with provisions for four months, but insufficient ammunition, and no pilot for the St. Lawrence."

The late Civil War saw many foolhardy enterprises undertaken by brave men, with inadequate preparations and under inexperienced commanders; but it would be hard to name one which showed less recognition of the difficulties of real warfare than this expedition against Quebec. The city was a natural fortress; it was protected by a series of defensive works, built by Prévost, a trained engineer, under the eye of Frontenac himself. Phips had been told that Quebec was imperfectly fortified, and had not two hundred men to defend it; but he found it seemingly impregnable, defended by a force superior to his own, and consisting of about twenty-seven hundred men.

It is needless to dwell on the delays and disasters of this futile enterprise. When at last before the fortifications of Quebec, Phips ordered a furious bombardment from the ships; but his guns were poor, his powder scanty, his gunners inexperienced. Many of his balls struck the face of the cliff, many failed to pierce the stone buildings; and the French boasted afterwards that twenty crowns would have repaired all the damage. Experienced gunners were opposed to him, almost sinking his few large vessels, and shooting away his very flag, which was captured by the Canadians. He retreated in disorder, followed by the men who were engaged in the land attack. No one charged them with want of courage, and the Baron La Hontan, who was in Quebec at the time, said of them: "They fought vigorously, though as ill-disciplined as men gathered together at random could be; for they did not lack courage; and if they failed, it was by reason of their entire ignorance of discipline, and because they were exhausted by the fatigues of the voyage."[2]

[1] [There are in the *Hinckley Papers*, iii., in the Prince Library, various letters from Bradstreet, Walley, and others, giving notes of the preparation for this expedition. —Ed].

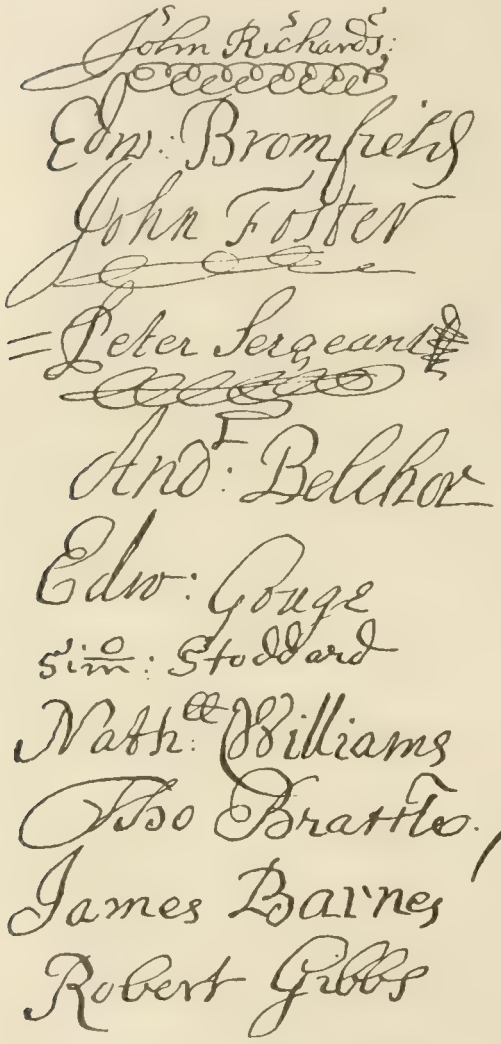
[2] Parkman, *Frontenac*, p. 277, and his article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1876. [John Walley, the second in command, had been a



Barnstable man, but died Jan. 11, 1712, in Boston, where he had held various military offices, and had commanded the Boston Regiment, and the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. His account of the expedition is printed in Hutchinson's *Massachusetts Bay*, i. 554. Ephraim Savage, who was second in command of the militia on the expedition, was a son of Thomas Savage (who fought in Philip's War). He had graduated at Harvard in 1662, and continued to be a prominent citizen, dying February, 1730–31. His *Account of the late Action of the New Eng-*

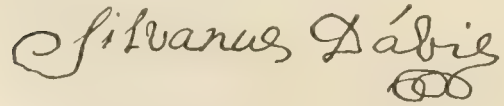
landers was published the next year in London. A brief contemporary account was published in Boston in that solitary specimen of a bulletin called *Publick Occurrences*, which is described in Mr. Goddard's chapter of the present volume, and is reprinted in the *Historical Magazine*, August, 1857. It is dated Boston, Sept. 25, 1690. The chief English writers are mentioned in earlier notes. The French contemporary narratives are fuller, and references to them are given in Parkman, *Frontenac*, ch. xii. and xiii.; Shea, *Charlevoix*, iv. 169; Harrisse, *Sur la Nouvelle France*, Nos. 166–168, who (No. 244) cites a MS. map of the siege. In the English edition of La Hontan there is a plan of the attack. The *Catalogue of the Library of Parliament* (Canada), 1858, p. 1617, shows various plans of Quebec from 1690 to 1710. Further French accounts will be

The failure of this expedition seemed for a time utterly disastrous to the Massachusetts Colony. The land expedition to Montreal under Winthrop, of Connecticut, had fared little better; but the share of Massachusetts in that enterprise had been trifling, her troops having been early recalled for home defence; nor did it involve pecuniary losses so vast. An additional debt of fifty thousand pounds had been incurred by the impoverished province; and, to pay the soldiers and sailors, a paper currency was for the first time issued. It soon fell to the value of from fourteen to sixteen shillings in the pound; but, such as it was, it carried the people through this trying period. Worse than the financial loss was the feeling of dismay at what was called "this awful frown of God." Added to it was the increased fear of Indian hostilities; a danger which lulled for a time,[1] but broke out afresh with the attack on Pentucket, or Haverhill, in 1697, — the attack famous for the oft-told adventures of Hannah Dustin. During this year the peace of Ryswick (Sept. 20, 1697) brought at least a truce to the contests, providing as it did that the territorial boundaries of France and England in America should remain unchanged.



BOSTON CAPITALISTS, 1690.[2]

found in *N. Y. Col. Documents*, ix.; La Potherie's *Histoire de l' Amérique*; Leclercq, *Établissement de la Foi*; Juchereau, *L'Hôtel Dieu*, etc. Sylvanus Davis was meanwhile a prisoner in Quebec, and his diary is printed in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 101. Colonel Church was during this



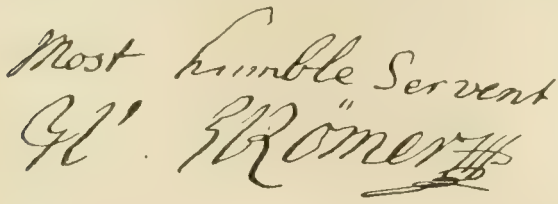
time attempting a diversion in Phips's favor, among the French and Indians in Maine. See his *Entertaining Passages*, etc., particularly Dr. Dexter's edition; Drake's edition of Baylies' *Old Colony*; Church's letter in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 271, and the general historians. — ED.]

[1] [A Boston man — Captain John Alden — had made a truce, Nov. 19, 1690, at Sagadahoc, with the Indians. Hutchinson, *Massachusetts Bay*, i. 404. — ED.]

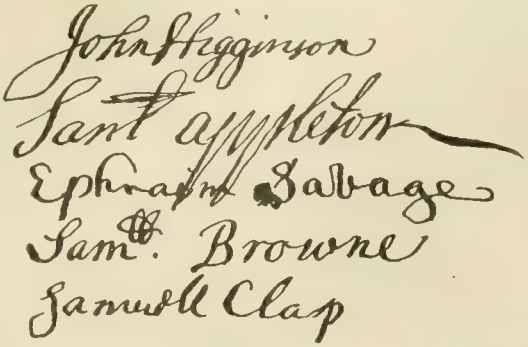
[2] [These signatures are from a petition of the Boston merchants, 1692, who had advanced money to carry on the war, asking to be reimbursed. The original is in *Massachusetts Archives*, "Pecuniary," i. 416. — ED.]

But in 1702 hostilities broke out anew, when England declared (May 4) against France and Spain a war which involved the colonies. It was known in Europe as the "War of the Spanish Succession," but in America as "Queen Anne's War."[1]

[1] [Precautions had already been taken in Boston by building a new fortress on Castle Island. The old works were destroyed in 1701, and Colonel William Wolfgang Römer, an engineer of ability, was put in charge of the reconstruction. He had been on the American station for some years. One of Southack's maps, showing George's River, west of Penobscot Bay, has this legend at that point: "Col. Römer, engineer, took possession of this river for the king in the year 1690." There are indications that there was some jealousy regarding Römer in Boston. Sewall, under date of Dec. 27, 1698, says: "Col. Römer is treated at the Castle. Capt. Fairwether asked me not to go; so I went to Roxbury lecture." Fayerweather was the captain of the Castle, and Sewall again throws light: "1701, Aug. 11. Go down to the Castle to try to compose differences between the Captain and Col. Römer. I told the young men that if any intemperate language proceeded from Col. Römer, 't was not intended to countenance that, or encourage their imitation; but observe his direction in things wherein he was skilful and ordered to govern the work."

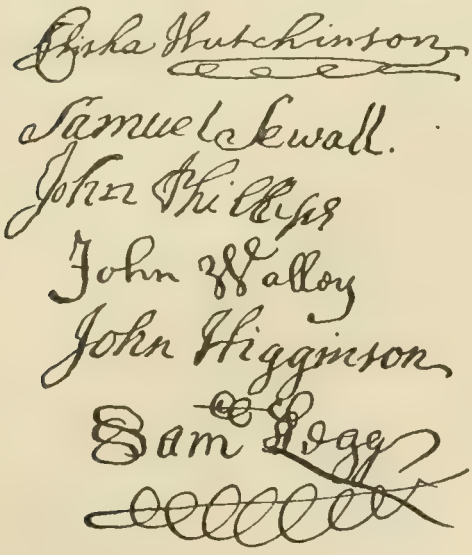


This new fort was built of brick, and a slab was placed over the entrance with a Latin inscription, stating that the work was finished in 1703. It also called Römer "chief military engineer to their Royal Majesties in North America." (See Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 493; and further, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, January, 1879, p. 22.) Shurtleff says: "A small part of the old wall has been retained in constructing the rear portion of the present fortification,

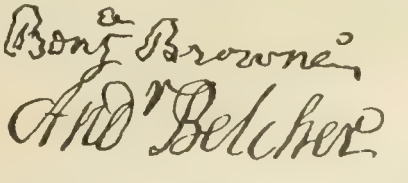


COMMITTEE OF 1704.

Fort Independence; but as it has been covered with large granite ashlers, the ancient relic is entirely hidden from sight." The committee acting in conjunction with Römer were Thomas Brattle and Timothy Clarke, who were appointed, in 1701, "to repair and make new fortifications at the Castle," and their signatures annexed are from their report. Clarke was, in 1704, commander of the "Sconce" or South Battery, under Fort Hill. In 1704, still another committee was appointed on the part of the Province to view the Castle after the works were finished; and this committee

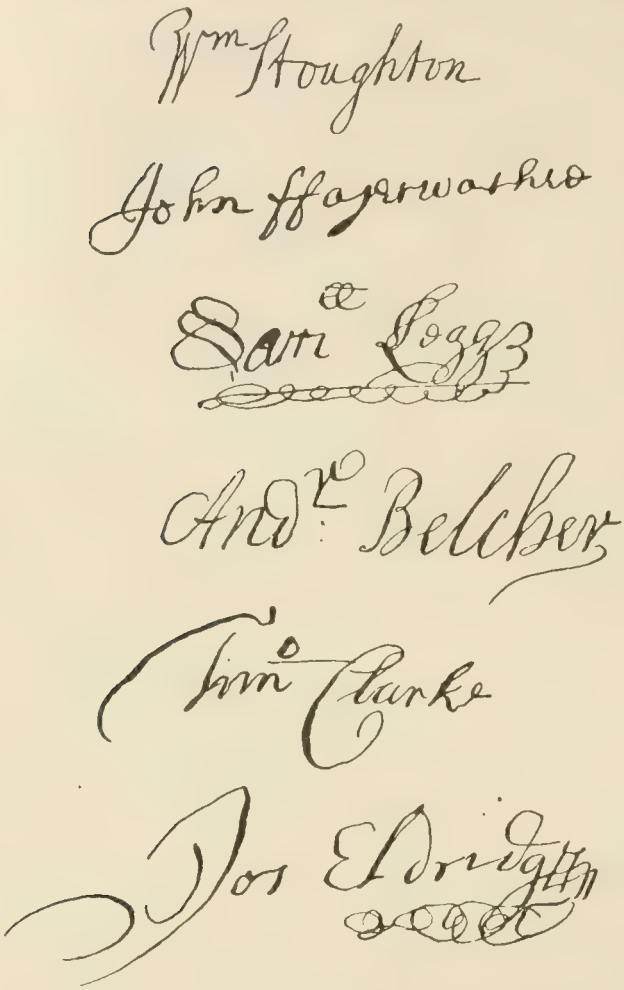


COMMITTEE OF 1706.



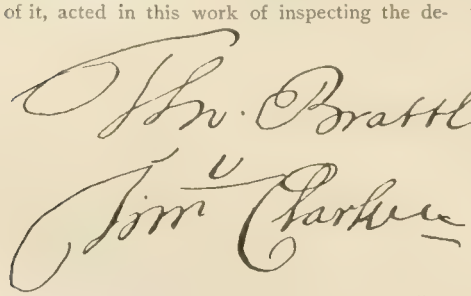
consisted of John Higginson, Samuel Appleton, Ephraim Savage, Samuel Brown, and Samuel Clap, whose signatures here given are copied from their report. Still later, in 1706, another

In New England the war presented more alarming features than had the previous contest, since the Five Nations had now pledged neutrality, and by this act protected New York, — so that the full force of the war came upon the New England colonies. Governor Dudley tried to secure a similar neutrality from the Abenakis, who seemed quite ready to promise it. "The sun," one of their chiefs said, "is not more distant from the earth than our thoughts from war." "Our Eastern Indians," wrote the author of *The Deplorable State of New England*, "had no sooner, with all possible assurance, renewed their League of Peace with us, but being moved by the instigation of the French, they Perfidiously and Barbarously Surprised Seven more of our naked and secure Plantations." [1]



SIGNATURES OF THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE ON FORTIFICATIONS.[2]

committee, with Elisha Hutchinson at the head of it, acted in this work of inspecting the defences. (*Massachusetts Archives*, "Military," v. 216.) The town at the same time voted £1,000 to improve the defences. This same year Benjamin Browne and Andrew Belcher were appointed to treat with Captain John Bonner to go in command of a brigantine to Quebec to effect an exchange of prisoners; Belcher was commissary-general. *Massachusetts Archives*, "Military," v. 247. — ED.]

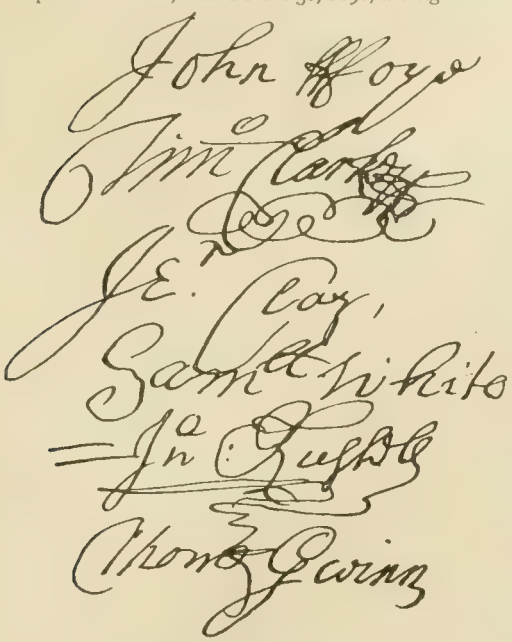


[1] "A Memorial of the present Deplorable State of New England," in *Sewall Papers*, ii. 63.

[2] [The French, during these years, as has been noted in the Introduction to the present volume, prepared various plans of Boston, in anticipation of making an attack; and at one time information of the French plans reached the Bostonians in a letter from Captain John Nelson, dated Aug. 26, 1692. Nelson,

Deerfield[1] and Haverhill were attacked and ravaged; many men, women, and children were killed or carried into captivity. The priests of Canada were now reviled as instigating these atrocities, now thanked for restraining the savages from cruelty. Worst of all, Governor Dudley had utterly lost the confidence of the people over whom he had been placed. In the *Sewall Papers* will be found a reprint of two anonymous pamphlets, the one published in Boston in 1707, and the other in London in 1708, both entitled, with some variations, *The Deplorable State of New England.* In both of these the Governor is accused of "dark designs," of "hellish malice," of "seeking to enslave" the colonies.[2] A third pamphlet is reprinted in the same volume, and gives the arguments in the Governor's defence. It is now needless to enter into this controversy, but it is obvious that such a state of feeling must have greatly enhanced the alarm and suffering of that whole dark period.

who it will be remembered was instrumental in the overthrow of Andros, had been taken by the French while he was on a trading voyage to Nova Scotia, and imprisoned in Quebec. In consequence of this letter he was sent to France, whence, after an absence of some years, he returned to Boston. In the *Massachusetts Archives* is a petition of his, dated Nov. 30, 1698, asking



SIGNATURES OF THE COMMANDERS OF THE SHIPS, ETC.

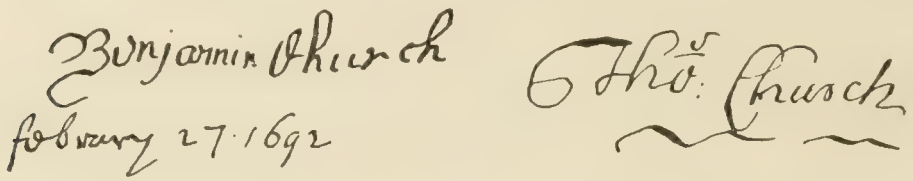
compensation because of his seven years' detention as a prisoner with the French, through reprisal. The apprehension felt in Boston a little later found expression in the appointment by Governor Stoughton of a committee to repair the fortifications. Their signatures with the Governor's (opposite) are from their report in the *Massachusetts Archives.* Their appointment was dated July 28, 1696, and their report was that the "new" battery should be enlarged, a platform built before the Castle, and the northeast bastion be laid anew. They recommended that on Governor's Island a battery of eight guns should be erected on the southeast part, and one of ten on the southwest. They found that for this purpose six guns could be spared from Scarlett's Wharf, five from Greenwood's Wharf, two from the North Battery, two from the South Battery; and they said that the Boston merchants would supply the rest. As an additional precaution, a number of ships were moored in the harbor, "in line of battle, to annoy the king's enemies in case of an attack." There is on file at the State House a paper, dated 1697, detailing the stores wanted for these ships, signed as annexed in fac-simile; and of the signers Foye, White, and Gwinn were commanders of the ships. — ED.]

[1] [The Rev. John Williams of this place, whose story is so well known, was taken captive during this incursion, Feb. 29, 1704–5, and carried to Montreal, whence he returned to Boston, Oct. 25, 1706. Sewall records his preaching here, and the next year he carried through the press of Bartholomew Green, in Boston, his *Redeemed Captive*, containing the sermon Sewall mentions,— a book which in various early editions is among the treasures of Americana. (*Sewall Papers*, ii. 173, 182; *Brinley Catalogue*, No. 494, etc.) A contemporary account of his death, 1729, from the *New England Weekly Journal*, is given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1854, p. 174. — ED.]

[2] *Sewall Papers*, ii. 125*. The same volume has a note on the authorship of these tracts.

To meet the covert designs of a powerful nation like the French, alien in race and bitterly hostile in religion; to dread the stealthy approaches and often merciless cruelty of a savage foe, — these anxieties were surely enough for the colonists without being compelled to distrust their own officials.

Part of this distrust, no doubt, came from that suspicious spirit which always furnishes a ready explanation of military failure; there is rarely a defeat which is not embittered by accusations against somebody. An expedition was sent against Port Royal in 1707. This small fort was supposed to be a headquarters for privateers and for the illegal trade with Indians, and Governor Dudley himself was supposed to have had a share in its unlawful profits. It was reported through a prisoner that at Port Royal they had not yet heard of the war; so that the Governor could not resist the popular



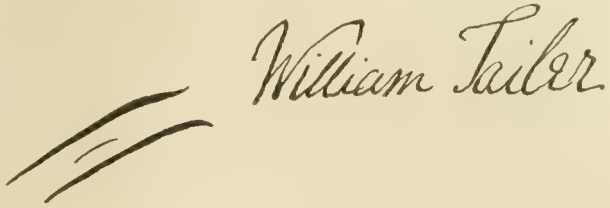
demand to "go and destroy that nest of hornets," as it was termed. The veteran Colonel Church,[1] the hero of Philip's War, was accordingly sent against it, in 1704, but returned without touching the fort itself, having only devastated the country. Another expedition was sent, and returned still more ingloriously; so that the women of Boston met the soldiers in the streets, according to the pamphleteers already quoted, and derided them. "Says one of them: *Why, our Cowards imagined that the Fort at Port Royal would fall before them like the Walls of Jericho!* Another answers: *Why did not the Blockheads then stay out Seven Days to see? What ail'd the Traitors to come away in Five Days' time after they got there?*"[2]

Three years later, in October, 1710, the "hornet's nest" was taken. A fleet sailed from Boston consisting of six English and thirty colonial vessels, carrying five hundred Royal Marines, two regiments from Massachusetts, and one each from New Hampshire and Connecticut. Hobby and Colonel

[1] [Colonel Church gained much of his reputation at the eastward. There are numerous letters of his on file in the *Massachusetts Archives*, and some are printed in Baylies' *Old Colony*, and elsewhere. His son Thomas was with him on some of his expeditions, and dressed up from the old soldier's recollections the book, *Entertaining Passages*, etc., which was printed in Boston in 1716, and which gives an account of this Port Royal expedition, — the same book as already mentioned, edited by Dr. Dexter, treating likewise of the expeditions of 1689, 1690, 1692, 1696. For this and other events of Queen Anne's war (1703–1713), Dr. Palfrey (iv. 257) considers Samuel Penhallow's *Indian Wars* (originally published in Boston, in 1726, and reprinted in *New Hamp. Hist. Coll.*, i, and again in Cincinnati, in 1859, with notes by W. Dodge) the great contemporary authority; while the narrative of Samuel Niles, "French and Indian Wars," in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi., is chiefly filched from Morton, Church, Hubbard, Mather, and Penhallow. Cotton Mather's *Duodecennium Luctuosum*, Boston, 1714, is interesting no further than that it is one of his summaries of events, detailed in a sermon before the Governor. On the French side we still have *Charlevoix*, Shea's ed., vol. v., with his references. — Ed.]

[2] *Sewall Papers*, ii. 129. [This expedition sailed from Boston, May 13, 1707, and Captain Cyprian Southack accompanied it as commander of the Province Galley. — Ed.]

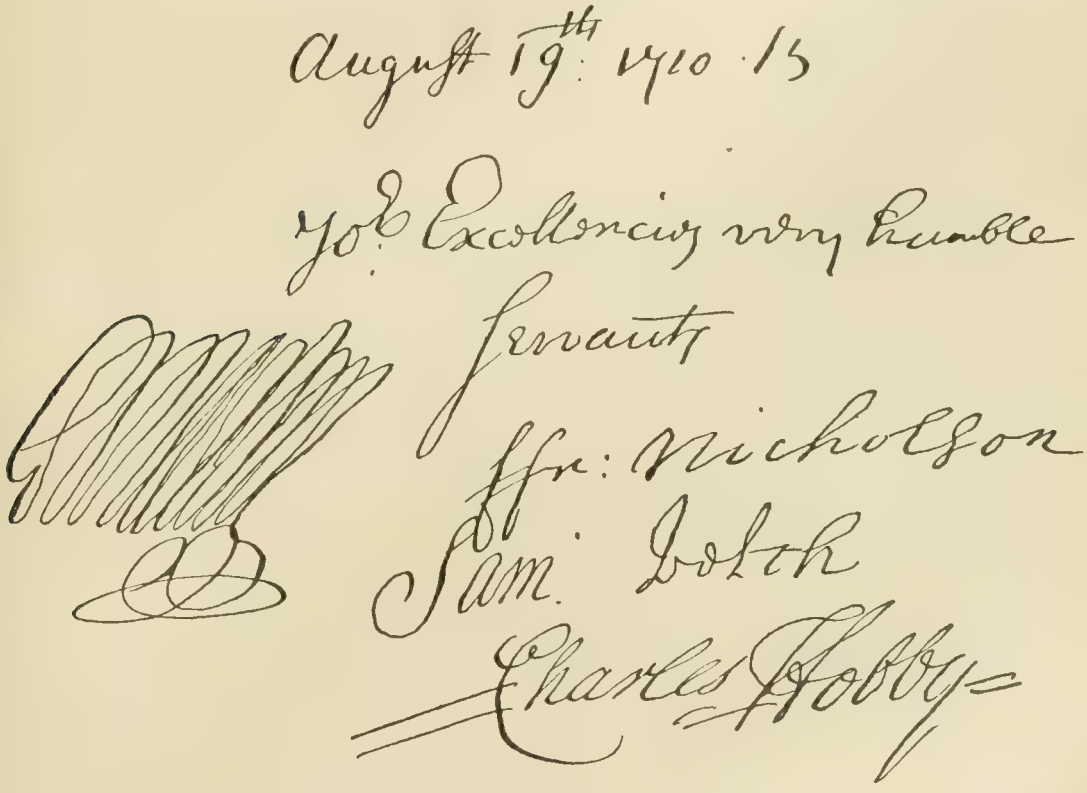
Tailer commanded those of Massachusetts. In six days they anchored before Port Royal; the fortress was besieged and its supplies cut off, and the garrison of one hundred and fifty-six marched out with the honors of war. The inhabitants within a three miles' circuit, upon taking an oath of allegiance,



were to be protected for two years; but the inhabitants of the neighboring districts were harassed and plundered, and were threatened with being driven from their homes "unless they would turn Protestants." The name of Port Royal was changed to Annapolis Royal,[1] afterwards to Annapolis, in honor of the reigning queen of England.[2]

[1] *Sewall Papers*, ii. 293. [See the references in Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. v. The ship "Despatch" of Boston, owned by David Jeffries & Co., was used as a hospital transport on this expedition. Some papers pertaining to this service are in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1876, p. 196. — Ed.]

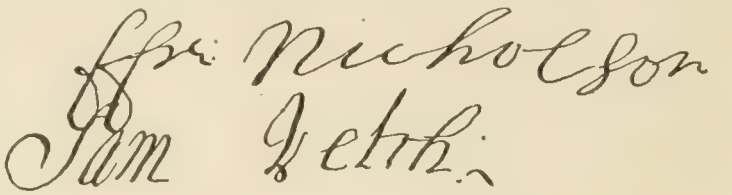
[2] [Annexed are the signatures of the Royal

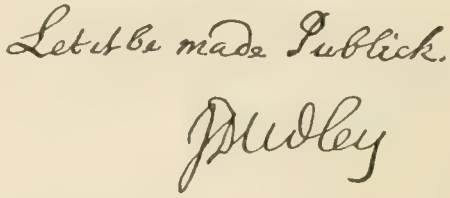


Commissioners, who were in Boston at this time, calling upon the Governor to furnish provisions for the fleet about to sail for Port Royal. The document is on file in the *Massachusetts Archives*, "Military," v. 693; and in the same collection will be found the proclamation

Early in 1711 the agent of Massachusetts and Connecticut, Jeremiah Dummer,[1] presented a memorial to the Queen asking her, "in compassion to her plantations, to send an armament against Canada," and representing that other provinces, even so far south as Virginia, were prepared to join in the enterprise. A Tory ministry was in power, under St. John, afterward Viscount Bolingbroke, the most brilliant man of his time; and he entered eagerly into the project. Fifteen ships of war, with forty transports, bringing five regiments of Marlborough's veterans, arrived at Boston in June.[2]

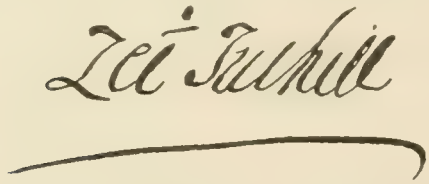
which they issued in 1709 at Boston, upon their arrival as bearers of instructions to the governors of the colonies. The signatures attached to this document, with the Governor's indorsement, are herewith given. Massachusetts and Rhode Island were called on to raise fifteen hundred men. The levy was made, and the troops were in camp May 20, and remained so till September. In October word came to Boston that the English force, intended to be joined to the expedition, had been sent to Portugal. The troops were accordingly disbanded. This was the year before the successful expedition of 1710. — Ed.]





[1] [Dummer was the agent of Massachusetts from 1710 to 1721. — Ed.]

[2] [The captain of the Castle at this time was Zechariah Tuthill. He was a militia officer,



and had been lieutenant of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1702. Sewall records how, during some court proceedings, June 8, "the drums put us to silence," and there was "an alarm at the Castle," which greeted the arrival of the van of the fleet. On the 12th Sewall says, "The proclamation for the war is passed. I carried it to the printer at noon." When the "Devonshire" frigate arrived, with General Hill on board, who was to command the land forces, Sewall was sent down the harbor to meet him. They came in pinnaces to the Castle, where Tuthill saluted with twenty-one guns, and then coming up to town landed at Scarlet's Wharf, and "went up King Street in front of the regiment to the Council Chamber." This was June 25. The general was entertained at Mr. Borland's, one of the prominent merchants of the town and the Queen's agent. Later, July 7, the admiral had an interview with Captain John Bonner, who brought him a chart of the St. Lawrence. Walker says of Bonner that he had "the general character of the best pilot, as indeed he appeared to me to be; I told him he should be aboard that ship when I hoisted my flag; notwithstanding he was very instant with me to be dispensed with, and for an excuse alleged his age." In the *News-Letter*, No. 379, there was printed an account of the forces, and Walker reprints it in his *Journal*. The land forces were encamped on Noddle's Island, and the sick were put in hospital "on one of the islands near Nantasket Road." Walker says, "The generation then inhabiting Boston had never before seen so grand a military display as

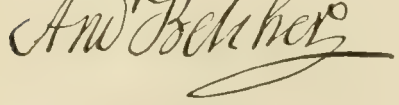
these veteran troops [they had served under Marlborough] made as they performed their evolutions on the fields of Noddle's Island." The troops re-embarked July 20, and on the 30th sailed. Sumner, *East Boston*, 341 — Ed.]

The fleet remained more than a month, offering in the harbor "a goodly, charming prospect," according to Sewall,[1] and doubtless often disturbing the streets with revelry. So little notice had been given of their approach that delay was inevitable in collecting the land forces. Massachusetts furnished bills of credit for £40,000 towards provisioning the fleet;[2] New York issued £10,000; Pennsylvania, £2,000. Fifteen hundred men from Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey were sent to Albany for a land attack on Montreal, and they were joined by eight hundred Iroquois warriors. Meanwhile the fleet sailed from Boston in July, carrying seven thousand men, half regulars and half provincials, under command of Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker.[3]

Nothing but disaster attended the brief career of the expedition. When St. John heard of the safe arrival of the fleet in Boston, he wrote to the Duke of Orrery, "I believe you may depend on our being masters, at this time, of all North America." But the expedition did not add an inch to British territory, while it did untold injury to the prestige of England with the French, the Indians, and even with the colonists themselves. On August 22, while the fleet was ascending the St. Lawrence, a thick fog came on at nightfall; the admiral disregarded all the pilots in his orders in respect to the ships, and for a time refused even to come on deck when the situation became perilous. Ascending from his cabin at last, he gave counter-orders too late; eight of his ships were wrecked, and eight hundred and eighty-four men were drowned. A council of war decided to abandon the enterprise, and the fleet returned to England, not even stopping on the way, as had been ordered, to attack the French posts in Newfoundland. The land forces, destined to attack Montreal, were also withdrawn. There could scarcely have been a more ignominious failure.[4] A year or two later (April, 1713), the war closed with the peace of Utrecht, which gave to England the possession of Hudson's Bay, of Newfoundland, and of Acadia, — this last province being, however, so imperfectly defined as to give a ready excuse for the renewal of war at a later period.[5]

[1] *Sewall Papers*, ii. 317.

[2] [The admiral at first treated with Captain Andrew Belcher, a rich merchant, with a view to



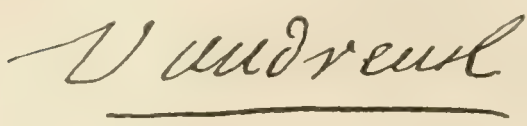
putting the charge of the provisioning in his hands; but he declined. He then entrusted the work to Andrew Faneuil. — Ed.]

[3] [The admiral had been lodging with Captain Cyprian Southack, on Tremont Row, near Howard Street; and Southack in the Province galley was to lead the van in ascending the St. Lawrence. The Captain, who was somewhat famous in his day, as a maker of charts, lies buried in the Granary, with armorial bearings on his stone, which are given in the *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 138. — Ed.]

[4] [Shea, *Charlevoix*, v. 252, cites the authorities. Walker printed in London, in 1720, *A Journal or full account of the late Expedition to Canada*. The London *Gazette* of Oct. 6, 1711, gives the news of the failure of this expedition against Quebec, as it reached the home government. There is a copy in the *Cotton and Prince Papers*, No. 16. — Ed.]

[5] [During the comparative security of the few following years, attention was occasionally directed to the Castle, and its defences were strengthened or repaired. In 1720 a committee reported on a plan for strengthening the east and west heads of the island. Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, 494. — Ed.]

As usual, the Indian disturbances went on, even while there was peace among the European nations. The colonists took advantage of supposed tranquillity to establish new settlements in Maine, and to build forts.[1] The Indians were told by the French that they and the soil they held were not mentioned in the new treaty. "I have my land," exclaimed indignantly the Abenaki chief, "where the Great Spirit has placed me; and while there remains one child of my tribe I shall fight to preserve it." Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, was secretly intriguing to renew the contest; and thus



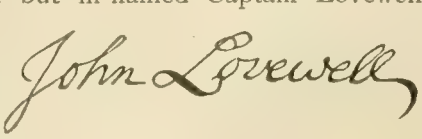
encouraged by French counsel, but even when not aided openly by French arms, the Christian Indians of Maine kept up their attacks. Their spiritual adviser and head was the venerable Père Rasle, of Norridgewock, for a quarter of a century the self-devoted missionary among the Eastern Indians. He had built a chapel in the forest, himself adorning its walls with paintings; he had trained a band of forty young Indians to assist, wearing cassock and surplice, in the rites and processions of the Church; and he had collected a village of "praying Indians" about him. A Protestant mission, set on foot by the government of Massachusetts, had no chance of rivalry with the more winning methods of Père Rasle; and the attempt was abandoned. But when the Indians, under his supposed counsel, met at Norridgewock for war, and, issuing forth, destroyed Brunswick by fire, the Puritans naturally denounced Rasle as an incendiary of mischief, and pledged themselves to the destruction of the Indian headquarters. They proclaimed the Abenakis to be traitors and robbers, and offered for each Indian scalp a bounty of £15, afterward increased to £100.[2] There was by this time a class of Indian fighters among the colonists, as hardy, as skilful, and as relentless as the natives themselves; and Père Rasle, knowing this, predicted that the Indians could not sustain themselves without direct aid from the French. He sent many of his converts to Canada, but resolved to be himself the last to withdraw. Three times an

[1] [In August, 1717, Governor Shute, with a number of gentlemen, left Boston by water to proceed to Arrowsic and make a treaty with the Indians. He was accompanied by the Rev. Joseph Baxter as a missionary, whose journal on this service for several years is given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1867, p. 45. The treaty was made Aug. 9–12, and shortly after an account of it was printed in Boston, by B. Green. The treaty is given in *Maine Hist. Coll.*, iii. 364; vi. 231. General Phillips, the Governor of Nova Scotia, was in Boston for a conference in 1719. He arrived on Sunday, Sept. 27, and Colonel Fitch, the commander of the Boston regiment, who had orders to turn out his command to greet the visitor, was in church when word was brought him. He turned inquiringly to Judge Sewall between prayer and singing. "I said 'No!'" records the diarist, exclamation point included; and the Colonel, "strengthened," kept his seat. The regiment, however, paraded next day, and Sewall tells how the Governor "stood in Mr. Phillips's balcony, hanged with a carpet, and the officers saluted him as they passed by." The field officers entertained him at dinner at the Green Dragon. Governor Phillips stayed till April, when he left Boston under salute from the Castle. *Sewall Papers*, iii. 229, 248. — Ed.]

[2] [A declaration of war against the Eastern Indians was published in Boston, July 26, 1722. The preceding September Governor Shute had given as a reason for a public thanksgiving that Providence had been kind, "particularly in succeeding the methods taken to prevent the insults of the Eastern Indians." See a facsimile of the page of the Boston *Gazette*, Oct. 2, 1721, containing this proclamation, in Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

attempt was made to capture him;[1] and at last, on Aug. 23, 1724, a party of New England men reached Norridgewock unperceived, actually firing into the Indian cabins before any alarm had been given. The Indians fled, the settlement was destroyed, and the body of the priest was left upon the ground near the cross, bruised, scalped, and insulted.[2] Never was there a more cruel issue of religious fanaticism against fanaticism. Père Rasle belonged to the race of devout martyrs, and with their merits had their frequent defects and their disastrous limitations; while on the other hand so false was the Puritan conception of his character, that when a half-breed Indian was once killed, having with him a devotional book and a list of Indian names, he was currently reported to be "a natural son of the Jesuit Ralle, by an Indian woman who had served him as a laundress."[3]

The most cruel war sometimes tends toward peace; and this was unquestionably the result of the destruction of Jesuit missions in New England. For several years longer there was a running fire of hostilities, in the course of which the celebrated but ill-named Captain Lovewell went out again and again to follow the Indian trail, and always returned with scalps. On one occasion his men discovered ten Indians asleep round a fire,



beside a frozen pond; surrounding them stealthily, they killed them all in a few minutes, scalped them, and re-entered Dover bearing the ten scalps stretched on hoops and elevated on poles. After receiving an ovation in Dover, they went on to Boston, where they received £100 for each of their brutal tokens.[4] This party was always accompanied by a surgeon, and also by a chaplain; and had prayers morning and evening. When it was finally routed and broken up, at the famous "Lovewell's

[1] [One of these expeditions was despatched by Governor Shute, under the command of Colonel Westbrook; but two of Rasle's Indians

discovered their approach. The Jesuit's flight, however, was so hasty that he left behind letters from Vaudreuil (which showed the Canadian governor's sympathy and assistance), and the MS. glossary of the Abenaki language, in Rasle's own writing, which is now in the College Library at Cambridge. — Ed.]

[2] [Jere. Bumstead, in Boston, makes this entry in his Almanac: "Aug. 22. 28 Indian scalps brought to Boston; one of w^c^ was Bombazens [an Indian chief], and one fryer Railes." — Ed.]

[3] [Belknap, *New Hampshire*, ed. 1862, p. 204. Shea, *Charlevoix*, v. 280, gives full references. Rev. Convers Francis wrote the Life of Rasle in Sparks's *American Biography*. For an account of his monument, see *Historical Magazine*, June, 1871, p. 399. Palfrey (*New England*, iv. 438) says: "His death was a great relief to the border settlements. Men of this century, not in danger from the tomahawk which his zeal lifted against the wives and children of a hundred years ago, can afford to be just to his good qualities, such as they were, and to be sentimental over his grave." — Ed.]

[4] [Belknap, *New Hampshire*, p. 209. The Journal of Lovewell, signed by himself, detailing the events of this expedition, Jan. 27 to Feb. 27, 1724, is preserved in the *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. lxxxvi. Mr. Frederic Kidder printed an account of Lovewell's adventures in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, January, 1853, p. 61, and gave this Journal entire. Lovewell's company for this expedition was organized at Dunstable, and the men were raised in that and the neighboring towns. The Journal says of the close of the expedition: "26th [Feb.] we marched down to Captain Knights, at Newington, and (27th) went on board a sloop to come to Boston, where we arrived the 9th current, — Mar. 10th, 1724." — Ed.]

Fight," in 1725, the descriptive ballad of the period says, in plaintive verse: —

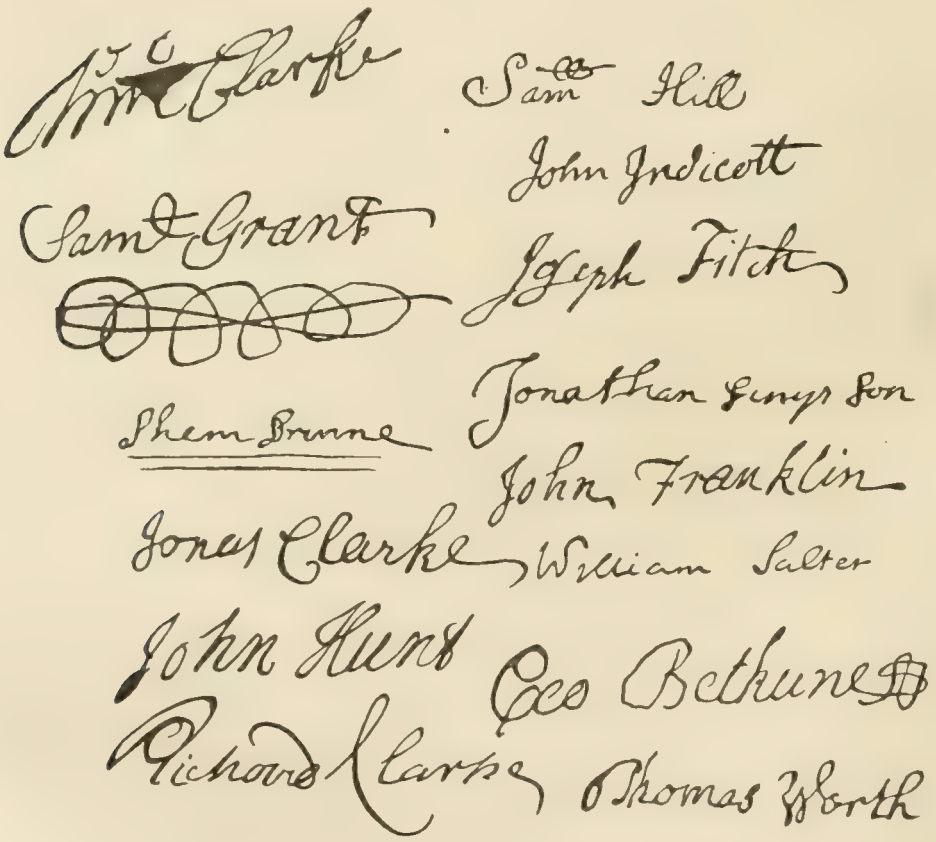
> "They wounded good young Frye,
> Who was our English Chaplain;
> He many Indians slew,
> And some of them he scalped,
> While bullets round him flew." [1]

But even after this disaster to the colonists the power of the Eastern Indians steadily declined; and Dec. 15, 1725, the Abenaki chiefs signed at Boston, in the Council Chamber, a treaty of peace,[2] which was long maintained.[3]

[1] [Thomas Symmes printed, in 1725, at Boston ("B. Green, Jr., for S Gerrish"), the original edition of a sermon entitled *Lovewell Lamented*, which had an account of the "Battle at Piggwacket" annexed, and which has become one of the books most sought for by collectors of Americana. *Brinley Catalogue*, No. 422, 423. A second edition, corrected, appeared in Boston the same year; and it was reprinted in Farmer & Moore's *Historical Collection*, i., and with annotations by N. Bouton, at Concord, N.H., 1861. — ED.]

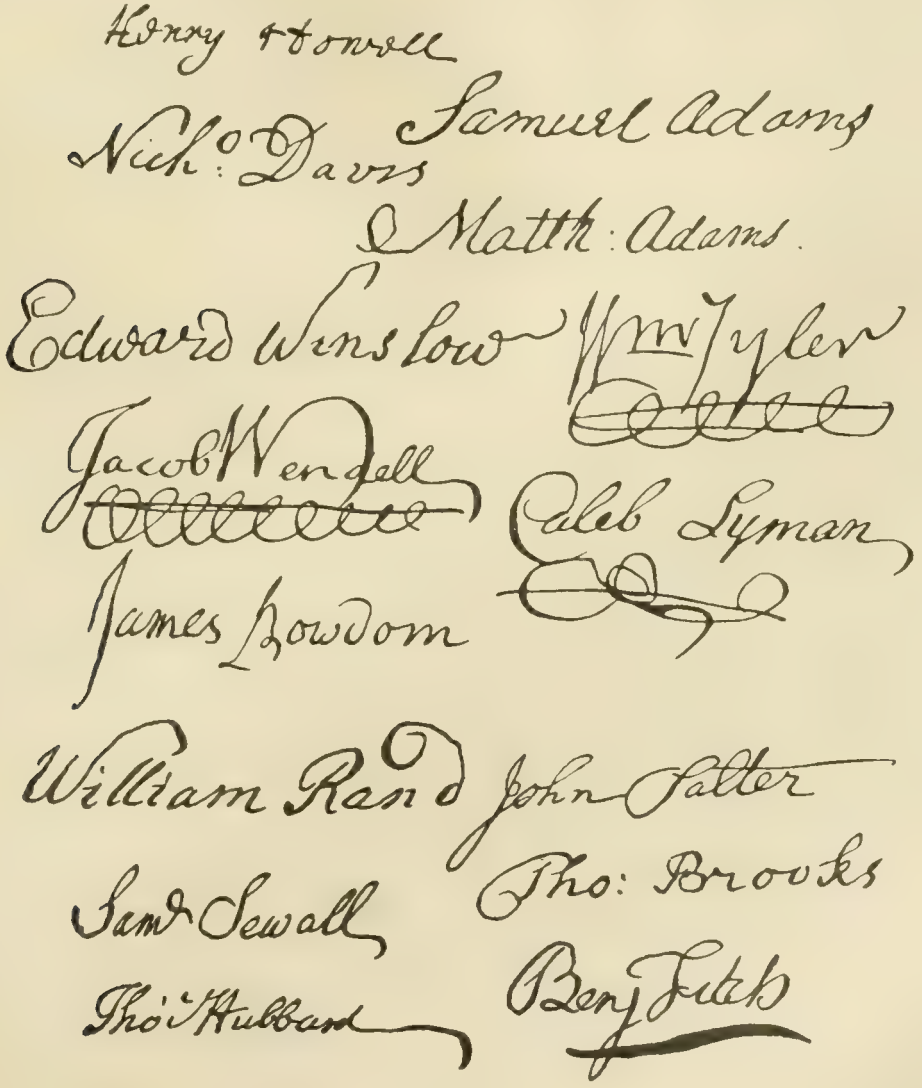
[2] [This parchment is preserved in the *Massachusetts Archives*. — ED.]

[3] [In the years immediately succeeding the town was seldom free from fear of sudden irruptions by hostile fleets. They had learned the insecurity of treaties, and they had experienced that wars, in remote corners of the English



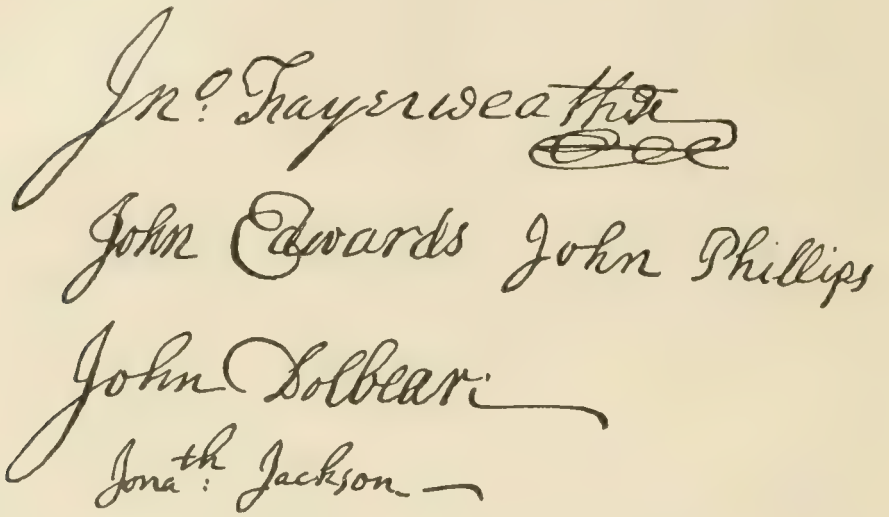
In 1744 came another war between England and France, known in Europe as "the War of the Austrian Succession," but in the simpler American nomenclature called only "King George's War," or perhaps

dependencies, broke out without due proclamation. There is on file in the office of the City Clerk a petition to the Selectmen of the town, signed by some of the prominent merchants and other citizens of Boston, dated Feb. 19, 1733, and asking that a town-meeting be warned to consider if steps should not be taken to fortify the town and its approaches. The signatures are of interest, as showing the names of leading citizens. See pages 110–112. The commanders of the Boston regiment at this time were: Edward Winslow, Colonel; Jacob Wendell, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Samuel Sewall, Major. In 1735 a movement was made to strengthen the works, and a committee on the matter, consisting of Spencer Phips, John Quincy, and Benjamin Bird, reported that the masonry of the main work was in poor condition, owing to bad mortar. A new battery was at this time built at the end of the island, to be connected with the older work by a platform and palisades. (Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, 495.) A few years

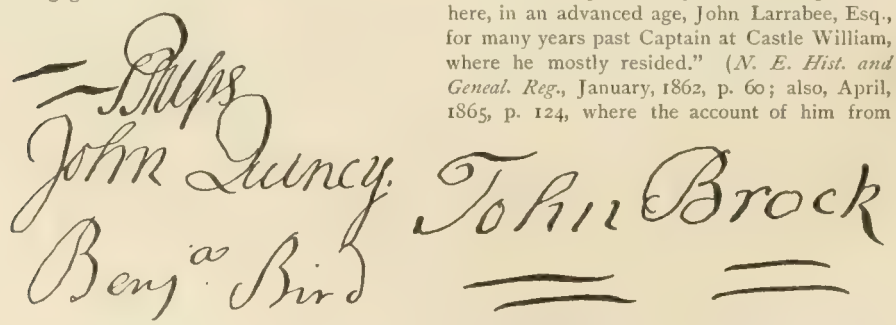


oftener "Governor Shirley's War."[1] As before, the first outbreak of the war involved the colonies, but, as before, the central colonies had the shield of the Iroquois Confederacy, — once the "Five Nations," but now the "Six Nations," the Tuscaroras having been added, — so that the main shock came, once again, on the New England settlements. They first

later (1739–40) the ruinous condition of the north and south batteries instigated Edward Winslow, Daniel Henchman, and other citizens



to take steps to secure the remounting of the guns. The subject of the defences nearly every year engaged the attention of the town. Late



in December, 1744, a vessel arrived at Boston, bringing from the home government twenty forty-two pounders and two mortars for Castle William. During these years a well-known officer at

the Castle was John Larrabee. He succeeded John Gray, as Lieutenant of the Castle, Sept. 11, 1723, — a position which gave him the immediate command, the captaincy falling, by virtue of his commission, to the Lieutenant-Governor for the time being. In 1732 he is styled Lieutenant and Victualler. The *Evening Post* of Feb. 15, 1762, says: "Last night died here, in an advanced age, John Larrabee, Esq., for many years past Captain at Castle William, where he mostly resided." (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, January, 1862, p. 60; also, April, 1865, p. 124, where the account of him from the *News-Letter* is copied.) The Castle Gunner during this period was John Brock. — ED.]

[1] ["June 3, 1744. There was a great shock of an earthquake about ten o'clock A.M., while we were singing; many people went out, but soon returned again. War was proclaimed but the day before against the French by an alarm, P.M. . . . June 28, 1744, was a publick Fast Day on account of the war; Dr. Colman prayed and Mr. John Walley preached. Mr. Walley prayed in the afternoon." — Colonel John Phillips, *MS. Diary.* — ED.]

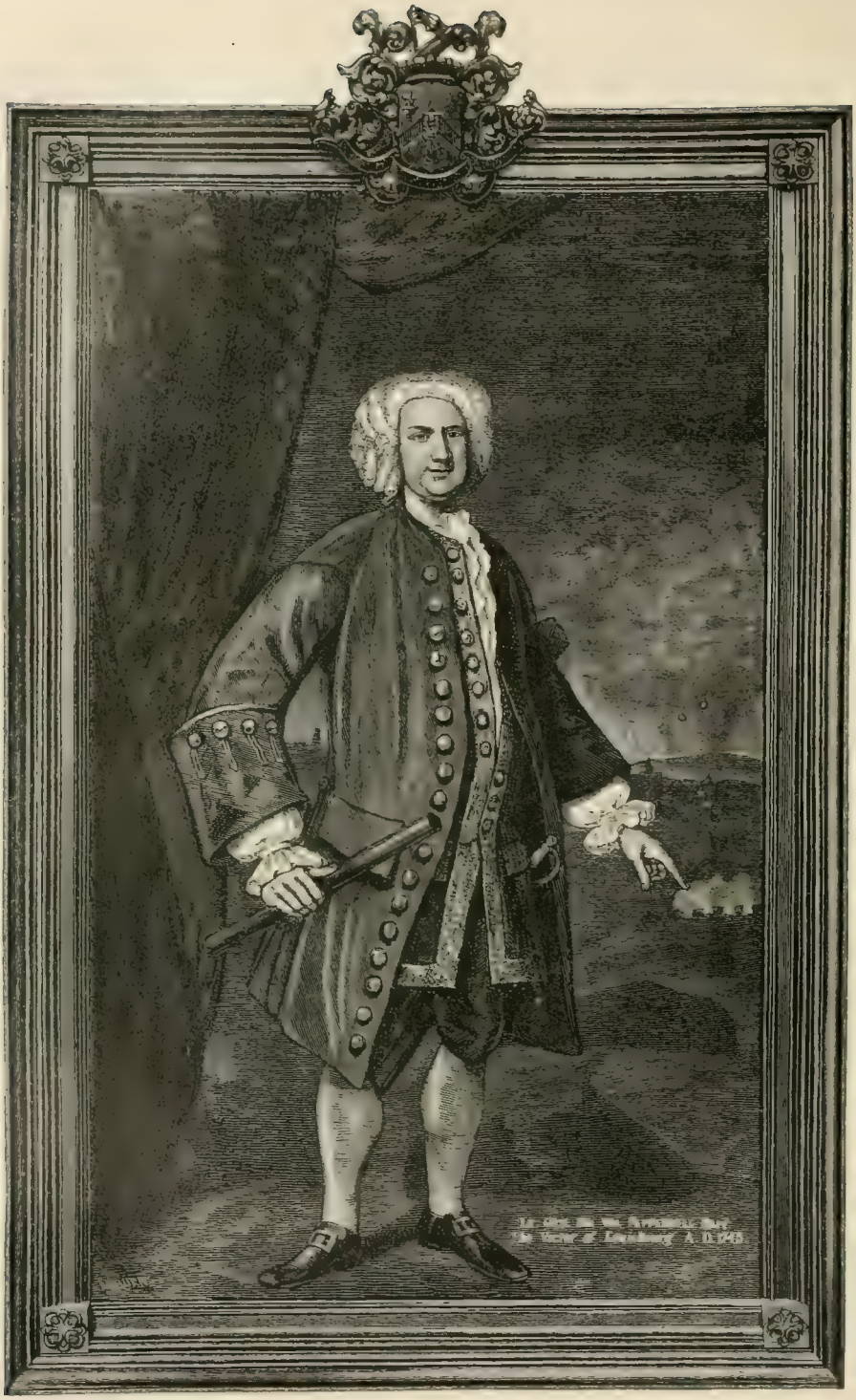
learned of the existence of the war through the capture of the small English garrison at Canso by the French; but the contest is chiefly memorable through the capture of Louisburg in 1745.[1]

In one of Hawthorne's early historical papers there is a sketch of this expedition and its leader, — a sketch marked by that fresh picturesqueness which belonged to all that came from his then obscure pen. In this he reminds us that "the idea of reducing this strong fortress was conceived by William Vaughan, a bold, energetic, and imaginative adventurer, and adopted by Governor Shirley, the most bustling, though not the wisest, ruler that ever presided over Massachusetts."[2] The enterprise was carried by only one vote in the Legislature; but the other New England colonies gave their aid, and left to Massachusetts the selection of a commander. The choice seems to have been made in very much the same manner as was the selection of officers for our volunteer service during the Civil War. In the absence of men of experience, there was an effort to secure those of local prominence, who would command respect and bring recruits. Colonel Pepperrell,[3] of the York County Militia, was a prosperous merchant, in middle life, was Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas Court, and a landed proprietor in three provinces; he was also a man of high character, and was so far under the influence of the celebrated preacher Whitefield as to go to him for advice in regard to accepting the offered position. Whitefield, with a good deal of worldly wisdom, cautioned Pepperrell that if he failed, the blood of the slain would be laid to his charge; and that if he succeeded, he would be pursued by the envy of the living. He accepted the appoint-

[1] [The prisoners taken at Canso were, in the autumn, exchanged and brought to Boston, when the authorities learned the first definite intelligence of the strength of the fortress. They had got the first news of the capture of Canso from a fisherman, who saw the burning fort, and sailed for Boston. The French, upon the surrender of Canso, had pushed for Annapolis, and were besieging the English garrison, when Captain Edward Tyng, in the Province snow, arrived with succor, and the besiegers dispersed. Tyng, with some seventy or eighty newly-raised volunteers, including Indian savages, had sailed from Boston July 2, and on the 13th he was back in Boston with the news of the fort's relief. — Ed.]

[2] *Fanshawe and Other Pieces*, by Nathaniel Hawthorne, Boston, 1876, p. 197. [It is also claimed that the incentive came in large measure from the sanguine spirit of a Boston merchant, — Colonel James Gibson, — who contributed £500 to the undertaking; and from the zeal of Robert Auchmuty, of Roxbury. Hutchinson seems to give the credit to Vaughan. See S. G. Drake's *Five Years' French and Indian War*, Albany, 1870, — a collection of various narratives and documents concerning this war. — Ed.]

[3] [The annexed cut follows a full-length portrait in the hall of the Essex Institute, at Salem. It was obtained from Kittery by George A. Ward, who was connected by marriage with the daughter of Sir William. It has been in the rooms of the Institute fifty or sixty years. The artist is not known, — so Dr. Wheatland informs me. An engraving after Smibert's picture, 1751, is given in Parson's *Life of Pepperrell*, in Drake's *Boston*, and in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, January, 1866. Dr. Parsons contributed a Pepperrell genealogy to the *Register*, January, 1866. In the same volumes various Pepperrell papers, then in the possession of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., are printed. — Ed.]



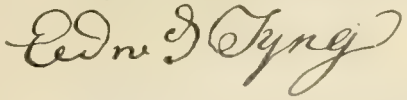
ment, nevertheless.[1] It was considered essential that the French should be taken unawares, and an oath of secrecy was therefore imposed on the members of the Legislature. But Hawthorne tells us that "this precaution was nullified by the pious praying of a country member of the lower House, who, in the performance of domestic worship at his lodgings, broke into a fervent and involuntary prayer for the success of the expedition against Louisburg."

The material for this expedition undoubtedly presented the curious combination of religious fanaticism and strong common-sense which marked all the actions of the Puritan colonists. Those who entered upon it were doubtless sustained by the intense Protestant feeling which had made the destruction of Father Rasle's mission appear a good service to God. They were also actuated by a double pride — as Englishmen and as colonists — to take their part in resisting that great French domination which was known to have already stretched a line of forts from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and might yet, if unresisted, sweep the whole English population into the Atlantic Ocean. Mingled with all this was a profound dread of the Indian foe,—an enemy whom Christianity had only better organized, and civilization had only better armed. Peace, safety, English prestige, colonial self-respect, religious enthusiasm, — these were the aims and motives of the attack. There was no strict discipline, no uniformity of drill, no fixed military tradition; the troops were only to meet courage with courage, and Roman Catholic zeal with Protestant ardor. One enthusiastic chaplain is said to have carried a hatchet, as he marched, with which he proposed to hew down the idolatrous images in the French churches. Whitefield himself, on being asked for a motto for the expedition, answered, "Nil desperandum, Christo Duce."[2] Thus the fleet sailed from Boston, bearing three thousand men, to attack a stronghold which had been called the Gibraltar of America, and whose very fortifications were said to have cost five million dollars. It seemed an enterprise as daring as that of Sir William Phips, and as hopeless.[3]

[1] [Pepperrell was not without kin as well as friends in Boston. His sister Mary, now a widow, was soon to become the wife of Rev. Benjamin Colman, of the Manifesto Church. Another sister, Miriam, had married Andrew Tyler, a Boston merchant, whose brother William was the husband of Pepperrell's youngest sister, Jane. In 1723 Pepperrell himself had married, in Boston, Mary, daughter of Grove Hirst, a Boston merchant, and granddaughter of Judge Sewall. This made him brother-in-law of the Rev. Charles Chauncy of the First Church, of Addington Davenport rector of Trinity, and further linked him collaterally with other Boston families. Such relations, his business pursuits, and his duties as a member of the General Court and of the Governor's Council had often brought him to Boston, and made him a familiar figure in the streets. Whitefield's somewhat curious letter describing his interview with Pepperrell is given in Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, ii. 150.— ED.]

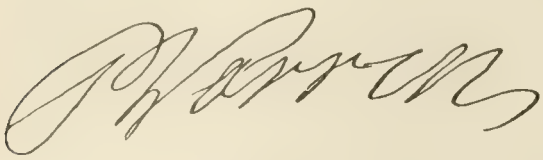
[2] ["Feb. 28, 1744-45. There was a publick Fast through the Province about the Expedition to Cape Breton." — Colonel John Phillips, *MS. Diary*. — ED.]

[3] The siege train was mostly taken from the Castle. One of the vessels accompanying the fleet was the "Massachusetts" frigate, Captain Edward Tyng. Shirley had directed Tyng, says Preble, in



his "Notes on Early Ship-Building" (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1871, p. 363) to find the

When the fleet sailed, it was quite uncertain whether any aid would come from the mother country, but an English fleet, under the command of Sir Peter Warren,[1] joined the expedition at Canso; and vessels bearing the New Hampshire and Connecticut forces also arrived, the Rhode Island force being too late. On April 30, 1745, the fleet came in sight of Louisburg, and found its strength not exaggerated. The walls were twenty or thirty feet high, and forty feet thick; they were surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide, and were defended by one hundred and eighty-three pieces of artillery, besides sixty more in the two outlying batteries. Against this the New England forces had but eighteen cannon and three mortars and their hands, which, like Wamba's in *Ivanhoe*, were not used to making mammocks of brick and mortar. Even when the French, in a panic, had abandoned the "royal battery" on the shore, — a work so perfect that it was afterward said that two hundred men could have held it against five thousand, — the main fort seemed equally beyond the reach of attack. Seth Pomeroy, of Northampton, who superintended the work of drilling out the guns spiked by the retreating enemy, wrote thus to his family at home: "Louisburg is an exceedingly strong place, and looks impregnable. It looks as if our campaign would last long; but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands." And it marks the feeling of the time that his wife should have written in reply: "Suffer no anxious thought to rest in your mind about me. The whole town is much engaged with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week are maintained. I leave you in the hands of God."[2]



For six weeks Louisburg was besieged; and much work was done by the besiegers, in an irregular and disorderly way. Under Colonel Richard Gridley,[3] of Boston, a battery was erected near the north cape of the harbor;

largest ship he could to accompany the Massachusetts contingent. One was found on the stocks, nearly ready for launching, and under Tyng's supervision she was strengthened and pierced for twenty-four or twenty-six guns. Tyng was a grandson of the early settler in Boston of the same name; had earlier commanded the snow "Prince of Orange," and in

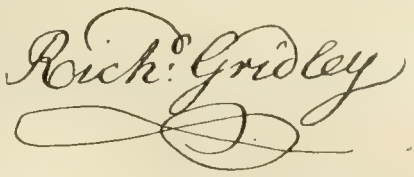
her had captured, in June, 1744, a French privateer on our coast, which caused some Boston merchants to give him a piece of plate. He died in 1755. (See Alden, *Epitaphs*, ii. 328; Drake, *Five Years' French and Indian War*, 246.) The "Massachusetts" was later commanded by Captain Moses Bennet. Captain John Rouse, who was next in command to Tyng, had the previous year, in a Boston privateer, played havoc among the French fishing fleet on the Grand Banks. Drake, *Five Years' French and Indian War*, 240.

[1] [Warren was not unknown in Boston. He had been in port in 1735, in command of the "Squirrel" frigate. The autograph here given is from his reply to the congratulations of the council and representatives, preserved in the *Massachusetts Archives*, "Letters," iii. 295. — ED.]

[2] Bancroft, *United States*, revised ed. ii. 591.

[3] [Gridley was a currier by trade; and he had been a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, in 1695, and a captain as early as 1707. In the Belknap list of commis-

and under Colonel Meserve of New Hampshire, a ship-carpenter, sledges were built to drag cannon over boggy morasses. The presence of ingenuity and the absence of discipline again remind the reader of early scenes in the War of the Rebellion. Meanwhile the English fleet, now reinforced from home, kept up a strict blockade and captured a French store-ship. Five or six attempts to take the "Island Battery" had failed; when one day, to the general surprise, a flag of truce was sent from the fort, and this was followed on June 17 by a surrender.[1] The troops marched in, and the French chapel was occu-



sioned officers he is called "lieut.-colonel captain of ye train [of artillery] and company." Parsons, in his *Life of Pepperrell*, p. 334, says a few cart-loads of hewn tufa-stone almost alone mark the site of Louisburg, and these are near the grand battery where Gridley was stationed. On one of these stones he found the words "GRIDLEY, 1745," deeply chiselled. In the following year, 1746, Gridley was employed by Shirley to fortify Governor's Island, and to strengthen the Castle; and there is a paper in the *Massachusetts Archives*, "Military," viii. 14, showing that he was allowed, in 1751, £45 for his services and expenses. — ED.]

[1] [Colonel John Phillips's diary has the following entry under May 2, 1745: "The Thursday Lecture was turned into a Fast by the ministers on account of Cape Briton Expedition. Mr. Prince began with prayer at ten o'clock. Mr. Webb preached. P. M., Mr. Checkley prayed and Dr. Sewall preached. Mr. Welsteed prayed last, [added later] and this day the Grand Battery at Cape Briton was delivered up to us."

There are in the Cabinet of the Historical Society various original papers relating to this expedition, — the *Belknap Papers*, vols. ii. and iii.; the *Pepperrell Papers*, 2 vols. 1699–1779, but chiefly concerning this expedition; the *Proceedings* of the Council of War during the expedition. There are others in the *Massachusetts Archives*. The printed authorities are numerous. The notes to Barry's *Massachusetts*, ii., cite them. Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, gave the earliest careful account. Bancroft cites a MS. journal of Seth Pomeroy. Governor Shirley wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle about the expedition, which was accompanied by a Journal. This was printed in London, and reprinted in Boston. Pepperrell's account is in the appendix of *Curwen's Journal*, and in Hunt's *Merchant Magazine*, July, 1858. See also Curwen's Letters in Essex Institute, *Hist. Coll.*, iii.; and in vol. iv., p. 181, is *Craft's Journal*. An elaborate *Life of Pepperrell*, by Usher Parsons, was published in 1855 (third edition, 1856), and some of Sir William's letters are given in *Hist. Mag.*, January, 1868. Wolcott's Journal of the siege is in the Connecticut *Hist. Coll.*, i. An account by Colonel James Gibson, published in London in 1745, was reprinted in Boston in 1847, with the misleading title *A Boston Merchant of 1745*. Plans of the works will be found in Bancroft's *United States;* Usher Parsons's *Life of Pepperrell;* Shea's *Charlevoix*, v., and in Brown's *Cape Breton*, etc. To supplement the general historians see also *Magazine of American History*, November, 1878, and Mr. John Russell Bartlett's "Naval History of Rhode Island," in *Hist. Mag.*, 1870.

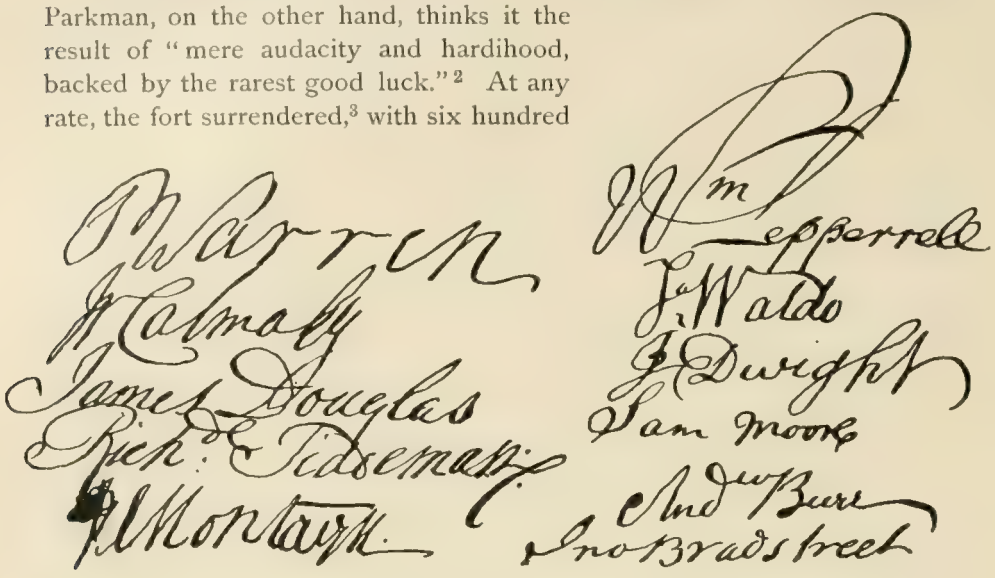
Mr. Charles Hudson has printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1870, from the *Belknap Papers*, a list of all the commissioned officers in the expedition. The colonels of the Massachusetts regiments were William Pepperrell, Samuel Waldo (who though living at the eastward was the son of Jonathan Waldo, a wealthy Boston merchant), Jeremiah Moulton, Samuel Willard, Robert Hale, Sylvester Richmond, Jr., Shubael Gorham, John Choate, and Joseph Dwight, — the latter gentleman also commanding the train of artillery, with Richard Gridley, a Boston man, his lieutenant. Bartholomew Green, the Boston printer, was a second lieutenant in this artillery service. Ebenezer

Prout is put down on the roll as assistant storekeeper of his Majesty's Ordnance, but signs a document at the State House as commissary. We recognize one Boston physician, William Rand,

among the surgeons. The interpreters were the Rev. Nathaniel Walter, minister of the second Roxbury parish, and Andrew Lemercier, a son of

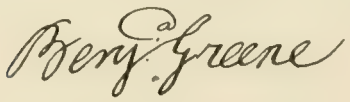
pied for religious services,[1] — perhaps not by the iconoclast who carried his hatchet, but by one of the same faith and nation.

Voltaire, in his *Siècle de Louis XV.*, ranks among the great events of the period this capture of a strong fortress by the husbandmen of New England. Parkman, on the other hand, thinks it the result of "mere audacity and hardihood, backed by the rarest good luck."[2] At any rate, the fort surrendered,[3] with six hundred



SIGNATURES AT A COUNCIL OF WAR, JUNE 3, 1745, ON BOARD THE "SUPERBE," OFF LOUISBURG.

the Huguenot pastor in Boston. Moses Bennet commanded the sloop "Bonetta," in the pay of Massachusetts. Benjamin Greene was secre-



tary of the expedition, and register of the Court of Admiralty.

In the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, for July, 1871, Mr. Hudson gives various lists of persons who were in the expedition. In April, 1873, there is the Journal of the Rev. Adonijah Bidwell, chaplain of the fleet. The poor parson succumbed to sickness on the return voyage, "bereaved of my senses thro' the violence of my distemper," and knew nothing of his arrival at Boston, October 6; but two days after he "was carried to Doctor Rand's, where he was eleven weeks and four days." He gives also an enumeration of the vessels in the expedition. Rev. Thomas Prince of the Old South preached a Thanksgiving Sermon, July 18, which affords some historical details. In the *Pepperrell Papers*, i. 257, there is a letter of Daniel Henchman the printer, which accompanies a copy of this sermon, Aug. 6, 1745, to the hero of the hour. Drake, in his *Five Years' French and Indian War*, p. 187, mainly reprints it. The news had arrived in the night of July 2, by a packet bringing despatches from Pepperrell. His brother-in-law, Chauncy, in writing to him under date of July 4, 1745, speaks of the news having arrived "Yesterday, about break of day." He adds: "The people of Boston before sunrise were as thick about the streets as on an election day; and a pleasing joy visibly sat on the countenance of every one you met with. We had last night the finest illumination I ever beheld. I believe there was not a house in the town, in no by-lane or alley, but joy might be seen through its windows. The night also was made joyful by bonfires, fireworks, and all other external tokens of rejoicing." This letter is in the *Pepperrell Papers*, and another of similar tenor dated July 27. — ED.]

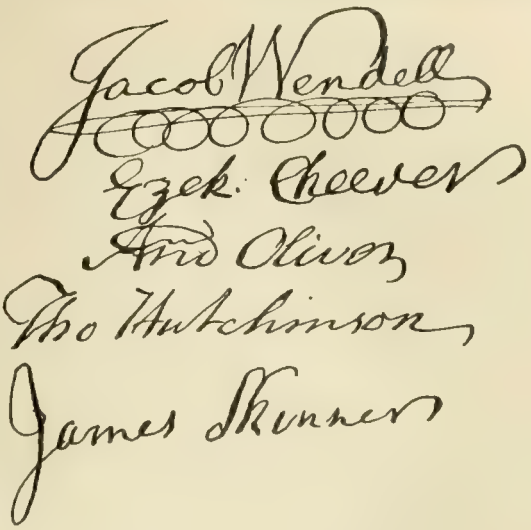
[1] [A cross from this chapel, brought home by the Massachusetts troops, is now placed over the main entrance of the College Library at Cambridge. — ED.]

[2] *The Old Régime in Canada*, p. 400.

[3] [When Shirley, who had gone hence in August, returned in November, a splendid reception awaited him. He came in the "Massachusetts" frigate, and landed at the Castle. The

and fifty soldiers and thirteen hundred inhabitants of the town. To the colonists this gave a feeling of devout exultation, with important lessons as to the value of mutual union. All the New England colonies had been represented at Louisburg; and New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania had contributed money for the purpose.

Flushed with success, the provinces, as far south as Virginia, began to plan nothing less than the conquest of Canada, — they to furnish the land forces, and England the fleet.[1] The plan failed through the non-concurrence of England, — the Duke of Bedford, then at the head of the British Marine, objecting to it because of "the independence it might create in those provinces when they shall see within themselves so great an army, possessed of so great a country by right of conquest."



COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL COURT.[2]

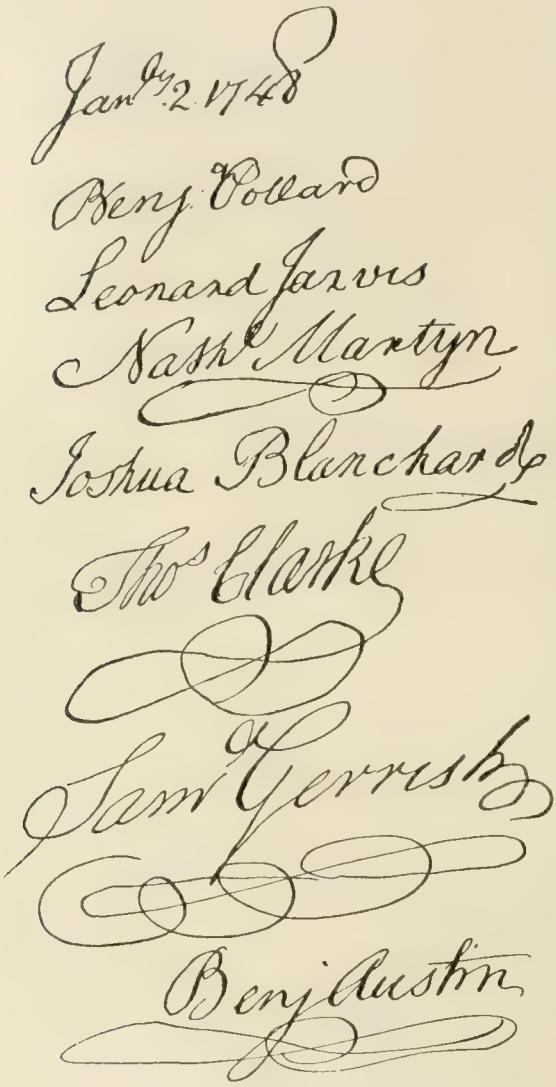
next day he came to town in the Castle barge, and landing at Long Wharf, under salutes from the shipping, Colonel Wendell's Boston regiment, Colonel Pollard's Cadets, and some other troops took him under escort with the town and provincial dignitaries, and the day was given to jollification.

Not till the following summer did Pepperrell return, accompanied by Warren. They arrived in the harbor about the first of June, were saluted at the Castle, and reached town about 5 P. M., landing under salvos from all the batteries and ships. The Cadets and dignitaries escorted them up Long Wharf and King Street, between lines of the Boston Regiment, which kept back a crowd of people. At the Town House, Pepperrell took his seat as President of the Council, and the representatives delivered addresses. He stayed in Boston till July 4, when he set out for his seat at Kittery. The news of Culloden had likewise come, and Thomas Prince had preached a sermon of jubilation at the Old South, August 14. But all this gave way before long to a dread of Admiral D'Anville's Brest Fleet. Toward the end of September, 1746, says Douglass, who was an eye-witness, "6,400 men from the country, well armed, appeared on Boston Common; some of them from Brookfield travelled seventy miles in two days, each with a pack (in which was provision for fourteen days) of about a bushel corn weight." Everything was astir. Work on the harbor defences was pushed forward. The French armament, however, was scattered by a tempest, and the danger passed. The reader will remember Longfellow's ballad on the subject. — ED.]

[1] [It was perhaps because of these projects that, in 1746, special efforts were made to discover all subjects of the French King in Boston, and to commit them to jail. The City Clerk's files disclose various papers on the subject. Early in September they had the news in Boston of the sack of Fort Massachusetts. — ED.]

[2] [These signatures are taken from the report of the Committee appointed in 1746 to settle some of the accounts of the expenses to the province attending the expedition to Louisburg, taken from the document in the *Massachusetts Archives*. The chairman, Wendell, was a prominent Boston merchant, colonel of the Boston Regiment in 1745. He was the great-grandfather of Oliver Wendell Holmes, and lived on the corner of Tremont and School Streets, opposite the King's Chapel. He was a director in the first banking institution in the province. In 1749 Parliament voted to reimburse the colonies for their expenses. William Bollan, a son-in-law of Shirley, had been over to urge the adjustment, and he had been greatly assisted by Christopher Kilby, a Boston merchant, who had been in London as the agent of the province since 1741. Mr. Charles W. Tuttle contributed an account

The Swedish traveller, Peter Kalm, writing from New York in 1748, went even further than the Duke of Bedford. "There is reason enough for doubting whether the king, if he had the power, would wish to drive the French from their possessions in Canada. . . . The English Government has therefore reason to regard the French in North America as the chief power that urges their colonies to submission." Whatever may have been the truth of these prognostications, it is certain that, after three years more of occasional Indian outrages, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was made in 1748,[1] providing for the mutual restoration of all conquests; and Louisburg accordingly reverted to the French.



OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE OF THE BOSTON CADETS.[2]

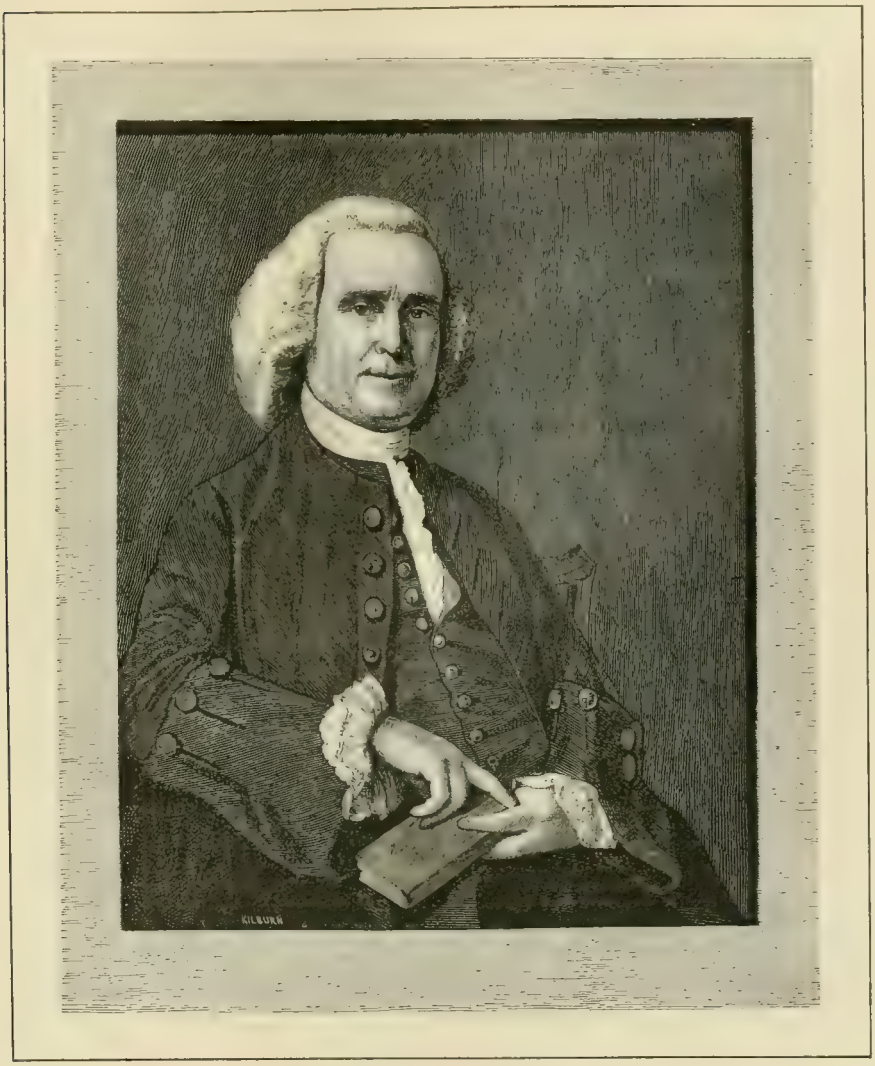
Yet no sooner had the treaty been signed, than trouble was revived between the French and English about the boundaries of Acadia. Other collisions took place in the West, along the Ohio river; and the last and severest of all these wars, commonly called the "Old French War," or the "French and Indian War," began. Much of this contest took place beyond the territory of New England; but nowhere were its terrors greater, inasmuch as it seemed, at one time, to involve the very existence of the English colonies.

of Kilby to the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1872, p. 43; also see 1874, p. 451. The sum of £183,649 was sent to Boston in coin, and 653,000 ounces of silver, and ten tons of copper were landed on Long Wharf. It took seventeen carts to carry the silver, and ten to carry the copper to the treasurer's office. — ED.]

[1] [The proclamation of the peace was made in Boston, May 10, in the presence of the town regiment in King Street. The treaty with the Eastern Indians was not perfected till Oct. 16, 1649, at Falmouth, and proclamation of it was made at Boston, Oct. 27. — ED.]

[2] [This group of signatures gives us some of the principal citizens interested in military matters at this time. Cf. Whitman, *Ancient and*

A convention of delegates from the New England colonies, and from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, was held at Albany, July 4, 1754. It was called by advice of the British ministry, for common meas-



COLONEL JOSIAH QUINCY.[1]

Honorable Artillery Company, 273. Various letters of Pollard relating to the Louisburg expedition are in the *Pepperrell Papers*. He died ten years later. "1756, Dec. 30. Colonel Pollard was buried," is the entry in Sir Charles Henry Frankland's diary. — ED.]

[1] [This cut follows a portrait by Copley, painted in 1769, which Miss Eliza Susan Quincy kindly allowed to be photographed for the engraver's guidance. Stuart is recorded as saying of this picture in 1825: "Copley put the whole man upon the canvas. Mr. Quincy had a white hair in his eye-brow and there it is. The industry of Copley was marvellous." This gentleman was the son of Judge Edmund Quincy, Colonel of the Suffolk regiment, grandson of the immi-

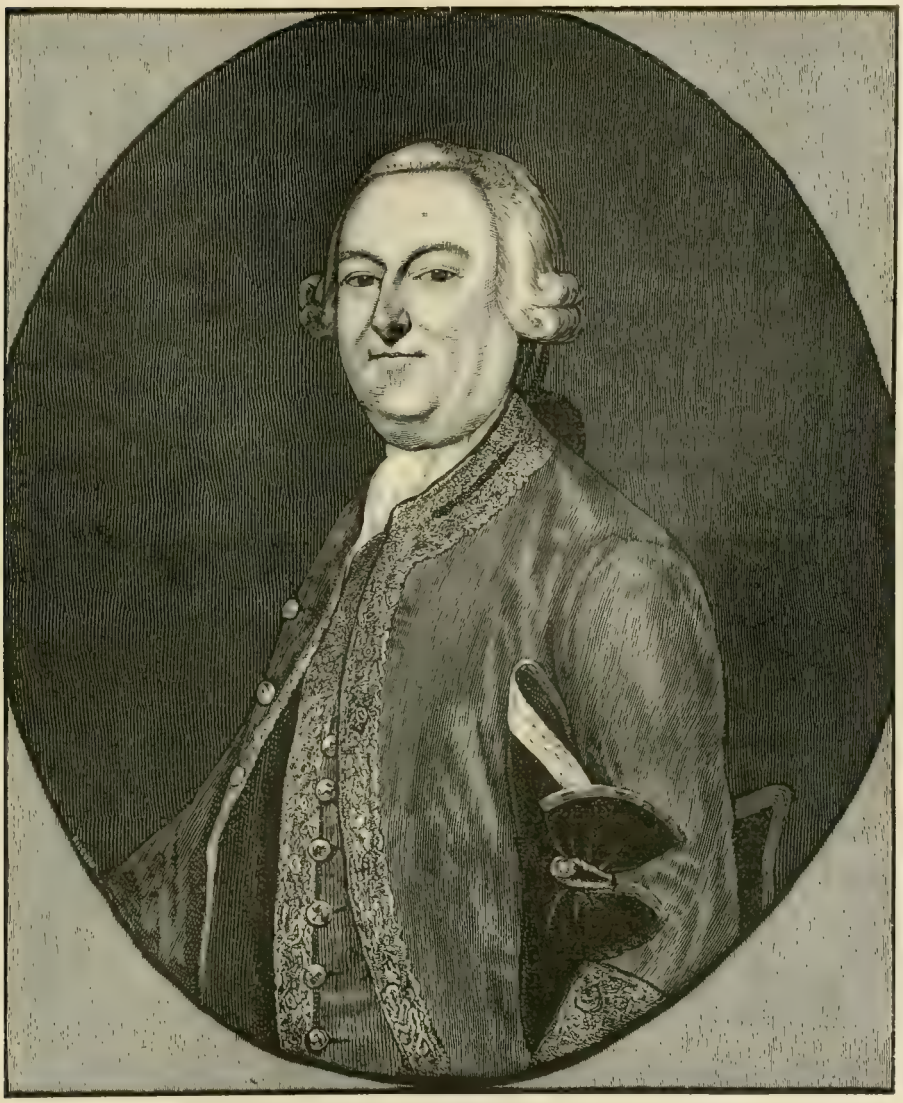
ures of defence, and to treat with the friendly Indian tribes. Franklin was one of the members, and his famous representation of the snake dismembered, with the motto "Unite or Die," was prepared for this occasion. The Massachusetts General Court had suggested "that the control of Indian affairs be put under such general direction as his Majesty shall judge proper; and that the several Governments shall be obliged to bear their proportions of defending his Majesty's territories against the encroachments of the French and the incursions of the Indians." The delegates from Massachusetts had been authorized to form articles of union; and a committee of one from each colony was appointed to frame a plan. Franklin's plan was reported, and had the support of all but the Connecticut delegates. He proposed a council of forty-eight members, distributed among the different colonies, and having for its head a president-general, appointed by the Crown, and having the veto power. It was ultimately rejected by the King's Council as giving too much power to the people, and by the provincial assemblies as giving too much power to the Crown. Meanwhile the French and Indian war went on, and the colonists were compelled to ponder more and more the sarcastic counsel of the Mohawk chief Hendrick, at Albany: "You desired us to open our minds and hearts to you. Look at the French: they are men; they are fortifying everywhere. But, we are ashamed to say it, you are like women, without any fortifications. It is but one step from Canada hither; and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors." [1]

The treaty of Utrecht in awarding Acadie, or Acadia, to the English had assigned to that province its "ancient limits;" but to agree upon those limits passed the skill of commissioners. The English claimed both sides of the Bay of Fundy; but the French conceded only the peninsula now called Nova Scotia, claiming the north shore of the bay for themselves. Forts Beau-Séjour and Gaspereau were built expressly to defend this French claim. The English had already built forts at Windsor and Minas; and

grant Edmund; and he was the first of a brilliant line of Josiahs. A graduate of Harvard (1728), he was engaged in commerce and shipbuilding in Boston during these wars with the French and Spaniards. In 1748 his mercantile house fitted out the ship "Bethell" for the Mediterranean, arming her with twenty guns, some of which, however, were dummies. They made a good enough appearance however, together with a display of spare coats and hats stuck upon handspikes, to deceive the commander of a Spanish ship of heavier force, who, mistaking the "Bethell" for an English sloop-of-war, struck his colors. It was no easy matter for Captain Isaac Freeman to prevent the prize turning master, when the trick was discovered. Good luck attended him, and the "Bethell" and her prize came into Bostor harbor with one hundred and sixty-one chests of silver and two of gold, to be distributed. The doubloons and dollars were escorted by armed sailors from the wharf to Colonel Quincy's house, on the corner of what is now Washington Street and Central Court, where they found rest in the wine cellar, with a guard mounted over them while they remained there, day and night. Later, Mr. Quincy removed to Braintree, and became Colonel, as his father had been, of the Suffolk regiment. In 1755 the province sent him to Pennsylvania to ask help from that colony, in the attack on Crown Point, which Massachusetts was then planning. Franklin, in his *Autobiography*, tells the story of this negotiation. Edmund Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, ch. i.; Miss Quincy in *Penn. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. There is a genealogical sketch of the Quincys in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, January, 1857, p. 71, and April, 1857, p. 154. — Ed.]

[1] Bancroft, *United States*, revised edition, iii. 79.

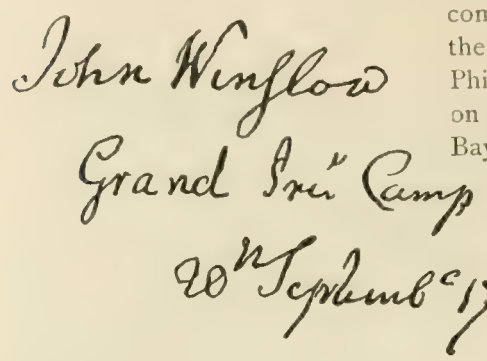
had established a fort and colony at Halifax to take the place of Louisburg, just surrendered. In 1755 hostilities had advanced far enough — though there had as yet been no declaration of war — for the English to attack the two forts on the Bay of Fundy. Three thousand men had been placed under



JOHN WINSLOW.[1]

[1] [This cut follows the likeness of General Winslow now hanging in the gallery of the Historical Society, in whose cabinet is a collection of papers which is lettered "Winslow's Journal." The first volume opens with a letter of proposals which Winslow addressed to Governor Shirley, followed by a copy of his commission as Lieut.-Colonel, Feb. 10, 1755. Transcripts then follow of instructions, letters, accounts, orders, rosters, log-books, and reports, bearing date down to Jan. 1756. The second volume of a similar character begins February and ends August, 1756, closing with a certificate that the 354 pages of the book "is to the best of my skill and judgment a true record of original papers committed to my care for that purpose,"

the command of John Winslow, a militia general who had himself seen some actual service, and whose grandfather[1] was well remembered as having commanded the New England force in the celebrated "swamp fight" during Philip's War. He sailed from Boston on May 20,[2] and on arriving at the Bay of Fundy Winslow's troops were reinforced by three hundred British regulars under Col. Monckton, who took command of the expedition. The forts were easily taken, and the small French forces driven away. But a more difficult problem was the question of governing the



signed, "Henry Leddel, Secretary to General Winslow." The third volume covers August–December, 1756, and is similarly certified under date, Boston, April 23, 1757; a single letter of Loudoun's, dated Boston, Jan. 29, 1757, closes this final volume. A journal of the Expedition to Acadia, kept by Dr. John Thomas as surgeon, — the same who acquired fame later as General Thomas, at the Roxbury fort, — was printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1879. Further study of the subject can be pursued in the *Nova Scotia Archives*, Halifax, 1869, and in the *Transactions*, Part vii., of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. Beside the general historians there are local writers, like Moreau, *L'Acadie Française*, ch. xxiii.; Campbell, *Nova Scotia*, ch. vii., etc.

Admiral Boscawen was at this time in command of the squadron on the coast hereabout. — ED.]

[1] [Various members of the Winslow family were prominent in Boston affairs during the provincial period, and it may be well to make clear their relationship (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1863; Oct. 1871): —

EDWARD, of Droitwich, England

Gov. Edward, of Plymouth Colony
John, Boston, 1655; d. 1674.
Kenelm, d. at Salem, 1672.
Gilbert, d. in England.
Josiah, d. at Marshfield, 1674

Gov. Josiah, of Plymouth Colony; d. 1680.
Edward, b. 1634, d. 1682.
John, d. 1683.
Joseph, d. 1679
Samuel, d. 1680.
Isaac, d. 1670.
Benjamin, d. 1673-76
Nathaniel, d. at Marshfield, 1719.

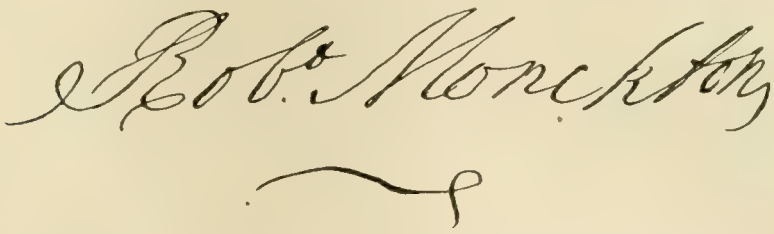
Judge Isaac, b. 1670, d. 1738.
Col. Edward, b. 1669.
Kenelm, b. 1675; d. 1759

Gen. John, b. 1702
Josiah, b. 1703, bd. 1724
Edward, b. 1714; Royalist.
Joshua, Boston Merchant.
Isaac, Boston Merchant.
Joseph, b. 1724; Boston Merchant.

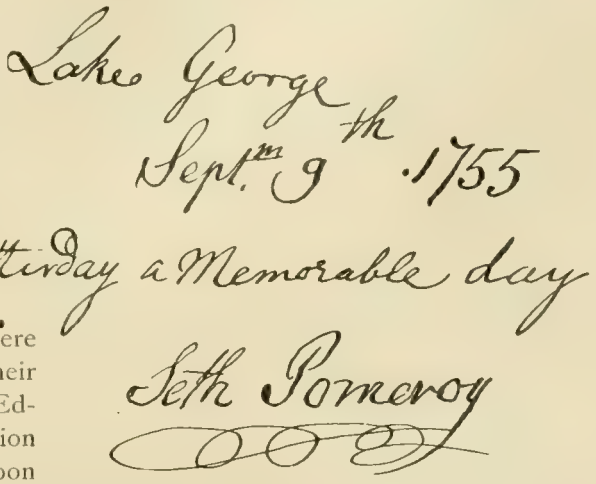
Pelham, b. 1737; Royalist. — ED.]
Dr. Isaac, b. 1739.

[2] [Dr. Thomas thus records the setting sail: "1755, May 22. Wind S.W. We weighed anchor at Deer Island road, in Boston Bay, in company with the three men of war, — 'Success,' Captain John Rouse; 'Mermaid,' Captain Sherley; 'Siren,' Captain Proba; thirty-three transports and store ships (two brigs, five schooners, rest sloops); and about five thousand and one hundred soldiers, all bound for Annapolis Royal." — ED.]

province of Acadia, — a region occupied largely by some twelve or fifteen thousand French colonists, who, during forty years of nominal British sovereignty, had still remained absolutely French in all their ways and sympathies. By treaty they had been excused from taking up arms against their own nationality; and were therefore called "French neutrals." But the

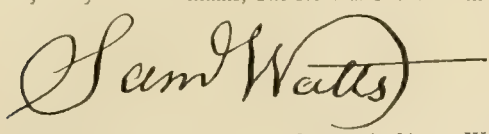


capture of Fort Beau-Séjour had revealed three hundred of their young men in arms. Should a population thus disposed be expelled, and go to strengthen the French force in Canada, or be left where it was and kept down by strong garrisons? The easiest military remedy, and the cruellest, was that finally adopted by the authorities of the province: the whole French population was to be seized by stratagem, carried away and distributed among the British North American colonies. More than a thousand of the exiles were brought to Massachusetts, and were here supported at the public expense; but were denied the exercises of their religion. "We did," said Edmund Burke, "in my opinion most inhumanly, and upon pretences that in the eye of an honest man are not worth a farthing, root out this poor, innocent, deserving people, whom our utter inability to govern or to reconcile gave us no sort of right to extirpate." The story of this sad event has been written in undying song by Longfellow.[1]



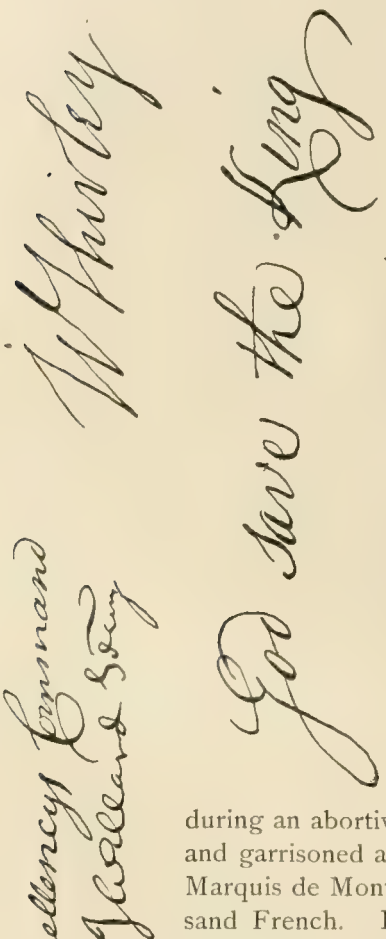
During Braddock's ill-fated campaign in America the Massachusetts

[1] [Besides *Evangeline*, there is a novel on the subject by C. R. Williams, *The Neutral French*.



The two volumes in the *Massachusetts Archives*, "Neutral French," reveal the corners of Massachusetts into which they were sent, but give little information beyond accounts of expenditures in their behalf by the towns. About two hundred families had been sent hither, and thirty families had arrived before the 11th of November. Their dispersion was in charge of a committee, of which Samuel Watts was chairman. Hutchinson, *Massachusetts Bay*, iii. 40. — ED.]

troops — some seven thousand nine hundred in all, being one-fifth of the able-bodied men in the colony — were partly employed under Sir William Johnson in his expedition against Crown Point. One regiment was commanded by Colonel Ephraim Williams, who was killed in action; and who, while passing through Albany on the way, had made his will, leaving property to found what is now Williams College. Another was commanded by Colonel Pomeroy, whose letter from Louisburg has been already quoted, and who lived to fight at Bunker Hill. He wrote home thus enthusiastically after the battle of Lake George: "Come to the help of the Lord against the mighty! You that value our holy religion and our liberties will spare nothing, even to the one half of your estate." [1]



SUBSCRIPTION TO A PROCLAMATION.[4]

In drawing pictures of the outbreak of the Revolutionary war we often forget the previous military training of the colonists, not only by fighting with Indians, but through what were at least glimpses of more regular warfare.

Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, during an abortive expedition against Niagara in 1755, built and garrisoned a new fort at Oswego. In the year after, the Marquis de Montcalm besieged and took it with five thousand French. During the following year (1757) he also took Fort William Henry, where a large part of the ill-fated garrison, including many Massachusetts soldiers, were cruelly murdered by the Indians after surrender under promise of safety.[2] This crowning disaster left a general feeling of despair. "For God's sake," wrote the officer in command at Albany to the Governor of Massachusetts, "exert yourselves to save a province! New York itself may fall; save a country! prevent the downfall of the British Government!" [3] Montcalm seemed invincible; the French held the valleys of

[1] [His letter, descriptive of the fight of Sept. 8, 1755, and the death of Williams, written to headquarters in Boston, when he supposed himself the only field officer of the regiment left alive, is preserved in *Massachusetts Archives*, "Letters," iv. 109. — Ed.]

[2] [Beside the general historians, see *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.*, iii. 79. There is a plan of the fort in Martin's *Montcalm et les dernières années de la Colonie Française au Canada*, and in Dr. Hough's translation of Pouchet's *History of the War*, p. 48. — Ed.]

[3] Bancroft, *United States*, iii. 176.

[4] [This is from a proclamation issued June 18, 1755, by Shirley, offering £110 bounty for captives and £100 for scalps. Shirley and Pep-

the St. Lawrence, the Ohio, the Mississippi; Great Britain held but a strip along the shore, and even there her hold seemed uncertain. The Indians made fearless forays into the heart of Massachusetts, and kept the middle colonies in terror.

Dr. Jeremy Belknap, pronounced by Bryant to be "the first to make

POWNALL'S VIEW OF BOSTON, 1757.[1]

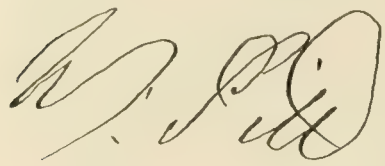
perrell had been made next in command when Braddock was put in charge of all the British forces in America. Shirley's expedition to Niagara was a part of the campaign planned with Braddock, after whose death the supreme command of the royal forces devolved upon Shirley. A son of Shirley had accompanied Braddock as his secretary on his ill-starred expedition, and had fallen. Washington came to Boston in February or March, 1756, to lay before Shirley, as the supreme commander, a question of military precedence which was agitating the governors of Virginia and Maryland. It gave him the opportunity to narrate to the father the particulars of the son's death. Washington was well received in Boston, and it is claimed sat to Copley for a miniature which is engraved in the first volume of Irving's *Life of Washington*. — ED.]

[1] [The appearance of Boston and the Castle defences are shown at this time (1757) in a drawing made by Governor Pownall, the basis of an engraving, which is considerably reduced in the present cut. The plan of the Castle, with the battery which had been erected by Shirley, is shown in the annexed plan, copied from Pelham's map of the harbor made somewhat later; but little change had been made, however, in the distribution of the defences. After the death of Spencer Phips, in March, 1757, the Council gave the command of the Castle to Sir William Pep-

perrell, who was then acting as governor. In August, on Pownall's arrival, Sir William transferred the keys. — ED.]

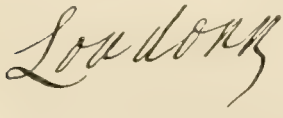
American history attractive," wrote an almost contemporary narrative of this period, and thus summed up the discouragements of the situation at the beginning of the year 1757: "The great expense, the frequent disappointments, the loss of men, of forts, of stores, were very discouraging. The enemy's country was filled with prisoners and scalps, private plunder, and public stores and provisions, which our people, as beasts of burden, had conveyed to them. These reflections were the dismal accompaniment of the winter."[1]

But in this year the hopes of America, as of England, were turned to William Pitt. With his wonted energy, he began his career as prime minister by determined efforts in behalf of the colonies. In his circular letter to the American governors he informed them that a formidable force would at once be sent to operate by sea and land against the French, and he called on them to raise "as large bodies of men within their respective governments as the number of inhabitants might allow," and suggested twenty thousand as a minimum number. The Crown would furnish arms, equipments, and supplies; the colonies were to recruit, organize, uniform, and pay the men, with the prospect of ultimate compensation from Parliament. The promise "acted like magic," we are told. Massachusetts voted seven thousand men, besides five hundred for frontier defence; and advanced during the year a million dollars, keeping all disbursements under control of its own commissioners.[2] But the services of a single colony formed henceforth only a subordinate element in the great contest which was destined to annihilate the power of France on this continent, and to make Canada an English possession. Massachusetts troops did their share, however, in this work; they were with Abercromby in his unavailing attack on Ticonderoga, with Bradstreet when he took Fort Frontenac, and with Prideaux when he took Niagara. One at least of the English commanders of Massachusetts troops, Lord Howe, so won the affection of his command that his death

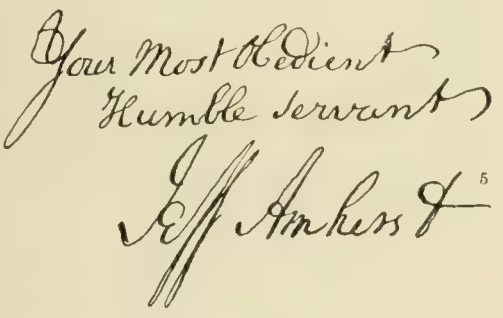


[1] *History of New Hampshire*, 2d ed., p. 318.

[2] [We find some token of the activity in Boston in the bills, still on file in the City Clerk's office, under date of 1757, from Edward Jackson and William Sutton for casting bullets. When Lord Loudon visited Boston in 1757, the bells were all rung; and in the same office there is a petition of the sextons, asking pay for the service. They were allowed *2s. 8d.* each. A private diary records: "1757, Jan. 23. The Earl of Loudon was at meeting. Dr. Sewall preached." *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1865, p. 60. Loudon had come out in July of the previous year to take the supreme command of the British forces in America, accompanied by Christopher Kilby, an old Boston merchant long resident in London, who was commissioned as "agent-victualler" of the army. The Earl's visit to Boston was to consult upon the coming campaign. Kilby accompanied him, and at the hands of his old townsmen received flattering compliments. He was publicly thanked for all that he had done as agent of the province, and a dinner was given him in Concert Hall. *Register*, 1872, p. 43. — Ed.]



upon the field, at Trout Brook, was commemorated by a monument in Westminster Abbey, erected by the province.[1] To hold the Eastern Indians in check, Fort Pownall was built on the Penobscot, within what were then the limits of Massachusetts.[2] Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point fell; the power of French Canada was exhausted, and only the admirable generalship of Montcalm prolonged the contest. Quebec was taken in 1759,[3] Montreal in 1760,[4] and the conquest was complete. The New England colonists were at last relieved from the terrible warfare which had known but few intervals for eighty-five years; the Eastern Indians were almost annihilated, and the brief final conspiracy of Pontiac did not touch New England. In 1763, the Peace of Paris ended the last of the French and Indian wars.[6]



Thos. Wentworth Higginson

[1] [John Adams makes record of the golden opinions this youthful nobleman won in his passage through the country from Boston to New York. John Adams, *Works*, ii. 33. — Ed.]

[2] [The four hundred men for this expedition were put under the command of a colonel, and embarked at Boston, May 4, 1759, though perhaps one company of them sailed from Newbury. Governor Pownall accompanied the force, kept a journal, and after deciding upon a site for the fort, re-embarked May 26, and reached the Castle in Boston harbor May 28. There is a paper in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1860, by Rev. Richard Pike, on "The Building and Occupancy of Fort Pownall." See also *Register*, April, 1859, p. 167. — Ed.]

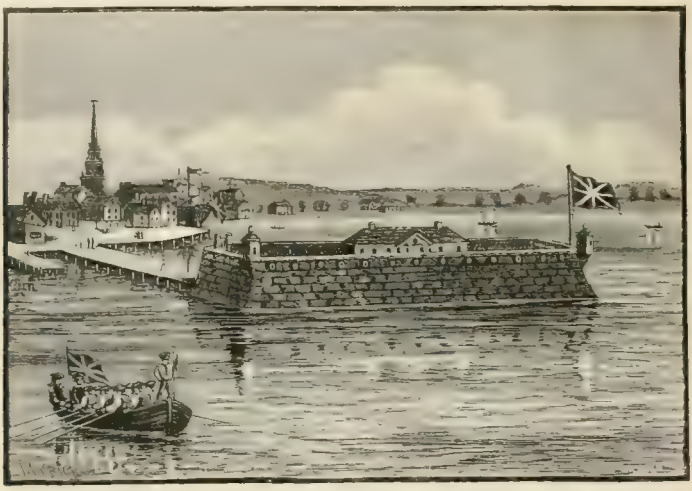
[3] [When the news of the fall of Quebec arrived in Boston, a large bonfire was made on Copp's Hill. Forty-five tar barrels, two cords of wood, fifty pounds of powder, and other combustibles were consumed. Another fire was lighted at Fort Hill. The province paid for them, together with thirty-two gallons of rum and much beer for the people. (Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 209.) A Thanksgiving was ordered, and Samuel Cooper preached the sermon before the Governor, Oct. 16; and on the 25th Andrew Eliot preached another discourse of thanksgiving. The victory of Sir Edward Hawke over the French fleet of the next month caused a renewed rejoicing when it became known in Boston, which was not till Feb. 21, 1760. The Castle and the batteries fired salutes. — Ed.]

[4] [The news of its fall reached Boston Sept. 23. A Thanksgiving was proclaimed for Oct. 9, when Mr. Foxcroft of the First Church preached a sermon on *Grateful Reflections*, which is of some historical value. — Ed.]

[5] [The command of the expedition to Louisburg was given to General Amherst. Landing June 8, 1758, he effected a lodgement July 26, when the place surrendered. Returning to Boston in September, with an imposing array of war-ships and transports, he encamped his army of 4,500 men on the Common, and on the 16th took up his march for Albany. There are plans of the defences which Amherst encountered in Jeffery's *History of the French Dominion*, and in Brown's *Cape Breton*, p. 297. — Ed.]

[6] [The two main defences of the town, looking seaward, and on the soil of the peninsula itself, during these years of anxiety, were the batteries known respectively as the North Battery — whose site is nearly marked by Battery Wharf—and the South Battery, or Boston Sconce at the foot of Fort Hill. They appear in all the contemporary views of Boston; but we fortunately have more distinct pictures of them in two contemporary engravings. The early history of the North Battery has already been

traced in the first volume of this History, and the view here given is drawn from a copper-plate engraving by Paul Revere, which is on a certificate of "an inlisted Montross at His Majesty's North Battery in Boston." The original view measures 7¾ by 3½ inches, and the plate belongs to the Historical Society, and an impression from it will be found in its Proceedings, 1877, p. 364; and a fac-simile is given in Watson's *Paul Revere's Signals*, 1880. It was probably engraved about 1760, and shows a part of the North End of Boston, with Charlestown beyond the river. This sketch affords one of the best views of that town before the Revolution. The battery in the form shown in the cut owes its origin to an order of the town in



THE NORTH BATTERY.

1706, whereby a £1,000 was voted to extend the battery one hundred and twenty feet, with a breadth of forty feet. In the Essex Institute is preserved the view of the South Battery, — here reduced from a size of 7 by 2½ inches. The original engraving, likewise on a Montross's certificate, is much better drawn and cut than that of the North Battery. A heliotype of it, full size, is given in the Historical Society's *Proceedings*, as before. Mr. Whitmore places the date of the engraving about 1740. (*Sewall Papers*, i. 195.) Andros in his time had erected on the hill a palisade fort with a house within to lodge the garrison, and this is shown in Bonner's map of 1722, and Burgiss's of 1728. There is no marked change in the delineation of the palisade and battery below in any of the editions of Bonner's map from 1722 to 1769. — Ed.]

THE SCONCE AND FORT HILL.

CHAPTER IV.

WITCHCRAFT IN BOSTON.

BY WILLIAM F. POOLE,
Librarian of the Chicago Public Library.

THE storm of terror and death, called the Witchcraft Delusion, which swept over Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, left its traces on the early life of the New-England colonies. While it raged in Europe, thirty thousand victims perished in the British Islands, seventy-five thousand in France, one hundred thousand in Germany, and corresponding numbers in Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Sweden. Witchcraft in New England was of a sporadic and spasmodic type compared with its epidemic and protracted virulence in the Old World; and yet the thirty-two executions in the New-England colonies, for supposed confederation with devils, have filled a larger space in history and in public attention than the thirty thousand similar executions which occurred in the mother country. English writers at this day, when they need striking proofs of the superstitions of former times, take their illustrations from the records of New-England witchcraft. A full and impartial account of English and Scottish diabolism has never commended itself, as a subject of historical investigation, to a modern English writer. Such a record as New England has of its later witchcraft is a desideratum in the historical literature of old England. The theme is one of strange and perpetual interest, and as a subject for psychological study it will never lose its hold on the minds of men. The recent development of what is called "Spiritualism" is only another phase of phenomena which, under the names of magic, sorcery, necromancy, enchantment, mesmerism, fetichism, and witchcraft, are as old as history, and universal as the human race.

The New-England colonists had no views concerning witchcraft and diabolical agency which they did not bring with them from the Old World. The prosecutions in England were never carried on with a blinder zeal and more fatal results than during the first twenty years after Governor Winthrop and his company landed at Boston. James Howell, who was later "Historiographer Royal" to Charles II., says in his *Familiar Letters*, Feb. 3, 1646: —

"We have multitudes of witches among us; for in Essex and Suffolk there were above two hundred indicted within these two years, and above the half of them executed. . . . I speak it with horror! God guard us from the Devil! for I think he was never so busy upon any part of the earth that was lightened by the beams of Christianity." [1]

Again he writes, Feb. 22, 1647: —

"Within the compass of two years, near upon three hundred witches were arraigned, and the major part of them executed, in Essex and Suffolk only. Scotland swarms with them more and more, and persons of good quality are executed daily." [2]

At that time the professional "Witch-Finder-General," Matthew Hopkins, was passing through the English counties practising his trade, and under the sanction of the courts subjecting his victims to every species of torture and indignity. His method of "searching" and "watching" suspected persons was recommended in the law books, and was, we shall see, by order of the General Court of Massachusetts, applied to the first witch executed in the Massachusetts Colony. His water-test was tried in Connecticut, and the report was that the victims "swam like a cork." These outrageous proceedings were not condemned by the English clergy, either of the Established Church or of the Dissenters. The excellent Richard Baxter, author of *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, says in his *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, 1691, p. 52: "The hanging of a great number of witches in Suffolk and Essex, by the discovery of one Hopkins, in 1645 and 1646, is famously known. Mr. [Dr. Edmund] Calamy went along with the judges in the circuit to hear the confessions, and see there were no fraud or wrong done them." There was no doubt in the legal or clerical profession as to the reality of witchcraft,[3] or as to the duty of the courts to extirpate it. The English law books gave the most minute directions as to the means of detecting, and the form of trying, witches. Some of these atrocious and nauseating details we must give, in order that the spirit of the age and the subject we are considering may be understood.

Concerning the later witch-trials of New England an enormous mass of original information is accessible, in the form of court records, depositions,

[1] P. 386, edition of 1673.

[2] P. 427.

[3] Sir William Blackstone, more than seventy years after the last witch was executed in New England, wrote in his *Commentaries* (4, 61): "To deny the possibility, nay, actual existence of witchcraft and sorcery is at once flatly to contradict the revealed Word of God in various passages in both the Old and New Testament; and the thing itself is a truth to which every nation in the world hath in its turn borne testimony, either by examples seemingly well attested, or by prohibitory laws, which at least suppose the possibility of commerce with evil spirits."

W. E. H. Lecky, in *History of Rationalism*, p. 38, says: "It is, I think, difficult to examine the subject with impartiality, without coming to the conclusion that the historical evidence establishing the reality of witchcraft is so vast and so varied, that it is impossible to disbelieve it without what, on other subjects, we should deem the most extraordinary rashness. The defenders of the belief, who were often men of great and distinguished talent, maintained that there was no fact in history more fully attested; and that to reject it would be to strike at the root of all historical evidence of the miraculous. . . . In our day, it may be said with confidence that it would be altogether impossible for such an amount of evidence to accumulate round a conception which had no substantial basis in fact."

and contemporary accounts; but concerning two of the earlier cases which occurred in Boston there is not a report of a trial, a deposition, or a court record to be found. Contemporary allusions to the earlier cases, sometimes without even the surname of the person executed, are all the information concerning them which has come down to us. Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, under the date of March, 1646–47, made his entry: "One [blank] of Windsor arraigned and executed at Hartford for a witch."[1] The Connecticut records make no mention of it, and nothing more is known of the case. Mr. John Hale, in his *Modest Inquiry*, 1704, says: "Another that suffered on that account [of witchcraft] was a Dorchester woman." Only recently has the name of this woman come to light.[2] Of the four persons executed for witchcraft in Boston, only one, who suffered in 1688, is mentioned by Increase or Cotton Mather, who did more than all other early New-England writers to preserve the record of such events. Of the twelve executions which took place in New England before 1692,[3] the Christian names of only four of the sufferers are known.

1. In Boston, the earliest execution for witchcraft was that of Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, on June 15, 1648. There seems to be no evidence that any earlier case of witchcraft was under investigation in the colony. Her husband, Thomas Jones, was arrested at the same time on the same charge, but he was not convicted. The little we know of Margaret Jones we find in Governor Winthrop's Journal. She was evidently a strong-minded woman, and a skilful practitioner of medicine. She used simple remedies and small doses, yet they produced extraordinary effects. Perhaps she adopted the principle of *similia similibus curantur*, and was a precursor of Hahnemann. Her predictions as to cases treated by the heroic method proved to be true. Her touch seemed to be attended with mesmeric influence. There was no charge that she had bewitched any one, and the usual phenomena of spectres, fits, spasms, etc. were wanting. The main evidence on which she was convicted was her imps, which were detected by "watching" her, after the Hopkins method. She was tried by the General Court, which was almost wholly composed of the original founders of the colony. John Winthrop was Governor; Thomas Dudley, Deputy-Governor; John

[1] Vol. II. 374, edition of 1853.

[2] She was the wife of Henry Lake. This appears in a letter of Nathaniel Mather, of Dublin, to his brother Increase, dated Dec. 31, 1684, acknowledging the receipt of *Remarkable Providences*, 1684. He says: "Why did you not put in the story of Mrs. Hibbins's witchcrafts, and the discovery thereof, and also of H. Lake's wife, of Dorchester?" *Mather Papers*, 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll*, viii. 58.

[3] The following is the list of the twelve persons who were executed for witchcraft in New England before 1692, when twenty other persons were executed at Salem, whose names are well known. It is possible that the list is not complete; but I have included all of which I have any knowledge, and with such details as to names and dates as could be ascertained:—

1646, — "Woman of Windsor," Connecticut (name unknown), at Hartford. 1648, — Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, at Boston. 1648, — Mary Johnson, at Hartford. 1650? — Henry Lake's wife, of Dorchester. 1650? — Mrs. Kendall, of Cambridge. 1651, — Mary Parsons, of Springfield, at Boston. 1651, — Goodwife Bassett, at Fairfield, Conn. 1653,—Goodwife Knap, at Hartford. 1656, — Ann Hibbins, at Boston. 1662, — Goodman Greensmith, at Hartford. 1662, — Goodwife Greensmith, at Hartford. 1688, — Goody Glover, at Boston.

Endicott, Richard Bellingham, Richard Salstonstall, Increase Nowell, Simon Bradstreet, William Hibbins (whose widow was executed for witchcraft in 1656), John Winthrop, Jr., and William Pynchon (who conducted the witch examinations at Springfield a few years later), were Assistants. The records of the Court, which on topics of less interest are very full, give no details or even mention of the trial. The Court Records and the Deputies' Records, however, for May 18, give an order concerning Margaret Jones and her husband, without the mention of their names, as follows: —

"This court, desirous that the same course which hath been taken in England for the discovery of witches, by watching [them a certain time], may also be taken here with the witch now in question: [It is ordered that the best and surest way may forthwith be put in practice, to begin this night, if it may be, being the 18th of the 3d month] that a strict watch be set about her every night, and that her husband be confined to a private room and watched also" (Deputies' Records, with the words in brackets inserted from the Court Records).[1]

The theory of the English law books was that every witch had familiars or imps, which were sent out by the witch to work deeds of darkness, and that they returned to the witch once a day, at least, for sustenance, and usually in the night. By watching the witch these imps might be detected, and thus furnish certain proof of guilt in the accused.

Michael Dalton's *Country Justice, containing the Practice, Duty, and Power of Justices of the Peace*, was a common book in the colonies, and was quoted in the witch trials at Salem. In the chapter on "Witchcraft" it has the following directions: —

"Now against these witches, being the most cruel, revengeful, and bloody of all the rest, the Justices of the Peace may not always expect direct evidence, seeing all their works are the works of darkness, and no witnesses present with them to accuse them; and, therefore, for the better discovery, I thought good here to insert certain observations, partly out of the 'Book of Discovery of the Witches that were arraigned at Lancaster, Anno 1612, before Sir James Altham and Sir Edward Bromley, Judges of Assize there,' and partly out of Mr. [Richard] Bernard's 'Guide to Grand Jurymen.'

"These witches have ordinarily a familiar, or spirit, which appeareth to them, sometimes in one shape and sometimes in another; as in the shape of a man, woman, boy, dog, cat, foal, hare, rat, toad, etc. And to these their spirits they give names, and they meet together to christen them (as they speak). Their said familiar hath some big or little teat upon their body, and in some secret place, where he sucketh them. And besides their sucking the Devil leaveth other marks upon their body, sometimes like a blue or red spot, like a flea-biting, sometimes the flesh sunk in and hollow (all which for a time may be covered, yea, taken away, but will come out again in their old form). And these Devil's marks be insensible, and being pricked will not bleed, and be often in their secretest parts, and therefore require diligent and careful search. These first two are main points to discover and convict those witches; for they fully prove that those witches have a familiar, and made a league with

[1] The *Mass. Records*, iii. 126; and ii. 242.

the Devil. So, likewise, if the suspected be proved to have been heard to call upon their spirits, or to talk to them, or of them, or have offered them to others. So if they have been seen with their spirit, or to feed something secretly; these are proofs that they have a familiar. They have often pictures [images] of clay or wax, like a man, etc., made of such as they would bewitch, found in their house, or which they may roast or bury in the earth, that as the picture consumes, so may the parties bewitched consume." (Edition of 1727, p. 514.)[1]

Mr. John Gaule, in his *Select Cases of Conscience touching Witches and Witchcraft*, 1646, p. 77, condemning the barbarous methods of discovering witches, thus describes the mode of "watching a witch" in use at the time:—

"Having taken the suspected witch, she is placed in the middle of a room upon a stool or table, cross-legged, or in some uneasy posture, to which if she submits not, she is bound with cords. She is there watched, and kept without meat or sleep for the space of four-and-twenty hours, — for they say within that time they shall see her imp come and suck. A little hole is likewise made in the door for the imps to come in at."

Mr. Baxter, writing in 1691, says that, three weeks before, a woman in Brightling, in Suffolk, was examined before the magistrates, "searched [for witch-marks] and watched for four-and-twenty hours."

Margaret Jones was "searched" and "watched;" the fatal witch-marks were discovered, and her imp was seen in "the clear day-light," as appears in the record of the case which Governor Winthrop made in his Journal at the time: —

"[June 15, 1648].[2] At this court, one Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was indicted and found guilty of witchcraft, and hanged for it. The evidence against her was —

"1. That she was found to have such a malignant touch, as many persons, men, women, and children, whom she stroked or touched with any affection or displeasure, or etc. [*sic*], were taken with deafness, or vomiting, or other violent pains or sickness.

"2. She practising physic, and her medicines being such things as, by her own confession, were harmless, — as anise-seed, liquors, etc., — yet had extraordinary violent effects.

"3. She would use to tell such as would not make use of her physic, that they would never be healed; and accordingly their diseases and hurts continued, with relapse against the ordinary course, and beyond the apprehension of all physicians and surgeons.

[1] Here are specimens of the English "Blue Laws" of that period in the same volume: "A person not coming to some church or chapel forfeits 12*s.* to the poor, to be levied by distress" (p. 71). "He who keeps any servant in his house or other person not coming to church for a month together forfeits £10 per month" (p. 71). "If any shall strike another in a church or church-yard, or draw a weapon in a church or church-yard, with intent to strike, and being thereof convicted, shall be adjudged to have one of his ears cut off; and *having no ears*, then shall be burned in the cheek with a hot iron having the letter F." (p. 70). The first edition of Dalton's *Country Justice* appeared in 1619, and the last, the twelfth edition, in 1746. The work was revised and re-edited from time to time, and was a popular and standard authority in England for more than a hundred years.

[2] No date appears against this paragraph in Winthrop. The date next preceding is June 4, 1648. The true date of the execution was doubtless June 15, as appears in Danforth's *Almanac* for that year.

"4. Some things which she foretold came to pass accordingly; other things she would tell of, as secret speeches, etc., which she had no ordinary means to come to the knowledge of.

"5. She had, upon search, an apparent teat . . . as fresh as if it had been newly sucked; and after it had been scanned, upon a forced search, that was withered, and another began on the opposite side.

"6. In the prison, in the clear day-light, there was seen in her arms, she sitting on the floor, and her clothes up, etc., a little child, which ran from her into another room, and the officer following it, it was vanished. The like child was seen in two other places to which she had relation; and one maid that saw it, fell sick upon it, and was cured by the said Margaret, who used means to be employed to that end. Her behavior at her trial was very intemperate, lying notoriously, and railing upon the jury and witnesses, etc., and in the like distemper she died. The same day and hour she was executed, there was a very great tempest at Connecticut, which blew down many trees, etc." (ii. 397, ed. of 1853).

Mr. John Hale, in his *Modest Inquiry*, p. 17, mentions the case, but none of the incidents recorded by Winthrop. He was born in Charlestown, was twelve years old at the time, and with some neighbors visited the condemned woman in prison the day she was executed. He says: —

"The first [witch executed] was a woman of Charlestown, Anno 1647 or 1648. She was suspected, partly because that, after some angry words passing between her and her neighbors, some mischief befell such neighbors in their creatures [cattle] or the like; partly because some things supposed to be bewitched, or have a charm upon them, being burned, she came to the fire and seemed concerned.

"The day of her execution I went, in company of some neighbors, who took great pains to bring her to confession and repentance; but she constantly professed herself innocent of that crime. Then one prayed her to consider if God did not bring this punishment upon her for some other crime; and asked if she had not been guilty of stealing many years ago. She answered, she had stolen something; but it was long since, and she had repented of it, and there was grace enough in Christ to pardon that long ago; but as for witchcraft she was wholly free from it, — and so she said unto her death."

There is no other contemporary mention of the case. It is a horrible record; and in downright, stolid superstition and inhumanity was not surpassed, if, indeed, it was equalled, at Salem forty-four years later. That it was an incident characteristic of the time, and that similar atrocities were being committed in every nation in Europe without shocking the sensibilities of the most refined and cultivated men of that day, are the only mitigating circumstances which can be suggested.

Thomas Jones, the husband of the woman executed, found, on his release from prison, that his troubles had only begun. He resolved to leave the country, and took passage in the Boston ship "Welcome," riding at anchor before Charlestown. She had on board eighty horses and one hundred and twenty tons of ballast. The weather was calm, yet the ship fell to rolling, and so deep it was feared she would founder. Great weight

was placed on one side to trim her, and she would heel over on the other side. The County Court of Boston was then in session, and hearing that the husband of the executed witch was on board, between whom and the captain a dispute had arisen as to his passage-money, sent officers to arrest him, one of them saying "the ship would stand still as soon as he was in prison." No sooner was the warrant shown, than the rolling of the ship began to stop, and after the man was in prison it moved no more. Governor Winthrop narrates this story in his Journal.[1]

2. Mary Parsons, wife of Hugh Parsons, of Springfield, was the victim in the second execution for witchcraft in Boston, May 29, 1651. The earliest mention of the matter in the Court Records is as follows: —

"May 8, 1651. The Court understanding that Mary Parsons, now in prison, accused for a witch, is likely through weakness to die before trial, if it be deferred, do order that on the morrow, by eight of the clock in the morning, she be brought before and tried by the General Court."[2]

Two indictments were filed against her: (*a*) For "using diverse devilish practices by witchcraft to the hurt of the persons of Martha and Rebecca Moxon," daughters of Mr. George Moxon, minister of Springfield; and (*b*) "for murdering her own child." She pleaded not guilty to the first indictment, and to the second "she acknowledged herself guilty." As the penalty was death for each offence, she was convicted on the second charge, and sentenced to be hanged. In the margin is a note that she was "reprieved till May 29."[3] The depositions in the case taken at Springfield, which have been preserved, all relate to the charge of witchcraft. Her confession that she murdered her own child is evidence of the insanity of the woman. As neither the Records, nor any contemporary account that he could find, mention her execution, Governor Hutchinson said, "It does not appear that she was executed." Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, a few years ago, found in a London newspaper, *Mercurius Publicus*, of Sept. 25, 1651, a letter dated "From Natick, in New England, July 4, 1651," not signed, but doubtless written by Mr. John Eliot, the Indian apostle, which says: —

"The state of things here amongst us seems more troublesome, and we have had sad frowns of the Lord upon us, chiefly in regard of fascinations and witchcraft; for now God calls his people into near communion with himself in visible and explicit covenant with him, only he doth not love it should be visible. Four in Springfield were detected, whereof one was executed for murder of her own child, and was doubtless a witch; another is condemned, a third under trial, a fourth under suspicion."

Mary Parsons, therefore, was without doubt executed on or near the date named, May 29, 1651; but whether at Springfield or Boston does not yet appear. A passage in Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*,

[1] Vol. II. 399.

[2] *Mass. Records*, iv. pt. i. 47.

[3] In the *Deputies' Records*, iii. 229, the date of the trial is May 22.

which has puzzled writers on the subject, refers, I have no doubt, to this case, and fixes Boston as the place of the execution: "We have been advised by some credible Christians yet alive, that a malefactor, accused of witchcraft as well as murder, and executed in this place more than forty years ago, did then give notice of a horrible plot against this country by witchcraft," etc.[1]

The numerous and very curious depositions in the Springfield witch cases are printed in the appendix to Mr. S. G. Drake's *Annals of Witchcraft*, 1869. Parsons and his wife had for several years mutually accused each other of practising witchcraft. She testified that he had bewitched their own child to death, and also two children of Henry Smith, who died in June, 1648. "She is the worst enemy I have," he said. He was arrested, tried, and condemned in 1650 for "diverse devilish practices and witchcrafts, to the hurt of diverse persons;" and, among others, Mr. Moxon's children.[2] He was a brickmaker, and also a sawyer. He had a dispute with Mr. Moxon about some brick which he had agreed to furnish for building. The price of brick had advanced, and when Mr. Moxon held him to his contract he retorted by saying "he would be even with him [Moxon]." To this statement Parsons replied in court: "I said not 'I would be even with him;' but this I said: 'I would puzzle him in the bargain.'" Mr. Moxon's children were favorite subjects for bedevilment. In 1649 Parsons was prosecuted for libel by Widow Marshfield, because the wife of Parsons had said that the widow had bewitched Mr. Moxon's children. He was fined twenty-four bushels of corn and twenty shillings. Perhaps these diabolical molestations were the cause of Mr. Moxon's return to England with his family in 1652.[3]

3. The third execution for witchcraft in Boston was on June 19, 1656, and Mrs. Ann Hibbins was the victim. She was the widow of William Hibbins, a leading merchant of Boston and one of the most honored citizens of the colony, who died in 1654. He was deputy to the General Court in 1641–42, and Assistant from 1643 to the day of his death. He served the colony as its agent in England; and being a man of wealth and high social position, his wife had mingled in the best society of Boston. It is said by Mr. Drake and others that she was the sister of Richard Bellingham, who was Governor in 1641 and Deputy-Governor at the time of her execution. That a woman occupying such a social position should have come to such an ignominious death, is a strange incident in the

[1] P. 14, London edition, 1862.

[2] The magistrates set aside the verdict of the jury, and the case came before the General Court at Boston, May 27–31, 1652, when he was acquitted. *Mass. Rec.*, iii. 273.

[3] Governor Hutchinson and several other writers on the subject have erroneously given the date of the Springfield cases "about the year 1645." In the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* for October, 1870, is printed, from an unpublished manuscript, an early draft of Governor Hutchinson's account of New-England witchcraft, with notes accompanying the text giving fuller details of all the cases mentioned by him. A separate issue of the same paper appeared, entitled *The Witchcraft Delusion of* 1692. *By Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, . . . with Notes*, by W. F. Poole; 1870, 43 pp. 4to. On page 6 of this issue further information may be found as to the Parsons cases.

case. Another is, that not a particle of the contemporary evidence on which she was convicted has been preserved. Governor Winthrop had died, and the two Mathers had not yet come upon the stage, or we should have had copious details. Governor Hutchinson, who wrote more than a century later, gave, partly from Hubbard and partly from tradition or conjecture, some incidents which help to fill out the picture.

She was first tried and condemned in 1655; but the magistrates set aside the verdict, and she was brought for trial before the General Court. The Records, under the date of May 14, 1656, give the following: —

"The magistrates not receiving the verdict of the jury in Mrs. Hibbins her case, having been on trial for witchcraft, it came and fell of course to the General Court. Mrs. Ann Hibbins was called forth, appeared at the bar; the indictment against her was read, to which she answered not guilty, and was willing to be tried by God and this Court. The evidences against her were read, the parties witnessing being present, her answers considered on; and the whole Court being met together, by their vote determined that Mrs. Ann Hibbins is guilty of witchcraft, according to the bill of indictment found against her by the jury of life and death. The Governor in open Court pronounced sentence accordingly, declaring she was to go from the bar to the place from whence she came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there to hang till she was dead.

"It is ordered, that warrant shall issue out from the Secretary to the Marshal-General, for the execution of Mrs. Hibbins on the 5th day next come fortnight, presently after the lecture at Boston, being the 19th of June next, the Marshal-General taking with him a sufficient guard."[1]

Governor Hutchinson, in 1765, wrote of the case as follows: —

"The most remarkable occurrence in the colony in the year 1655 was the trial and condemnation of Mrs. Ann Hibbins for witchcraft. . . . Losses in the latter part of her husband's life had reduced his estate and increased the natural crabbedness of his wife's temper, which made her turbulent and quarrelsome, brought her under church censure,[2] and at length rendered her so odious to her neighbors as to cause some of them to accuse her of witchcraft. The jury brought her in guilty, but the magistrates refused to accept the verdict; so the cause came to the General Court, where the popular clamor prevailed against her, and the miserable woman was condemned and executed. Search was made upon her body for teats, and in her chests and boxes for puppets, images, etc.; but there is no record of anything of that sort being found. . . . It fared with her as it did with Joan of Arc in France, — some counted her a saint and some a witch, and some observed solemn marks of Providence set upon those who were very forward to condemn her."[3]

[1] *Mass. Rec.*, iv. pt. i. 269.

[2] [A MS. volume by Captain Keayne in the Massachusetts Historical Society's cabinet contains reports of Cotton's sermons and some of the proceedings of the church in cases of discipline, particularly that of Mrs. Hibbins.—Ed.]

[3] *History of Massachusetts*, i. 173, edition of 1795. "Others have said that Mr. Hibbins, losing £500 at once by the carelessness of Mr. Trerice the shipmaster, it so discomposed his wife's spirit that she scarce ever was well settled in her mind afterwards, but grew very turbulent in her passion and discontented, on which occasion she was cast out of the church, and then charged to be a witch, giving too much occasion, by her strange carriage, to common people so to judge." — Hubbard, *General History of New England*, p. 574.

There was doubtless in the case of Ann Hibbins, as there was in that of Margaret Jones, the cruel "searching" and "watching," the finding of witch-marks and imps. The majority of her judges were not Boston men, and would not be carried away by the local prejudice against her as a turbulent and quarrelsome woman. They would have required the proofs prescribed in the law books. Hugh Parsons, though convicted by a local jury, was acquitted by the General Court; and apparently because in the great mass of depositions as to his bad disposition, his ominous shaking of the head, uttering threats, cutting puddings when boiling in the bag, whetting saws at night, and drying up milch cows, there was no testimony as to witch-marks and imps.[1]

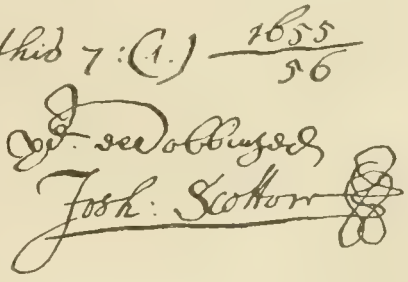
Mrs. Hibbins was a widow, named Moore, when she married her late husband, and had three sons residing in England. The youngest son, hearing of his mother's troubles, embarked for America, and probably arrived before her execution. Her will, dated May 27, 1656, is in the Suffolk Probate records,[2] and is a calm, well-worded, and sensible document. She named as the overseers and administrators of her estate (appraised at £344 14*s.*), Thomas Clarke, Edward Hutchinson, William Hudson, Joshua Scottow, and Peter Oliver. Thomas Clarke was one of the two deputies of Boston in the General Court; Joshua Scottow and Peter Oliver were selectmen, and the others were leading citizens of the town. In a codicil to her will she says: "I do earnestly desire my loving friends Captain [Edward] Johnson and Mr. Edward Rawson to be added to the rest of the gentlemen mentioned as overseers of my will, to whom I commit, namely, to Capt. Johnson['s] care and trust my two chests and desk with all things therein, to be kept entirely whole and in kind, till my [eldest] son John, or his order, authenticated by a public notary, shall come and demand the same." Captain Johnson was the deputy from Woburn, and author of *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*, London, 1654; and Mr. Rawson was Secretary of the General Court. To Mr. Rawson she delivered the keys of her chests and desk, and also her papers. "My desire is that all my overseers would be pleased to show so much respect for my dead corpse as to cause it to be decently interred, and, if it may be, near my late husband." Three days before her execution, hearing that her son was coming, she added this provision to her will: "I give my son Jonathan twenty pounds over and above what I have already given him, towards his pains and charge in coming to see me, which shall be first paid out of my estate." On the morning of her execution she made this further addi-

[1] Thomas Cooper, appointed to watch Mary Parsons, testified that she spoke very bitterly of her husband, and said she could prove he was a witch; to which Cooper replied: "Methinks, if he were a witch, there would be some apparent sign or mark of it upon his body, for they say witches have teats upon some part or other of their body; but so far as I hear there is not any such apparent thing upon his body, — which she did not deny." Drake, *Annals*, p. 245.

[2] [The will is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1852, p. 283. The inventory is dated April 30, 1657, and shows "a gold weding ring, a diamond ring, a taffety cloake, silk gown and kirtle, pinck colored petticoat," etc., with "money in the desk." — Ed.]

tion: "My further mind and will is (*sic*), out of my sense of the more than ordinary affection and pains of my son Jonathan in the times of my distress, I give him, as a further legacy, ten pounds."

It is evident from the quality of the persons whom she chose as the overseers of her estate, the reasons she assigns for her choice, and other expressions in her will, that she had friends in her distress who sought to save her from her dreadful doom. Some of this sympathy seems to have found public expression in very positive terms; for Mr. Joshua Scottow, nine months later, found it necessary to apologize to the General Court for what he had said or done with reference to the matter. His apology is preserved in the *Massachusetts Archives*, CXXXV. 1.[1] He stated that he did not intend to oppose the proceedings of the General Court in the case of Mrs. Ann Hibbins: "I am cordially sorry that anything from me, either in word or writing, should give offence to the honored Court, my dear brethren in the church, or any others."



How the two noted ministers of Boston, John Wilson and John Norton, regarded the condemnation and execution of Mrs. Hibbins is shown by a story which Governor Hutchinson relates: —

"Mr. Beach, a minister in Jamaica, in a letter to Dr. Increase Mather in the year 1684, says: 'You may remember what I have sometimes told you your famous Mr. [John] Norton once said at his own table before Mr. [John] Wilson, Elder [James] Penn, and myself and wife, etc., who had the honor to be his guests, — that the wife of one of your magistrates, as I remember, was hanged for a witch only for having more wit than her neighbors. It was his very expression; she having, as he explained it, unhappily guessed that two of her persecutors, whom she saw talking in the street, were talking of her, — which cost her her life, notwithstanding all he could do to the contrary, as he himself told us'" (i. 173).

Increase Mather, seventeen years of age, was graduated from Harvard College the same month that Ann Hibbins was executed, and Cotton Mather was born seven years later. These names are to appear frequently in the subsequent records. It is evident there was some superstition in the colony before the time of these notable men. That neither of them, in their numerous papers on witchcraft, ever mentioned the case of Mrs. Hibbins may possibly be explained by the feeling they had in common with Mr. Norton and Mr. Wilson, that she had been unjustly condemned.

[1] [This paper, the signature to which is here-with given, is the first in a volume labelled "Witchcraft Papers," in the *Massachusetts Archives*, at the State House. Scottow survived the greater witchcraft folly of 1692, and died Jan. 20, 1697–98. Sewall records: "Jan. 21. It seems Capt. Scottow died the last night. Thus the New England men drop away. Jan. 22. Capt. Joshua Scottow is buried in the old burying-place. Extream cold. No minister at funeral; nor wife nor daughter." Sewall was one of the bearers (ii. 467). — ED.]

4. The fourth and last execution for witchcraft in Boston was on Nov. 16, 1688,[1] when Goody Glover was hung for the charge of bewitching the children of John Goodwin. The story is told at length in, and furnishes the main theme of, Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences*, 1689.[2] As Governor Hutchinson has made an excellent abstract of the facts in the case, and as he knew some of the persons who were concerned in it, we will allow him to relate the main incidents: —

"In 1687 or 1688[3] began a more alarming instance than any that had preceded it. Four of the children of John Goodwin, a grave man and good liver at the north[4] part of Boston, were generally believed to be bewitched. I have often heard persons who were in the neighborhood speak of the great consternation it occasioned. The children were all remarkable for ingenuity of temper, had been religiously educated, and were thought to be without guile. The eldest was a girl of thirteen or fourteen years. She had charged a laundress with taking away some of the family linen. The mother of the laundress was one of the wild Irish, of bad character, and gave the girl harsh language; soon after which she fell into fits which were said to have something diabolical in them. One of her sisters and two brothers[5] followed her example, and, it is said, were tormented in the same part of their bodies at the same time, although kept in separate apartments and ignorant of one another's complaints. . . . Sometimes they would be deaf, then dumb, then blind; and sometimes all these disorders together would come upon them. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, shoulders, elbows, and all their joints would appear to be dislocated, and they would make the most piteous outcries of burnings, of being cut with knives, beat, etc., and the marks of wounds were afterwards to be seen. The ministers of Boston and Charlestown kept a day of fasting and prayer at the troubled house; after which the youngest child made no more complaints. The others persevered, and the magistrates then interposed, and the old woman was apprehended; but upon examination would neither confess nor deny, and appeared to be disordered in her senses. Upon the report of physicians that she was *compos mentis*, she was executed, declaring at her death the children should not be relieved" (ii. 24–26).

A narrative of the case, wholly independent of Cotton Mather's account, which Hutchinson followed, is found in a letter of Joshua Moody, minister

[1] The date of the execution is mentioned in none of the contemporary narratives; it appears, however, in Judge Sewall's *Diary*, i. 236: "Nov. 16, 1688 About 11 o'clock the Widow Glover is drawn by to be hanged. Mr. Larkin seems to be marshal. The constables attend, and Justice Bullivant there."

[2] The book was reprinted in London in 1691, with a commendatory preface by Richard Baxter, in which he says: "This great instance cometh with such full, convincing evidence, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee that will not believe it." The four ministers of Boston and Charlestown — Samuel Willard, Joshua Moody, James Allen, and Charles Morton — prefix a note "To the Reader," in which they, as eye-witnesses, vouch for the truth of the extraordinary statements contained therein, and they concur in its principles. "It is needless," they say, "for us to insist upon the commendation either of the author or the work; the former is known in the churches; the latter will speak sufficiently for itself." An abstract of the narrative appears in Mather's *Magnalia*, ii. 456–465, edition of 1853.

[3] Mr. Mather says, "About midsummer in the year 1688." In Hutchinson's first draft he was not in doubt as to the date, and gave it correctly: "In 1688 began," etc.

[4] Mr. Mather says "the *south* part of Boston," and describes Mr. Goodwin as "a sober and pious man, whose trade is that of a mason."

[5] The names and ages of the children were, Martha, thirteen; John, eleven; Mercy, seven: and Benjamin, five.

of the First Church, addressed to Increase Mather in London, who was then residing there as agent of the colony. The letter is dated Oct. 4, 1688, when the affair was in progress, and before the Glover woman was convicted: —

"We have a very strange thing among us, which we know not what to make of, except it be witchcraft, as we think it must needs be. Three or four children of one Goodwin, a mason, that have been for some weeks grievously tormented, crying out of head, eyes, tongue, teeth; breaking their neck, back, thighs, knees, legs, feet, toes, etc.; and then they roar out, '*Oh my head!*' '*Oh my neck!*' and from one part to another the pain runs almost as fast as I write it. The pain is doubtless very exquisite, and the cries most dolorous and affecting; and this is notable, that two or more of them cry out of the same pain in the same part at the same time; and as the pain shifts to another place in one, so in the other, and thus it holds them for an hour together and more; and when the pain is over they eat, drink, walk, play, laugh, as at other times. They are generally well a nights. A great many good Christians spent a day of prayer there. Mr. Morton came over, and we each spent an hour in prayer; since which, the parents suspecting an old woman and her daughter living hard by, complaint was made to the justices, and compassion had so far, that the women were committed to prison, and are there now. Yesterday I called in at the house, and was informed by the parent that since the women were confined the children have been well while out of the house; but as soon as any of them come into the house, then taken as formerly; so that now all their children keep at their neighbors' houses. If they step home they are immediately afflicted, and while they keep out are well. I have been a little larger in this narrative, because I know you have studied these things. We cannot but think the Devil has a hand in it by some instrument. It is an example, in all the parts of it, not to be paralleled. You may inquire further of Mr. Oakes [Edward, Jr., the bearer of the letter], whose uncle [Dr. Thomas Oakes],[1] administered physic to them at first, and he may probably inform you more fully."[2]

While the woman was on trial her house was searched, and several small images or puppets, made of rags and stuffed with goat's hair, were found; and being produced in Court, the woman acknowledged that her way of tormenting the objects of her malice was by wetting her finger and stroking these images. She did this in the presence of the Court, and one of the children present fell into fits before the whole assembly. "This the judges had their just apprehensions at; and causing the repetition of the experiment, found again the same event of it." She was asked whether she had any one to stand by her. She replied, she had; and looking into the air, she added, "No, he is gone." She then confessed that she had *one*, who was her *prince*, with whom she maintained some sort of a communion. That night she was heard expostulating with a devil for deserting her, and serving her so basely and falsely; and hence she had confessed all. At the

[1] "Skillful physicians were consulted for their help, and particularly our worthy and prudent friend, Dr. Thomas Oakes, who found himself so affronted by the distempers of the children that he concluded nothing but hellish witchcraft could be the original of these maladies." — *Mem. Prov.*, p. 3, ed 1691. A "skillful physician" seems to be in the ground-plan of nearly every witch case in New England.

[2] 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 367, 368.

trial one Hughes testified that the woman accused had bewitched to death a woman named Howen six years before, and that the Howen woman on her death-bed had stated this to her. Hughes had sometimes seen Glover come down her chimney. While Hughes was preparing to give her testimony, her boy was afflicted in the same woful manner as the Goodwin children had been. She accused Glover of doing this, to which Glover replied that she did it because of the wrong done to herself and daughter. Hughes denied that she had done her any wrong. "Well then," said Glover, "let me see your child, and he shall be well again." On her seeing the boy he recovered.

While the condemned woman was in prison Cotton Mather visited her twice, that he might pray with her and give her spiritual advice. He states that she never denied the guilt of witchcraft, but confessed very little about the circumstances of her confederacies with the Devil. She said that she used to be at meetings where her *prince* and four more were present. She told him who these four were; but as to her *prince*, her account plainly was that he was the Devil. He asked her many questions, to which, after long silence, she replied that she would fain give full answers, but *they* would not give her leave. "*They*, who are *they?*" She answered that they were her spirits, or her saints. At another time she spoke of her *two mistresses*, and on being asked who they were she fell into a rage. Mr. Mather advised her to break her covenant with hell. She replied that he spoke a very reasonable thing, — but she could not do it. He asked if she had a desire, or would consent, to be prayed for, to which she replied: "If prayer would do her any good, she could pray for herself." The question being repeated, she said she could not consent unless her spirits would give her leave. "However," says Mr. Mather, "against her will I prayed with her, which, if it were a fault, was in excess of pity." When he had finished she thanked him "with many good words;" but he was no sooner out of her sight than she took a long, slender stone, and "with her finger and spittle fell to tormenting it."

While on the way to her execution, she said that the children should not be relieved by her death, for others had a hand in it as well as she, and she named her own daughter as one of them. "It came to pass, accordingly," says Mr. Mather, "the three children continued in their furnace, which grew seven times hotter than before;" and they "gave more sensible demonstrations of an enchantment, growing very far towards a possession of evil spirits."

These Goodwin children performed some very strange pranks, which resemble those reported at the *séances* of modern Spiritualists. "They would fly like geese, and be carried with an incredible swiftness through the air, having just their toes now and then upon the ground, and their arms waved like the wings of a bird. One of them, at the house of a kind neighbor and gentleman (Mr. Willis), flew the length of the room, about twenty feet, none seeing her feet all the way touch the floor." They com-

plained that they were in red-hot ovens, sweating and panting as if they were really in that situation. They cried out from blows by cudgels, and though no blows or cudgels were seen by the bystanders, the marks in red streaks were seen upon their bodies. They jumped into the fire and into water, and their deliverances were so many that it led the tender-hearted narrator to consider "whether the little ones had not their [good] angels in the plain sense of our Saviour's intimation." Nothing so discomposed them as a religious exercise. At family prayers they would "roar, and shriek, and holla," to drown the voice of devotion. "In short," says Mr. Mather, "no good thing must then be endured near those children, who, while they are themselves, do love every good thing in a measure that proclaims in them the fear of God."

On November 14 Mr. Mather took the eldest of the bewitched children, a girl thirteen years of age, whose symptoms were more marked and obdurate than those of the others, to his own house; in order, as he says, that he might do the afflicted family a favor; that he might have the best opportunity to investigate the phenomena, and furnish himself with evidence and argument with which to confute the Sadducism of the age. He kept the girl in his family till the following spring, enduring from her every species of trouble and annoyance, and putting in practice his doctrine of dealing with witchcraft and possession wholly by prayer and faith.

For several days "she applied herself to such actions, not only of industry, but of piety, as she had been no stranger to." November 20 she cried: "*They* have found me out!" and went into her abnormal fits, which continued at intervals for four or five months. The strange incidents which occurred are recorded in *Memorable Providences*. One of them was that an invisible horse would be brought to her by her spirits, mounting which, she would ride strangely about the room; and on one occasion, "to our admiration, she rode (that is, was tossed, as one that rode) up the stairs."

Mr. Mather never revealed the names of the four persons whom the Glover woman named as her confederates, or the three persons whom the Goodwin girl accused as her tormentors; "for," he said, "we should be very tender in such relation [narration] lest we wrong the reputation of the innocent by stories not enough inquired into." No other prosecutions followed: Mr. Mather's plan was to keep the accusations within the narrowest limits, and to combat witchcraft and possession with spiritual agencies. He had implicit faith in the efficacy of prayer. He applied his theory to the Goodwin children. They all recovered; and he wrote his *Memorable Providences* to prove to the world three propositions: (1) That there are witches; (2) To show the operations of witchcraft; and (3) To teach how witchcraft should be treated.[1] The four ministers of Boston who recom-

[1] Four years later, when the witch troubles broke out in Salem Village, Mr. Mather attempted to put his method into operation, by advising that the "afflicted children" be separated and taken out of the excitement of the Village. "I did myself offer to provide meat, drink, and lodging for no less than six of the afflicted, that so an experiment might be made, whether Prayer and Fasting, upon the removal of the distressed, might not put a period to the trouble then rising,

mended the book say in their prefatory note, "Prayer is a powerful and effectual remedy against the malicious practices of devils and those who covenant with them." Says Mr. Mather: —

"I do now publish the history while the thing is fresh and new; and I challenge all men to detect so much as one designed falsehood, yea, so much as one important mistake, from the egg to the apple of it. I am resolved after this never to use but just one grain of patience with any man that shall go to impose upon me a denial of devils or of witches. I shall count that man ignorant who shall suspect; but I shall count him downright impudent, if he assert the non-existence of things which we have had such palpable convictions of" (p. 40, 41).

He concludes his narrative in these words: —

"All that I have now to publish is, that Prayer and Faith was the thing which drove the devils from the children; and I am to bear this testimony unto the world: That the Lord is nigh to all them who call upon Him in truth, and that blessed are all they that wait for Him" (p. 44).

Hutchinson says: "The children returned to their ordinary behavior, lived to adult age, made profession of religion, and the affliction they had been under they publicly declared to be one motive of it. One of them I knew many years after. She had the character of a very sober, virtuous woman, and never made any acknowledgment of fraud in the transaction."[1] John Goodwin and his wife Martha, who had been members of Mr. Morton's church in Charlestown, were received, May 25, 1690, into Mr. Mather's church. Their four children were subsequently received as members. The eldest son Nathaniel, July 22, 1728, took out letters of administration on Cotton Mather's estate.

Two other cases, which were then supposed to be witchcraft, and were similar in character to that of the Goodwin children, occurred in Boston, in 1692 and 1693. As they were both under the immediate care of Cotton Mather, and were treated by his peculiar method of prayer and fasting, with suppressing the names of suspected confederates of the Devil, and managing the affairs as quietly as possible, they passed off without injury to the life or reputation of any one, and without attracting much public attention. The first was the case of Mercy Short, and the second that of Margaret Rule. Mr. Mather wrote out a detailed account of each of these cases and withheld them from publication; but he sometimes loaned them to his

without giving the civil authority the trouble of prosecuting those things." (*More Wonders*, p. 11.) Again he says: "In fine, the country was in a dreadful ferment, and wise men foresaw a long train of dismal and bloody consequences. Thereupon they first advised that the afflicted might be kept asunder in the closest privacy; and one particular person (whom I have cause to know), in pursuance of this advice, offered himself to provide accommodations for any six of them, that so the success of more than ordinary prayer with fasting might with patience be experienced, before any other courses were taken." (*Magnalia*, i. 210, Hartford edition, 1853.) This advice was not accepted by the local magistrates at Salem.

[1] *Hist. of Mass.*, ii. 26. In his first draft, Hutchinson says she was "one of my tenants, a grave, religious woman."

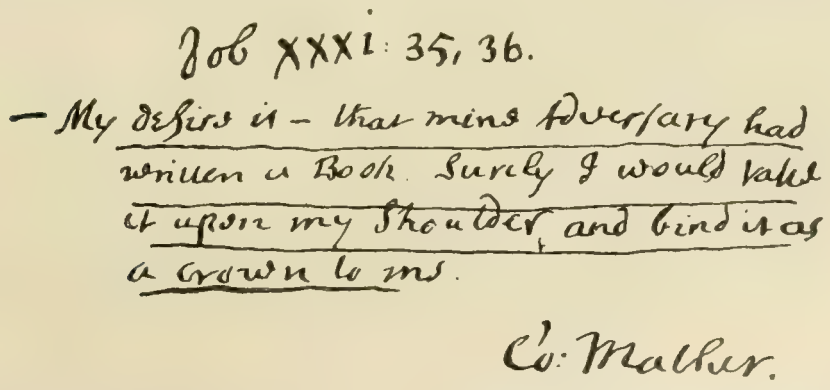
friends for perusal.[1] Robert Calef, who had a bitter, personal quarrel with Mr. Mather, obtained possession of the account of the case of Margaret Rule, and printed it in his *More Wonders*, 1700, without the consent of the author.[2] It is entitled, *Another Brand Pluckt out of the Burning*, and in it the writer says: —

"This young woman [Rule] had never seen the affliction of Mercy Short, whereof a narrative has already been given; and yet about half a year after the glorious and signal deliverance of that poor damsel, this Margaret fell into an affliction, marvellous, resembling hers in almost all the circumstances of it; indeed, the afflictions were so much alike, that the relation I have given of the one would almost serve as a full history of the other."

The Mercy Short case has never been printed, and till recently was supposed to be lost. About ten years ago Dr. Samuel F. Haven, the accomplished librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, in looking through the Mather manuscripts in that library, found one entitled, *A Brand Pluckt out of the Burning*, and on examination it proved to be the long-lost Mercy Short narrative. Dr. Haven, in announcing the discovery, promised to print it with notes; but he has not yet found leisure to fulfil his promise. He has, however, for the purpose of this sketch, kindly furnished a copy of the narrative, with permission to make such use of it as the brief limits of this paper will permit. The publication of the entire narrative, which is the fullest description of any single case of diabolical molestations that has occurred

[1] "I do not write this," said Mr. Mather, in a prefatory note to his Margaret Rule case, "with a design of throwing it presently into the press; but only to preserve the memory of such memorable things, the forgetting whereof would neither be pleasing to God nor useful to men; as also to give you and some others of peculiar and obliging friends a sight of some curiosities."

[2] Calef, in his preface, says: "I received it of a gentleman who had it of the author, and communicated it to me with his express consent." Mr. Mather, in *Some Few Remarks*, p. 36, says: "He [Calef] has been so uncivil as to print a composure of mine utterly without and against my consent; but the good Providence of God has herein overruled his malice; for if that may have impartial readers, he will have his confutation, and I my perpetual vindication." Mr. Mather's own copy of *More Wonders* is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library. Inscribed on the inside of the cover, in his own handwriting, is the following: "Job xxxi, 35, 36. My desire is — that mine Adversary had written a Book. Surely I would take it upon my Shoulder, and bind it as a Crown to me. — Co: Mather."


Job XXXI: 35, 36.
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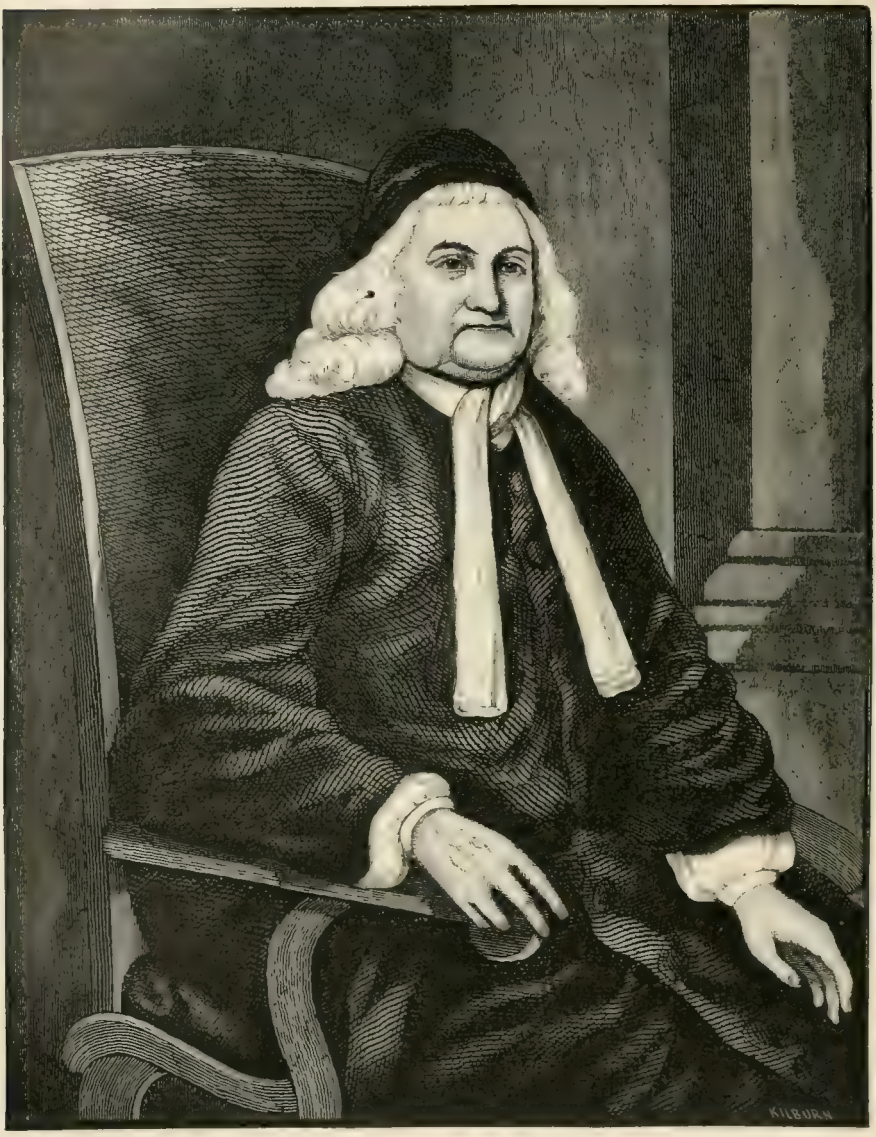
Co: Mather.

in New England, will, with Dr. Haven's valuable notes, be an important contribution to the literature of this subject. As the Mercy Short case antedates by several months that of Margaret Rule, it properly comes first under consideration.

The case of Mercy Short is important, as it was contemporaneous with



SAMUEL SEWALL.[1]

[1] [A steel-plate engraving after an original portrait owned by his descendants, the Misses Ridgway, of Boston, is given in the *Sewall Papers*, i., and is followed in the present cut Another likeness is owned by Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, Mass., and has also been engraved. — ED.]

the Salem trials and executions; and it illustrates the principles and methods of the Boston ministers, so unlike those of Salem. The supposed agent of her afflictions was then under arrest for witchcraft, and on other evidence was soon after condemned and executed at Salem. In the testimony against the alleged criminal, which has been preserved,[1] there is no allusion to Mercy Short, or to any incident recorded in the narrative, — which confirms the statement of its author, that he had strictly forbidden the names of any person suspected to be mentioned, and had treated the case wholly by spiritual agencies. Judge Sewall once noticed the case in his Diary (i. 370).[2]

The narrative begins with the statement that Mercy Short had been taken captive by the Indians at Newichawanock [Berwick, Maine], with her three brothers and two sisters; and that they were redeemed at Quebec, and brought by the fleet to Boston. Her father, mother, brother, sister, and others of her kindred had been killed by the Indians.[3]

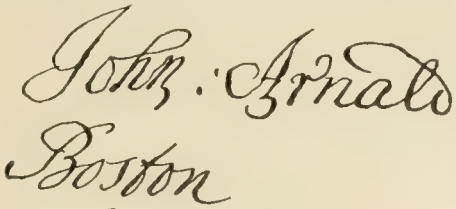
In the summer of 1692, when seven persons from Salem, under accusation of witchcraft, were committed to the jail in Boston,[4] Mercy Short was sent by her mistress on an errand to the prison, and was asked by Sarah Good, one of the suspected witches, and later executed at Salem, for a little tobacco. The girl threw a handful of shavings at her, saying, "That 's tobacco good enough for you;" whereupon the woman bestowed some ill

[1] Examination of Sarah Good, in Woodward's *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, i. 1–50.

[2] "Nov. 22, 1692. — Now about, Mercy Short grows ill again as formerly. Nov. 25. — Mr. Mather sent for to her."

[3] On March 18, 1690, a party of French and Indians under Sieur Hertel, and an Indian named Hopegood, "once a servant of a Christian master in Boston," made an attack on Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, a settlement on the Cocheco River, which separates New Hampshire from Maine. Berwick was a village on the opposite bank of the river. The villages were burned, thirty persons were killed, and fifty-four taken into captivity. Mr. Mather (in *Magnalia*, ii. 595-600) gives an account of the massacre, and the shocking details of the suffering of the prisoners on their march to Quebec. "I know not, reader," he says (in Latin), "whether you can read this record with dry eyes; I only know I cannot write it without tears." The fleet, under Sir William Phips, arrived in Boston with the redeemed captives Nov. 19, 1690. Mr. Drake says he can learn nothing of Mercy Short, except the allusion to her in the Margaret Rule narrative. Mr. Savage throws no light upon the name. Mr. Mather, however, in his account of the Salmon Falls massacre, mentions the name of her father and gives a few particulars concerning him and his family. He says, with a dreadful pun on the name: "It would be a *long* story to tell what a particular share in this calamity fell to the family of Clement *Short*. This honest man, with his pious wife and three children, were killed, and six or seven of their children were made prisoners. The most of them arrived safe in Canada, through a thousand hardships; and the most of them were afterwards redeemed from Canada unto their English friends again." The story of the massacre he may have heard from Mercy Short herself. Her social position in Boston seems to have been that of a servant. See also Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, i. 207, edition of 1813.

[4] [An account rendered by the Boston jailer, John Arnold, for his supplies to those confined



under his supervison in the prison, is given in the Witchcraft Papers, in the *Mass. Archives*, and it is from this document that the annexed signature is copied. — Ed.]

words upon her. Soon after, the girl was taken with "just such, or perhaps much worse, fits than those which held the bewitched people in the County of Essex." At this period *they* (her spirits) made her fast for twelve days together, and she underwent such torments as the Goodwin children suffered. The ministers and Christian people of the town were constantly praying at her bedside, and she was after a few weeks happily delivered. She continued well for several months, and then suddenly fell into a swoon, wherein she lay as dead for many hours; and it was not long before distinct and formal fits of witchcraft returned upon her. One of the ministers of the town took a little company of praying neighbors, and kept a day of fasting and prayer with her and for her; and all the while she was entertained with cursed spectres, whom she saw, heard, and felt. As the minister was preaching to her, on Mark ix. 28, 29, — "And when he was come into the house, his disciples asked him privately, Why could not we cast him out? And he said unto them, This kind can come forth by nothing but by prayer and fasting," — she flew at him and tore a leaf of his Bible. She passed through another fast of nine days, and then had a remission of three days, during which she ate a little, and went to church about half a mile from her abode. While there she again fell into fits, and several strong men could carry her no further than the house of a kind neighbor, where she lay for several weeks under the care of pious people who did all they could for her deliverance. A detailed account is given of her spectral torments. Concerning the means used for her recovery, Mr. Mather writes: —

"The methods that were taken for the deliverance of Mr. Goodwin's afflicted family four years ago were the very same we now followed for Mercy Short. Had we not strenuously suppressed all clamors and rumors that might have touched the reputation of people exhibited in this witchcraft, there might have ensued most uncomfortable uproar.[1] But prayer and fasting we knew to be a course against which none but men most brutishly atheistical (and yet such we have among us) could make exceptions. Whereupon a number of pious people did ordinarily every day go in and pray with her; and whereas, many of our people had singularly grounded persuasions that no exercise of religion did give so much vexation unto the spectres in the haunted house as the singing of Psalms, they commonly sang between almost every prayer. But they judged it necessary to fast as well as to pray. Thus the Christians here were put upon spending three days in fasting and prayer, one quickly after the other."

Soon after a third fast, on the evening before the New Year, 1693, her deliverance drew near. She was tormented as never before; she thought she was dying and being carried away by fiends; but "we then quickly saw the death and burial of the trouble now upon her." She roared and shrieked out, "This is more than all the rest." She sent for a minister of the neighborhood, "upon whose coming she called for her clothes, dressed herself,

[1] "As for the spectres that visited and afflicted Mercy Short, there were among them such as were in the shape of several who were doubtless innocent of the crime of witchcraft. It would be a great iniquity for me to judge them otherwise; and the world, I hope, neither by my means, nor by her, will ever know who they were." — *Narrative.*

and came to him with a countenance marvellously altered into a look of discretion and gravity, and said, 'Now go and give to God the greatest thanks you can devise, for I am gloriously delivered; my troubles are gone.' The neighbors gave solemn thanks to that faithful God who gave them to tread upon the lion, and to trample the dragon underfoot."

For seven weeks she was free from her invisible tormentors, yet, from weakness, not without frequent fainting and swooning. At the end of this time, while in the North Meeting-house on Sunday, "she was again seized by her tormentors, just as at the former visitations, and such as, we judged, could not but put an end to her life." Bystanders had pins thrust into their flesh by these fiends while they were molesting Mercy Short. "Yea, several wretches were palpable while yet they were not visible, and several of our persons did sometimes actually lay their hands upon these fiends. The people, though they saw nothing, yet felt a substance that felt like a cat or dog; and though they were not fanciful, they died away at the sight. This thing was too sensible and repeated to be pure imagination." In this assault her spectres made her fast about a week.

Soon after this a good spirit occasionally attended her, that suggested appropriate answers to her diabolical tormentors, and comforted her with assurances that she would be victorious over them. Under the guidance of this spirit she would take a Bible in her hands, and, turning over the leaves without looking at them, "would at last turn down a leaf at the most pertinent place that could be thought of." This instance is mentioned: Her wicked spectres were urging her to sign their book. She took her Bible, and, without looking at the pages, turned down a leaf at Revelation xiii. 8: "All that dwell upon earth shall worship him [the Beast], whose names are *not* written in the book of life of the Lamb." Holding the text up to the spectres, she added that her "name *was* written in the book of the Lamb." At another time, in that same manner, she folded a leaf at Luke vii. 21, and showed it to the spectres: "In the same hour he cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits." Again, her spectres were trying to persuade her that there would be no day of judgment; she showed them Acts i. 11.[1] At the beginning of the fourth week "this notable spirit" bade her be of good cheer and hold her integrity, for the next Thursday, about nine or ten o'clock in the evening, she would be gloriously delivered. "There was," says Mr. Mather, "scarce a night, I think, for near a month

[1] "When she came to herself," says Mr. Mather, "she told me her manner was to turn the leaves till 't was darted into her mind that she had the place, and then she folded." In another place he says: "But that which carries most of marvel in it, is the impulse which directed her into the Scriptures that might have quickened our devotion, if we had seen cause to make use of them. In her trances, a Bible happening to lie on the bed, she took it up, and, without even casting her eyes upon it, folded down a leaf to a text; but of all the texts in the Bible, which do you think it was? It was that of Revelation xii. 12: 'The Devil is come down unto you having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.' Again, she calling for a Psalm-book, has, in the dark, turned over many leaves, and, without reading a syllable, has turned down a leaf to a psalm, advising us to sing it in her behalf. I do affirm that no man living could have singled out psalms more expressive of, or suitable to, her circumstances than those she pitched upon. One of them, I remember, was the beginning of the cii."

which was not all spent in the exercise of devotion by those that watched. The pious people of the north part of Boston did very much pray with the young woman and for her. The weekly meetings of the young people (the sexes apart) were adjourned to the haunted chamber." Mr. Mather says he did all he could that not so much as the name of any one person might suffer the least ill report on the occasion; but "unwearied prayer we thought was our only way now to resist the Devil."

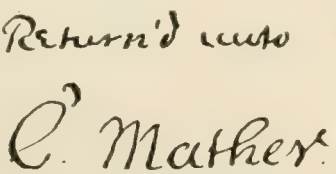
On the Thursday evening mentioned by her, March 16, 1693, she lay very free from her usual torments. The spectres were about; but they found her so hedged in by some unseen defence that they could not touch her. She rallied them on their defeat, and asked them what advice they would give her before they went. They replied, but the writer could not hear the "pestiferous things" they spoke; whereupon they flew away immediately as the hour named arrived, "striking another young woman down for dead upon the floor as they went along; and so, with a raised soul, she bore her part with us in giving thanks to God for her deliverance." Mercy Short was not troubled with any further diabolical molestations. After several days her eyes, which had been blinded as if she had been struck with lightning, regained their sight. "She was left also with an ill habit of body which could not be cured without some time and care."

Dr. Haven has appended to his copy the following note: —

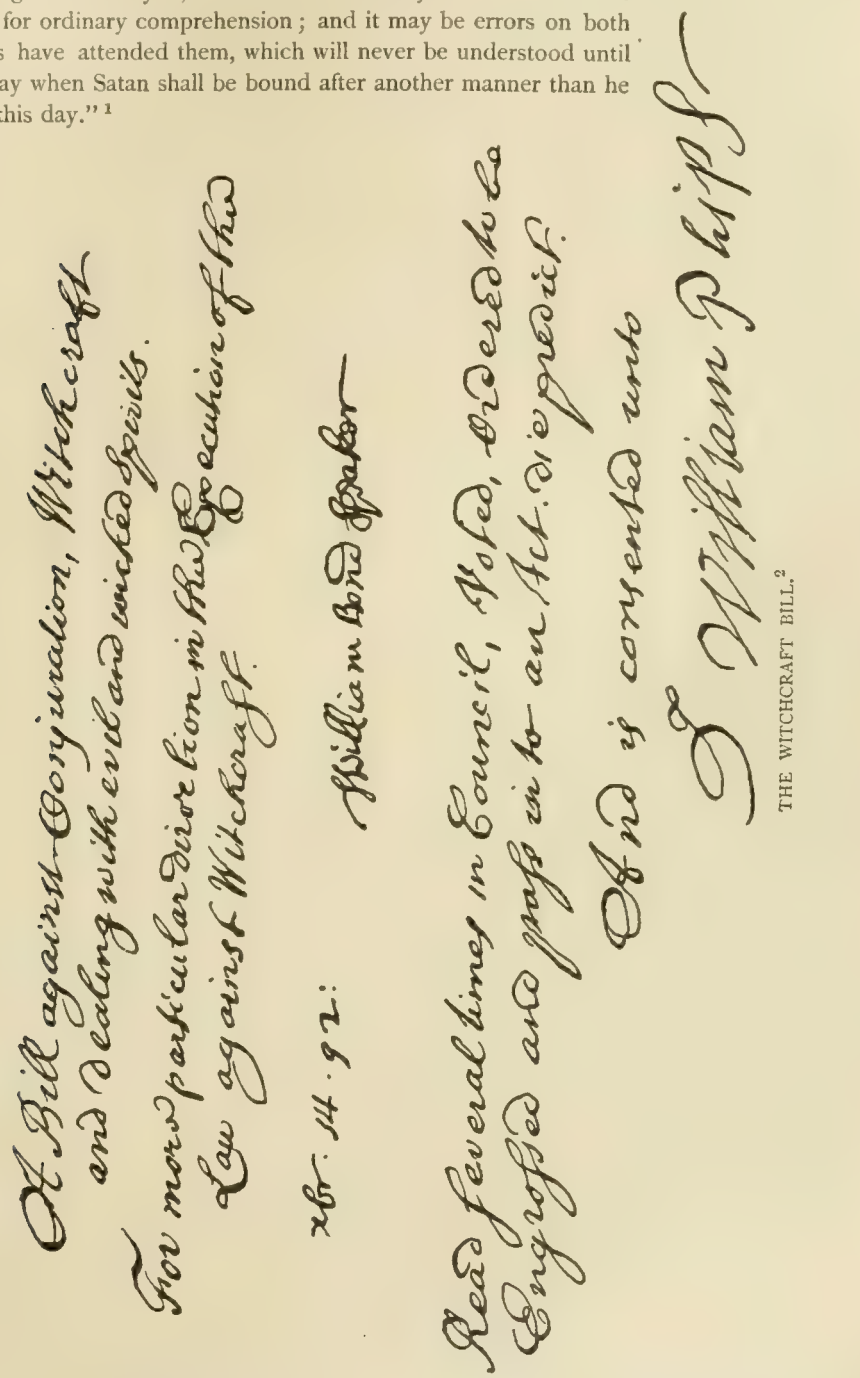
"The first leaf of this account (blank) has on the outside the words, 'To be Return'd unto Cotton Mather.' It seems, therefore, that it was loaned by him for perusal, and it bears the marks of use in that way.[1] At the close of the narrative is the beginning of a statement, by Cotton Mather, of the reason why he forbears to give his opinion 'about the true nature and meaning of these preternatural occurrences;' but all, except a few lines, was on another leaf, which is missing."

From Mr. Mather's other writings we can safely infer the import of the passage which is missing. He never wavered from a full belief in the reality of witchcraft and diabolical possession; but his mind was greatly perplexed as to the nature and meaning of the phenomena. His reading, and the strange proceedings that had passed under his own observation, left his opinions in a very unsettled state. The subject presented dark and hidden mysteries which he could not explain. Writing, in 1701, he says: —

[1] [There is in the Library of the Historical Society a volume of manuscripts, which contains several in the handwriting of Cotton Mather, and two of them relating to witchcraft bear this same provision for a return to the author. No. 5 in this volume is called "Cotton Mather's belief and practice in those thorny difficulties which have distracted us in the day of temptation," and has marginal reflections in another hand. No. 6 is marked "More Wonders of the Invisible World," by C. Mather, in his own hand; and a fac-simile of the same provision in this manuscript is herewith appended. These manuscripts refer to the Margaret Rule case. — Ed.]



"About the troubles we have had from the invisible world, I have at present nothing to offer to you, but that I believe they were too dark and deep for ordinary comprehension; and it may be errors on both hands have attended them, which will never be understood until the day when Satan shall be bound after another manner than he is at this day." [1]



THE WITCHCRAFT BILL.[2]

[1] *Some Few Remarks*, p. 42. In another place he says: "This is one of the things that make me think witchcraft will not be fully understood until the day when there shall not be one witch in the world." — *Wonders*, p. 162.

[2] [This fac-simile shows the heading and con-

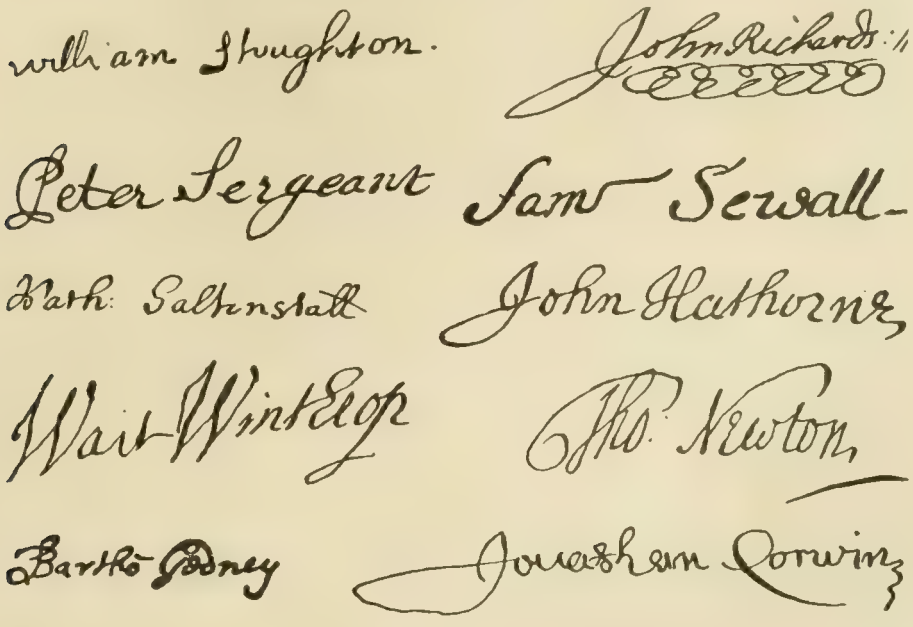
Cotton Mather had no views on the theory of witchcraft which he did not hold in common with all the other ministers of Boston, — his father, Increase Mather, Samuel Willard, Joshua Moody, and James Allen. We find them together at the meetings for prayer and fasting at the house of John Goodwin, in 1688. They endorsed the narrative and the principles set forth in his *Memorable Providences*, 1689. He wrote and they signed "The Return of several [twelve] ministers consulted by his Excellency and the Honorable Council upon the present witchcrafts in Salem Village," June 15, 1692. They are among the fourteen ministers whose names are appended to the preface of Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcrafts*, Oct. 3, 1692; and they with him signed "Certain Proposals made [March 5,

clusion of the original document preserved in the "witchcraft volume" of the *Mass. Archives*. The reading of it "several times" is worth noting, though it may be an accidental shortening of a common formula, — "three several times." — Ed.] Its date xbr — that is, Dec. 14, 1692 — was just after the organization of the Supreme Court under the Province charter, which took place December 7. The law is, with a few omissions, almost a literal copy of the English statute on witchcraft enacted in the reign of James I., and was probably passed through the personal influence of the judges of the new court, who were all, with the exception of Danforth, judges in the special court which had tried the witches at Salem. The judges and the magistrates were the last to see the dreadful errors that had been committed at Salem. The special court sat during the interregnum between the repeal of the Colony charter and the setting up of the Province charter. The witches had been tried without any Colony or Province law on the subject, and presumably under the English statute of James I. It was natural that the judges of the new court — Stoughton, Sewall, Richards, and Winthrop — should seek an early occasion to embody in the Province laws the rules and practice which they had followed at Salem, and which they then had no intention to abandon. It is a strange fact, that after what had occurred at Salem those same judges should have been reappointed, and that Stoughton, whose conduct was most atrocious of all, should have received the vote of every member present in the Council. Judge Sewall preserves in his Diary, i. 370, an account of the election, which began December 6 and was finished on the succeeding day, as follows: "Tuesday, Dec. 6. A very dark cold day; is the day appointed for choosing the judges. Wm. Stoughton, Esq., is chosen Chief-Justice, 15 votes (all then present); Thomas Danforth, Esq., 12; Major Richards, 7; Maj.-General Winthrop, 7; S. S. [Samuel Sewall], 7; I last voted for Mr. Hathorn [who, as a local magistrate of Salem, was more responsible for the Salem prosecutions than any other man], who had 3. When Maj.-Gen. Winthrop [was] chosen, so I counted it probable that he [Hathorn] might now carry it; but now Major Gedney [another Salem magistrate] had more than he. I esteemed Major Gedney not so suited for the place, because he is judge of the probate of wills. This was in Col. Page's rooms, by papers, on Wednesday, Dec. 7, 1692. Tuesday was spent about Little-Compton business and other interruptions. Were at last 18 assistants present." Judge Sewall did not write much in his Diary about witchcraft, but he records some incidents which show the opposition of the ministers and the people to the position of the Judges: "Oct. 15, 1692. Went to Cambridge and visited Mr. Danforth, and discoursed with him about the witchcrafts. [Danforth] thinks there cannot be a procedure in the Court except there be some better consent of ministers and people" (i. 367). "Oct. 26, 1692. A bill is sent in [to the council] about calling a fast and convocation of ministers, that [the court or the country] may be led in the right way as to the witchcrafts. The season and manner of doing it is such that the Court of Oyer and Terminer count themselves thereby dismissed, 29 noes and 33 yeas to the bill" (i. 367). "Oct. 29. Mr. Russell asked whether the Court of Oyer and Terminer should sit, expressing some fear of inconvenience by its fall. Governor [Phips] said it must fall. Lieut.-Governor [Stoughton] not in town to-day" (i. 368). "Nov. 22, 1692. I prayed that God would choose and assist our Judges, etc., and save New England as to enemies and witchcrafts, *and vindicate the late Judges*, consisting with His justice and holiness, etc., with fasting" (i. 370).

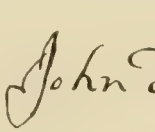
[The witchcraft law of December 14 was published on December 16, and nearly three years later (Aug. 22, 1695) was disallowed by the Privy Council, for a reason quite foreign to the purport of the law: "Being not formed to agree with the statute of King James the First, whereby the Dower is saved to the widow and the Inheritance to the heir of the party convicted, the same hath

1694] by the President and Fellows of Harvard College to the Reverend Ministers of the Gospel in New England," asking for accounts of illustrious and remarkable providences, such as "apparitions, possessions, enchant-

been repealed." The body of the law is in Ames and Goodell's edition of Provincial Laws (i. 90). In the previous May the Special Court for the trial of the Salem witches had been appointed, consisting of those whose signatures follow: —



Several of these were Boston men, and so was Newton, the prosecuting officer. He had come over about 1688, then twenty-eight years old, and had very soon taken a prominent place in the practice of his profession. (Washburn, *Judicial Hist. of Mass.*) Their jurisdiction was within the counties of Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex. They opened their court early in June, at Salem, and met by adjournment June 30, and August 5. They caused the execution of twenty persons, and adjourned, never to meet again, September 22. Sewall (i. 361) tells how in one of the intermissions of the Court, he was present at a "fast at the house of Captain Alden upon his account. Mr. Willard pray'd. I read a sermon out of Dr. Preston, first and second uses of God's alsufficiency. Captain Scottow pray'd; Mr. Allen came in and pray'd; Mr. Cotton Mather, then Captain Hill, sung the first part Psalm ciii.; concluded about 5 o'clock. Brave shower of rain, while Captain Scottow was praying, after much Drought." Alden, who was the eldest son of the Pilgrim of Plymouth and Duxbury, had been accused of tormenting some of the afflicted. He was now seventy, and had been long a respected citizen; still not so circumspect, when they brought him before the Court at Salem, in May, but he could use the strong language of an old sea-dog, as he was, when he was confronted by a lot of wenches whom he had never before seen, and accused of bewitching them. Perhaps his indignation rendered it easier for the magistrates to send him to Boston jail, where he remained fifteen weeks, when he escaped and was concealed by his relatives in Duxbury, till the delusion was passed.



Sewall, it is well known, made a public confession of his mistake on the Fast-day, Jan. 14, 1697, appointed on account of the late tragedy, standing before the congregation of the Old South, while Parson Willard read the "bill" which he "put up," and which is given in *Sewall Papers*, i. 445. In 1720, on the publication of Neal's *New England*, Sewall records: "It grieves me to see New England's nakedness laid open in the business of the Quakers, Anabaptists, witchcraft. The judges' names are mentioned, p. 502. My confession, p. 536, vol. 2. The good and gracious God be pleased to save New England, and me, and my family." — ED.]

ments, and all extraordinary things whereby the existence and agency of the invisible world is more sensibly demonstrated."[1]

The afflictions of Margaret Rule[2] came upon her on Sept. 10, 1693, — she having the evening before been bitterly treated and threatened by a miserable woman living near, who had formerly been imprisoned on the suspicion of witchcraft, and who had frequently cured very painful hurts by muttering over them certain charms. "But the hazard of hurting a poor woman," says Mr. Mather, "that might be innocent, caused the pious people in the vicinity to try whether incessant supplication to God alone might not produce a quicker and safer ease to the afflicted than hasty prosecution of any supposed criminal; and accordingly that unexceptionable course was all that was ever followed." She was assaulted by eight spectres, three or four of which she thought she knew. She was repeatedly charged not to mention publicly the names of any she knew, lest the reputation of some good person might be blasted "through the cunning malice of the great accuser." She privately mentioned to Mr. Mather the names of several, who he says "were a sort of wretches that for many years have gone under as violent presumptions of witchcraft as perhaps any creatures yet living upon earth, although I am far from thinking that the visions of this young

[1] "But for my own part," says Cotton Mather, "I know not that I ever advanced any opinion in the matter of witchcraft, but that all the ministers of the Lord that I know of in the world, whether English, or Scotch, or French, or Dutch, — and I know many, — are of the same opinion with me." — *Some Few Remarks*, p. 42. Again he says: "The name of no one good person in the world ever came under any blemish by means of any afflicted person that fell under my particular cognizance; yea, no one man, woman, or child ever came into any trouble for the sake of any that were afflicted, after I had once begun to look after them." — *More Wonders*, p. 11. Hence his services as the comforter and adviser of persons accused of witchcraft were much sought for. Mr. Brattle says: "With great affection they [the accused] intreated Mr. C. M. to pray with them;" and mentions no other person as performing that duty. He made many visits to Salem for this purpose, while the dreadful tragedy was in progress; but he never attended an examination or a trial. See *Wonders*, p. 109, and *More Wonders*, p. 113. "It may be," he says, "no man living ever had more people under preternatural and astonishing circumstances cast by the Providence of God into his more particular care than I have had." — *Some Few Remarks*, p. 39. Isolated passages can be selected from his sermons on Witchcraft which, separated from their connection and the circumstances under which they were uttered, appear harsh and vindictive. He fought devils, or what he supposed were devils, with fire; but for poor afflicted mortals his words and conduct were full of charity and tenderness. [A class of writers, numbering among them Upham, Quincy, and Bancroft, have presented a view of the Salem witchcraft proceedings which makes Cotton Mather, in greater or less degree, a participator in the Salem method. The passages sometimes quoted by those holding that side in the controversy, now of long standing, are considered by their opponents as susceptible of a modified meaning if taken in connection with the context, or with what they hold to be the tenor of Mather's life. Thus, Aug. 4, 1692, after six of the twenty victims had been executed at Salem, Mather says in a *Discourse on the Wonders of the Invisible World*, afterward embodied in his book of that title: "They [the judges] have used, as judges have heretofore done, the spectral evidences, to introduce their farther inquiries into the lives of the persons accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with other evidences that some of the witch-gang have been fairly executed." It is answered that the word *fairly* means in this connection simply *completely*. Again in his *Wonders*, introducing the trials at Salem, Mather says (London, 1693, p. 55): "If in the midst of the many dissatisfactions among us, the publication of these Trials may promote such a pious thankfulness unto God for justice being so far executed among us, I shall rejoice that God is glorified." — Ed.]

[2] Calef says she was about seventeen years of age.

woman were evidence enough to prove them so." These names he never revealed. The story runs that her tormentors kept her from taking food for nine days; pinched her so that black and blue marks were visible; thrust pins into her neck, back, and arms; poured scalding brimstone upon her, raising blisters upon her skin, and filling the house with such a scent of brimstone that scores of witnesses could scarcely endure it. Six persons testified, over their own names, in three affidavits, that they had seen Margaret Rule lifted from her bed by an invisible force so as to touch the garret floor. Two of the witnesses state that —

"It was as much as several of us could do, with all our strength, to pull her down; all which happened when there was not only we two in the room, but we suppose ten or a dozen more, whose names we have forgotten."

Another witness says: —

"I have seen her thus lifted when not only a strong person hath thrown his whole weight across her to pull her down, but several other persons have endeavored, with all their might, to hinder her from being raised." — *More Wonders*, pp. 22, 23.

Besides her black or wicked spectres, she had toward the end of her troubles a white or good spirit, from whom she received marvellous assistance in her miseries. "What lately befell Mercy Short," says Mr. Mather, "from the communications of such a spirit, hath been the just wonder of us all; but by such a spirit was Margaret Rule now also visited." This white spirit, whose face she could not see, but only its bright, shining, and glorious garments, stood by her bed-side comforting her, and counselling her to maintain her faith and hope in God, and assuring her of a speedy deliverance. After she had been more than five weeks in her miseries, this good spirit said to her that a certain man, who was named, had kept a three days' fast for her deliverance, and bade her be of good cheer, for her release was near. Her tormentors returned to their work, but their power was gone. "She insulted over them with a very proper derision, daring them to do their worst; whereupon they flew out of the room, and she returning perfectly to herself, gave thanks to God for her deliverance."

So Margaret Rule's afflictions were ended.[1] Nobody was brought under judicial accusation, and the name of no person suffered thereby. The narrative gives a faithful picture of the popular belief and of the best type of religious activity and experience of that period. The writer of the narrative, judged by the standards of modern belief, was very superstitious; but his acts were confessedly unselfish, charitable, and humane.

[1] This is the case of which Mr. Bancroft wrote thus: "To cover his confusion, Cotton Mather got up a case of witchcraft in his own parish. Miracles, he avers, were wrought in Boston. He wished his vanity protected." — *History of the United States*, Cent. ed. ii. 266.

THE LITERATURE OF WITCHCRAFT.

The Boston literature of witchcraft deserves a notice in this historical sketch. It comprises nearly all that was written on the subject in this country during the last two decades of the seventeenth century; and it so modified and humanized the theory of witchcraft and diabolical possession, that no person could afterwards be convicted of the crime. The following is the list of books and tracts in the order they were written; the dates show when they were published: —

1. Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences*, 1684.
2. Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences*, 1689.
3. Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1693.
4. Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience Concerning Witchcraft*, 1693.
5. Samuel Willard's *Some Miscellany Observations concerning Witchcraft*, 1692.
6. Thomas Brattle's *Account of the Witchcraft in the County of Essex*, written in 1692, and printed in 1798.
7. Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1700.
8. *Some Few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book by one Robert Calef.* By the Parishioners of the Second Church of Boston, 1701.

1. Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences* has been generally classed as a witch-book, though little less than a third of the volume treats of witchcraft. It is what it purports to be, — "An Essay for the recording of Illustrious Providences, wherein an Account is given of many remarkable and very memorable Events which have happened this last age, especially in New England." The other topics treated are, "Remarkable Sea-Deliverances;" "Other remarkable Preservations;" "Remarkables about Thunder and Lightning;" "Some Philosophical Meditations;" "Deaf and Dumb Persons;" "Remarkable Tempests;" "Remarkable Judgments;" etc. A passage in the life of the author by his son[1] sheds some light on the origin and intent of this book: "A little after this [the Synod of 1679], he formed a Philosophical Society of agreeable gentlemen, who met once a fortnight for a conference upon improvements in philosophy and additions to the stores of natural history." Contributions from this society were sent to a professor[2] at Leyden, and were printed in his *Philosophia Naturalis*. Other contributions were sent to the Royal Society of London. "But the calamity of the times," the biographer adds, "anon gave a fatal and a total interruption to this generous undertaking." The project, however, of observing and recording remarkable providences was carried out in another form. The preface of *Remarkable Providences* states that at a general meeting of the ministers of the Colony, held May 12, 1681, it was resolved that it is "for God's glory and the good of posterity that the utmost care be taken to

[1] *Parentator. Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of the ever-memorable Dr. Increase Mather.* Boston, 1724, p. 86.

[2] Wolferdus Senguerdius. His "*Philosophia Naturalis*, quatuor partibus, 4°. Lugd. Bat. 1680," is in the Bodleian Library Catalogue.

record and publish all illustrious providences," among which were mentioned "divine judgments, tempests, floods, earthquakes, thunders as are unusual, or whatever else shall happen that is prodigious, — witchcrafts, diabolical possessions, remarkable judgments upon noted sinners, eminent deliverances, and answers of prayer." Invitation was given to the elders in the neighboring colonies to contribute. It was thought that one or two years would be necessary in which to complete the design, and that a large volume should be printed, that "posterity may be encouraged to go on therewith." If the reader will examine the volumes of the Royal Society of London printed at this period, he will find papers as rudimentary and inconsequential as some contained in this early attempt to establish a similar publication in New England. In one chapter, entitled "Several Cases of Conscience considered," Mr. Mather condemned the vulgar superstitions of the day concerning diabolical agency. He showed that it was unlawful to use herbs and to nail up horse-shoes, to drive away evil spirits, and to practise charms and incantations for curing diseases. These, he said, are heathenish superstitions, and practising witchcraft to detect witches; they that obtain health in that way have it from the Devil. A man in Boston gave to one a sealed paper having these words written upon it, "*In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*," as an effectual remedy for the tooth-ache. "It is a marvellous and an amazing thing," he says, "that in such a place as New England, where the Gospel hath shined with great power and glory, any should be so blind as to make attempts of this kind; yet some such I know there have been" (p. 185, ed. of 1856).

He recommends that "white witches," which profess to cure diseases, be treated like "black witches." "A good witch is a more horrible and detestable monster than a bad one. Balaam was a black witch, and Simon Magus was a white one. The latter did more hurt by his cures than the former by his curses."

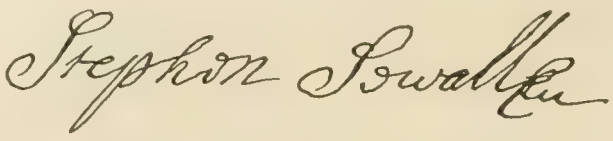
In the chapter "Concerning Things Preternatural which have happened in New England," he gave, as an annalist, abridged accounts of several cases of bedevilment, fuller details of which had been sent to him by his correspondents: (1) The case of Ann Cole, of Hartford, Conn., which resulted in the execution of Goodman Greensmith and his wife, in 1662. The account was sent to him by Mr. John Whiting, minister of Hartford. (2) The case of Elizabeth Knap, "the ventriloqua," of Groton, Mass., in 1671, from an account furnished by Mr. Samuel Willard, then minister of Groton. (3) The troubles preternatural in the house of William Morse, at Newbury, Mass., in 1679, for which Mrs. Morse, in 1680, was sentenced to be hung. She was finally released from prison, though never acquitted nor pardoned. (4) A similar disturbance in the house of Mr. Mompesson, in Tedworth, County of Wilts, England. (5) The molestations of Nicholas Desborough, of Hartford, in 1683, described by Mr. John Russell, minister of Hadley, Mass. (6) The diabolical curiosities in the house of George Walton, of Portsmouth, N. H., in 1682, furnished by Mr. Joshua Moody, then minister

of that town. (7) Uncanny proceedings in the house of Antonio Hortando, near Salmon Falls, N. H., furnished by Mr. Thomas Broughton, of Boston. Then follow two chapters, one on "Demons and Possessed Persons," and another on "Apparitions," which embody the views common at that day on these subjects. These three chapters fill eighty of the two hundred and sixty-two pages of the London reprint of 1856.[1]

The theory of the English courts at the time was, that, if a spectre practising diabolical molestations appeared to any one, it was conclusive and legal evidence that the person so represented was a witch. This theory, accepted by Sir Matthew Hale, was adopted at the Salem trials, and the executions went on till it was supplanted by the more humane doctrine of the Boston ministers, — that the Devil himself, and not the person accused, caused the representation. Mr. Mather, in this paper, condemns the barbarous theory of the English courts. He says: "The Devil does not only himself afflict diseases upon men, but represents the visages of innocent persons to the phansies of the diseased, making them believe that they are tormented by them [the persons represented], when only himself does it." This doctrine he elaborated in his *Cases of Conscience*, 1692.

2. Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences*, 1689, has already been described (p. 142).

3. Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1693.[2] This most notable book on New-England witchcraft is a miscellaneous collection made up of brief reports of the trials of five of the witches executed at Salem; two discourses on diabolism, by Mr. Mather, and "several remarkable curiosities" connected with the subject. The book was written in the autumn of 1692, while the colony was in an uproar in consequence of the dreadful scenes which were occurring at Salem, and "by special command of his Excellency the Governor of the Province." As Mr. Mather attended none of the examinations or trials at Salem, the reports are, he says, "an abridgment collected out of the court papers, on this occasion put into my hands. I report these matters not as an



[1] Several of the original narratives, from which Mr. Mather made his abridgments, are printed in the *Mather Papers* (4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* viii.), and, as they give fuller details, are worthy of examination by persons interested in comparing the earlier phenomena with modern spiritual manifestations. Mr. Whiting's account of the Ann Cole case is on pp. 466–469; Mr. Willard's, of the Knap case, pp. 555–571; Mr. Russell's, of the Desborough case, pp. 86–88; and Mr. Moody's, of the Walton case, p. 361. Further information concerning all these cases will be found in my notes to Governor Hutchinson's *Witchcraft Delusion of* 1692, 1870.

[2] [Of Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, it is thought that the first Boston edition, though dated 1693, was really printed in 1692, as the imprimatur of the London edition of 1693 is dated Dec. 23, 1692. Samuel Mather puts it 1692, and the attestation of Stoughton and Sewall is dated Oct. 11, 1692. There were differences in the titles of these editions. Mr. Charles Deane has what is called a "second" edition, London, 1693; and Harvard College Library has a "third" edition, London, 1693, — both showing some changes in the title, and both abridged from the earlier edition. — ED.]

advocate, but as an historian." Stephen Sewall, the clerk of the court at Salem, and brother of Judge Sewall, furnished these reports.[1] As Stephen Sewall was a stanch believer in the Salem methods, he is doubtless responsible for anecdotes and statements contained therein which have been charged to Mr. Mather's credulity and superstition.[2]

The book is an intense and highly-wrought expression of the author's implicit belief in the reality of the witchcraft and diabolical agency then abroad in the land; and yet, extravagant as it appears to modern readers, it is a faithful representation of the popular alarm and spiritual terror of that period. As to the fact of witchcraft, and that a witch, if legally proved to be such, should not be suffered to live, there was no difference of opinion in the community; but as to the method of detecting and trying witches, there was an animated and bitter controversy concerning what was then called the Salem and the Boston methods. Mr. Mather says: —

"The Devil hath made us like a troubled sea; 't is by our quarrels that we spoil our prayers. To wrangle the Devil out of the country will be truly a new experiment. It is wonderfully necessary that some healing attempts be made at this time. I am so desirous of a share in them, that, if being thrown overboard were needful to allay the storm, I should think dying a trifle to be undergone for so great a blessedness."

Mr. Mather, then less than thirty years of age, undertook to act the difficult rôle of a middle-man and pacificator. He adds: —

"I would most importunately, in the first place, entreat every man to maintain a holy jealousy over his own soul at this time. Let us more generally agree to maintain a kind opinion of one another; but if we disregard this rule of charity we shall give our body politic to be burned" (pp. 11, 12).

He spoke in charitable terms of the judges, as men eminent for wisdom and virtue: —

"They went about the work for which they were commissioned with very great aversion; so they still have been under heart-breaking solicitudes how they might therein best serve both God and man. Have there been any disputed methods used for the discovery of the works of darkness? It may be none but what have had great precedents in other parts of the world. Surely they have, at the worst, been the faults of a well-meaning ignorance (pp. 11, 12). . . . There are very worthy men who are not a little dissatisfied at the proceedings in the prosecution of this witchcraft,

[1] Mr. Mather, Sept. 20, 1692, wrote to Stephen Sewall, addressing him "My dear and very obliging Stephen," asking him for "a narrative of the evidences given in at the trials of half-a-dozen, or if you please a dozen, of the principal witches that have been condemned." This letter has been strangely misrepresented. (See *North American Review*, cviii. 391.) Two days later they had an interview at the house of Judge Sewall, in Boston, when Judge Stoughton and John Hathorn, of Salem, were present, and there was "speaking about publishing some trials of the witches." (Judge Sewall's *Diary*, i., p. 366.)

[2] An anecdote of this class is in Bancroft (ii. 259, ed. of 1876), and is used by a dozen other writers, as a choice illustration of Mr. Mather's credulity: "As this woman [Bridget Bishop] was under a guard, passing by the great and spacious meeting-house in Salem, she gave a look towards the house, and immediately a demon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it" (p. 138, ed. of 1862).

. . . those reverend persons [of Boston] who gave this advice [of June 15] to the honorable council: 'That presumptions, whereupon persons may be committed, and much more convictions, whereupon persons may be condemned as guilty of witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more considerable than barely the accused persons being represented by a spectre unto the afflicted. Nor are alterations made in the sufferers by a look or touch of the accused to be esteemed an infallible evidence of guilt, but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil's ledgerdemains'" (p. 12).

From the principles of this advice, which was drawn up by himself,[1] he never swerved.

4. Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft*, 1693.[2] While the trials and executions were going on in Salem, in the summer of 1692, Increase Mather was requested by the ministers of Boston and the vicinity to prepare a more elaborate statement of their views than was contained in their advice of June 15, which the judges did not accept. He finished the work October 3, and it was printed soon after in Boston and London. The main purpose of the treatise was to show the injustice and illegality of spectral testimony which was freely admitted in the trials at Salem. Its preface to the "Christian Reader," written by Samuel Willard,[3] is signed by fourteen ministers, who say: "That there are devils and witches the Scriptures assert and experience confirms; they are the common enemies of mankind and set upon mischief. But certainly the more execrable the crime is, the more critical care is to be used in the exposing of the names, liberties, and lives of men (especially of a godly conversation) to the imputation of it." They express their hearty consent to, and concurrence with, what is contained in the treatise. The author meets the whole question at issue in his opening sentence: —

"The first case that I am desired to express my judgment in, is this: 'Whether it is not possible for the Devil to impose on the imaginations of persons bewitched, and to cause them to believe that an innocent, yea, that a pious person does torment them, when the Devil himself does it; or whether Satan may not appear in the shape of an innocent and pious as well as a nocent and wicked person, to afflict such as suffer by diabolical molestations?' The answer to the question must be affirmative." (App. to C. M's *Wonders*, p. 225, ed. of 1862.)

[1] See Cotton Mather's *Life of Increase Mather*, 1723, p. 165, and Samuel Mather's *Life of Cotton Mather*, 1729, p. 45. May 31, 1693, three days before the trials began at Salem, Mr. Mather wrote a letter to John Richards, one of the judges, in which he cautioned the judges against admitting spectral testimony. This letter is printed in *Mather Papers*, 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 391. If the judges at Salem had accepted the caution and acted upon it, no accused person could have been convicted.

[2] [The Boston edition of *Cases of Conscience* has this imprint: "Boston, printed and sold by Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee-House, 1693." The London edition of the same year was published by Dunton, but it had a preface of ten pages of matter, — "A True Narrative of some Remarkable Passages. . . . Collected by Deodat Lawson;" and a general title prefixed to the book is *A further account of the Tryals of New England Witches*, etc. The matter of Lawson's had been printed the year before at Boston in ten pages quarto, as a *Brefe and True Narrative of Passages*, etc. — ED.]

[3] "Oct. 11, 1692. Read Mr. Willard's epistle to Mr. Mather's book as to Cases of Conscience touching Witchcraft." — *Judge Sewall's Diary*, i. 367. It is strange that in the year 1692 so little about witchcraft appears in Sewall's Diary.

He then proceeds to prove, by citing many examples, that the Devil can assume any shape he chooses, even that of an angel of light. "This then I declare and testify, that to take away the life of any one, merely because a spectre or devil in a bewitched or possessed person does accuse them, will bring the guilt of innocent blood on the land." The strange exhibitions in the afflicted persons from the sight or touch of the accused, which had also been accepted as testimony, he shows are no evidence of guilt, as he believes they are produced by demons; and he affirms that the oath and testimony of confessed witches, and of persons possessed, should never be received. A trial for witchcraft ought to be conducted by the same law and rules of evidence as a trial for murder, burglary, or any other felony. He says: —

"The Word of God instructs jurors and judges to proceed upon clear *human* testimony. But the Word no where giveth us the least intimation that every one is a witch, at whose look the bewitched person shall fall into fits; nor yet, that any other means should be used for the discovery of witches than what may be used for the finding out of murderers, adulterers, and other criminals. . . . The ways of trying witches long used in many nations (as the judicious Mr. Perkins expresseth it) were invented by the Devil, that so innocent persons might be condemned, and some notorious witches escape" (pp. 268, 270).

It will readily be seen that a trial for witchcraft, conducted by the "Boston method," would be a very harmless proceeding. There were no more executions after Mr. Mather's treatise appeared.[1] Says Cotton Mather, in the Life of his father (p. 166): —

"But what gave the most illumination to the country, and a turn to the tide, was the special service which he did in composing and publishing his very learned *Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft;* in which treatise he did with incomparable reason and reading demonstrate that the Devil may appear in the shape of an innocent and a virtuous person, to afflict those that suffer by diabolical molestations; and that the ordeal of the sight and touch is not a conviction of a covenant with the Devil, but liable to great exceptions against the lawfulness, as well as the evidence, of it. Upon this the Governor pardoned such as had been condemned, and the spirit of the country ran violently upon acquitting all the accused."

In the postscript of *Cases of Conscience* Increase Mather says: "Some, I hear, have taken up a notion that the book newly published by my son [*Wonders of the Invisible World*] is contradictory to this of mine. 'Tis

[1] [Some of the writers already referred to as implicating the Mathers in the Salem method, find ground for this view in what Increase Mather says in this treatise: "I hope the thinking part of mankind will be satisfied that there was more than that which is called spectre evidence for the conviction of the persons condemned. I was not myself present at any of the trials, excepting one, — viz., that of George Burroughs; had I been one of his judges, I could not have acquitted him." The writers of the other side claim that this extract should be taken with the explanation that Burroughs was hanged after conviction by human not spectral testimony. This is fully presented by Mr. Poole in his article in the *North American Review*, vol. cviii., and need not be gone into in detail here. — Ed.]

strange that such imaginations should enter the minds of men. I perused and approved of that book before it was printed; and nothing but my relation to him hindered me from recommending it to the world."[1]

5. Samuel Willard's *Some Miscellany Observations on our present Debates respecting Witchcrafts, in a Dialogue between S and B*, 1692.[2]

The subject of this anonymous pamphlet, of 16 pages, is substantially the same as that of *Cases of Conscience*, — How shall witch-trials be conducted? — but it is treated in the form of a dialogue between "S and B," which initials were probably intended to represent "Salem" and "Boston." "S" defends the spectral theory of the judges at Salem, and "B" the views of the Boston ministers. That Mr. Willard was the author of the tract appears from the statement of Cotton Mather in *Some Few Remarks*, p. 35; and Calef, in *More Wonders*, p. 38, quotes from it and mentions Mr. Willard as the author. Mr. Willard, in his views of witchcraft and its proper treatment, was perfectly in accord with the Mathers. The tract is written with great ability, and simply as a specimen of dialectic treatment it is not easy to name one that is its superior. "S" states and defends the popular theory of spectral evidence, and "B" subjects it to the most searching and scathing condemnation. There is no paper of the same limits extant which will give the reader so clear an insight into the essence of the exciting controversy, in 1692, concerning the methods of trying witches, which culminated in making it impossible for another person to be executed for witchcraft in New England.

6. Thomas Brattle's *Account of Witchcraft in the County of Essex*, 1692. Mr. Brattle was a prominent merchant of Boston, a large benefactor of Harvard College, and its treasurer from 1693 to his death in 1713. President Quincy says of him that "he was distinguished for opulence, activity, and talent, and for the zeal and readiness with which he devoted his time, wealth, and intellectual power to objects of private benevolence and public usefulness."[3] He was one of the founders of the Brattle-Street Church, and was a Fellow of the Royal Society.[4] Mr Brattle's *Account* is dated Oct. 8, 1692, and is addressed to a clergyman who had asked for the information, and whose name is unknown. The paper was first printed in 1798, in the fifth

[1] *Cases of Conscience* is reprinted in J. R. Smith's London edition of *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1862, pp. 219–288; and the *Advice* of the Boston Ministers of June 15, 1692, is on pp. 289, 290. The latter is copied into Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts* (ii. 52), with several verbal errors and omissions. It is omitted from *Salem Witchcraft*, 1867; and *Cases of Conscience* is not even mentioned in that work.

[2] The only original copy of this tract which I have seen is in the Library of the Mass. Hist. Society. It was printed at Philadelphia, by William Bradford, for Hezekiah Usher. Mr. Usher was one of the persons arrested for witchcraft. He was kept for two weeks in a private house, and then suffered to escape from the Province. Mr. Brattle (p. 69) complains of the partiality shown him, when other persons whose cases were the same were actually imprisoned, and refused bail on any terms. The tract has been reprinted in the *Congregational Quarterly*, Boston, July, 1869, ii. 401, and issued in a separate form. No mention is made of it in *Salem Witchcraft*, 1867.

[3] *History of Harvard College*, i. 410.

[4] The statement, often repeated, that a person of Mr. Brattle's character, standing, and dignity assisted Robert Calef in the preparation of his book (see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1858, p. 288; and *Salem Witchcraft*, ii. 461) is too improbable to be seriously considered.

volume of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, pp. 60–79. It contains much important information which is mentioned by no other writer. "I am very open," says Mr. Brattle, "to communicate my thoughts unto you, and in plain terms to tell you what my opinion is of the Salem methods." He describes and pronounces them "rude and barbarous methods." "This Salem philosophy," he says, "some men may call the new philosophy; but I think it deserves the name of Salem superstition and sorcery, and it is not fit to be named in a land of such light as New England is." Concerning the witnesses who confessed that they had made a league with the Devil, he says: —

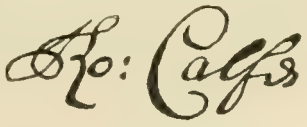
"They are deluded, imposed upon, and under the influence of some evil spirit; and, therefore, unfit to be evidences either against themselves or any one else. . . . But although the Chief Judge [Stoughton] and some of the other judges be very zealous in these proceedings, yet this you may take for a truth, that there are several about the Bay, men of understanding, judgment, and piety, inferior to few, if any, in New England, that do utterly condemn the said proceedings, and do freely deliver their judgment in the case to be this, viz: that these methods will utterly ruin and undo poor New England."

Several of them he mentions, — Simon Bradstreet, Thomas Danforth,[1] Increase Mather, Samuel Willard, and Nathaniel Saltonstall.

"Excepting Mr. Hale [of Beverly], Mr. Noyes and Mr. Parris [both of Salem], the reverend elders, almost throughout the whole country, are very much dissatisfied. The principal men of Boston, and thereabout, are generally agreed that irregular and dangerous methods have been taken as to these matters."

Cotton Mather's name does not appear in the narrative, except as the friend and comforter of the accused. Mr. Brattle (p. 76) says: "I cannot but think very honorably of the endeavors of a reverend person in Boston," whom he does not name, but the description fitly applies to Mr. Mather.[2]

7. Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1700.[3] "It is remarkable," says the writer of *Salem Witchcraft*, 1867 (ii. 461), "that Brattle does not mention Calef." No other writer of the date of 1692 mentions Calef. There is doubt at this day who Calef was, though the writer named says he was "a son of Robert Calef, of Roxbury." The name nowhere appears until the Salem tragedy had been acted, the curtain had dropped, the lights had gone out, and the community had recovered its senses. If he be the person mentioned, Calef must have been, from the best genealogical inferences which can now be drawn, a

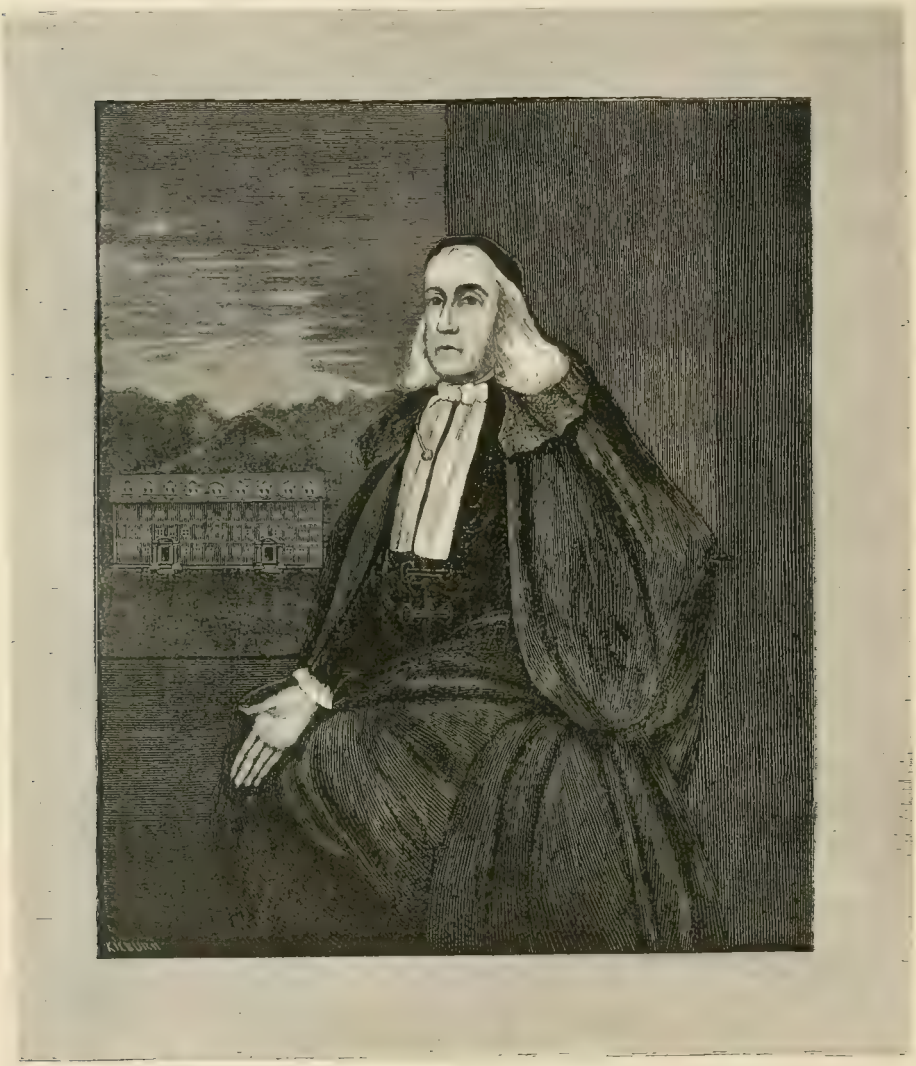


[1] For interview with Danforth, see *Sewall's Diary*, i. 367.

[2] See *North American Review*, 108, p. 387, where I have given the grounds on which this opinion was based. The compliment has been claimed for Mr. Willard; but Mr. Willard received his tribute of praise openly, and by name, on the preceding page.

[3] [It seems to have been issued in two London impressions in 1700, or at least Mr. Deane's copy has two titles which are different, but one is manuscript. — ED.]

boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age, flying his kite or trundling his hoop in the streets of Boston, when Mr. Brattle wrote his account. The reputation which has been associated with the name of Calef for the past century, as a stalwart agent in putting an end to Salem witchcraft, is an anachronism,



WILLIAM STOUGHTON.[1]

a myth, and a delusion. His personal history is a blank which the most assiduous investigation has not been able to fill, or even to supply with the most common details. It is not known where or when he was born, when

[1] [This likeness of the presiding Justice in the Salem witchcraft trials follows a portrait now hanging in Memorial Hall, at Cambridge. Unlike Sewall, he never was brought to acknowledge his error in the matter. His character is drawn in Dr. Ellis's chapter. — ED.]

he died, or where he was buried; and yet he lived in Boston, "the Metropolis of the English America," and his will is on file in the Suffolk Records.[1] In his book he styles himself "Merchant, of Boston;" in a deed executed shortly before he died, "Clothier;" and by Cotton Mather he is styled "Weaver;" "a man who makes little conscience of lying;" "a very wicked sort of a Sadducee," etc.

The earliest mention of the name of Robert Calef on record in connection with witchcraft is in an account of a visit he made, Sept. 13, 1693, at the house of Margaret Rule, she then being in the midst of her diabolical afflictions. Thirty or forty other persons were in the room. Increase and Cotton Mather called at the same time to administer spiritual consolation. Calef made a second visit six days later, when the Mathers were not present, and he wrote out an account of both visits, in which he freely used the names of the Mathers. These accounts he circulated in the community. Cotton Mather, hearing of the use he was making of their names, sent for the paper, and, on examining it, pronounced its statements base and malicious falsehoods, and threatened to prosecute him if he circulated the paper any further. A bitter and life-long quarrel was the result. Calef persisting in his course, Mr. Mather caused him to be arrested for libel. Calef thereupon wrote to Mr. Mather a letter, half-apologetical, professing to be "one that reverences your person and office," expressing his belief in witchcraft, and desiring an interview at the book-seller's, that they might exchange views on the subject of diabolism.[2] In consequence of this letter Mr. Mather did not appear against him; and on Jan. 15, 1693–94, wrote to him a very severe and fatherly letter,[3] stating that he found "scarcely any one thing in the whole paper, whether respecting my father or myself, fairly

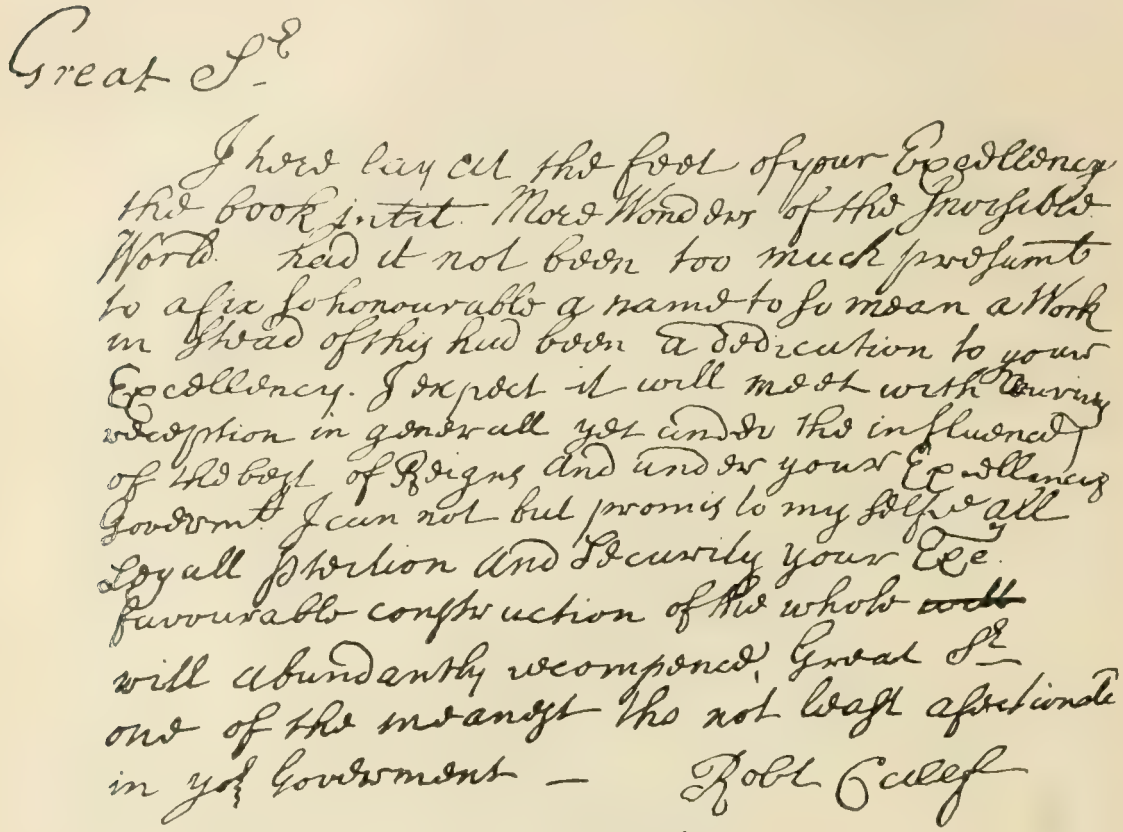
[1] Mr. S. G. Drake, in *Witchcraft Delusion in New England*, 1876, v. ii., gives the "Pedigree of Calef," and makes Robert Calef — the collector of *More Wonders* (for the book professes to have no *author*) — the fourth son of Robert Calef (or Calfe, or Calf; the name was variously written), who died at Roxbury, April 13, 1719, aged 71 years. Mr. Savage and many other writers make substantially the same statements, and they are probably correct. There is no uncertainty about the date of death or the age of the senior Robert Calef; for they are taken from his gravestone at Roxbury. He must, therefore, have been 44 years of age in 1692; and his fourth son Robert could not have been, in the natural order of events, more than 14 or 15 years old in 1692. Mr. Drake states that the son "died near the close of 1722 or early in 1723, aged about 45." Mr. Savage says: "Of his death we have no exact date; but it was between April [11] 1722 [when he released a mortgage deed, signing his name "Robert Calfe"] and Feb. 18 following, when his will was proved. Ever honored be his name!" etc. Assuming that he died late in 1722 or early in 1723, aged about 45, he would have been about 15 or 16 years of age in 1693 when his name first appears, and about 23 when his book was published.

Within the past five years a doubt has been suggested as to the identity of the person whose name is attached to the book. The doubt has arisen from the apparent improbability that one so young as the son could have written or compiled such a noted book. (See *N. E Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxx. 461; and F. S. Drake's *History of the Town of Roxbury*, 1878, p. 149). These writers claim that Robert Calef, Sr., and not the son, was the compiler, and the person whose memory we are expected to honor. I have not seen the evidence to justify either the statement or the expectation. There is nothing in the book which a person of the age of the son, with the help he had, could not have done; and there is much in it which can best be explained by assuming it to be the work of an immature youth. My conservative tendencies lead me to side with the older genealogists.

[2] *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 16. Original edition.

[3] Ibid., p. 19.

or truly represented." He points out at great length where Calef has done them both great injustice and injury. He proposed, in case Calef desired a true and full narrative of the visit, "whereof such an indecent


Great Sr

I here lay at the foot of your Excellency this book intit. More Wonders of the Invisible World. had it not been too much presumt to affix so honourable a name to so mean a Work in ye head of this had been a dedication to your Excellency. I expect it will meet with various reception in generall yet under the influence of the best of Reigns and under your Excellencys Govermt I can not but promis to my selfe all Loyall portion And Security your Excellencys favourable construction of the whole will abundantly recompence. Great Sr one of the meanest who not least aspire unto in yor Govermt — Robt Calef

LETTER TO BELLOMONT.[1]

travesty hath been made," to furnish one. He offered Calef the use of his library, and invited him to his study, if he cared to investigate the subject of witchcraft. Calef's conduct in this matter was that of an unscrupulous, conceited, and mischievous boy. He writes like a boy, beginning the narrative of his visit to Margaret Rule in this fashion: "In the evening, *when the sun was withdrawn, giving place to darkness to succeed*, I, with some others, *were* (*sic*) drawn by curiosity to see Margaret Rule."[2] Calef afterward wrote a succession of crude, rambling letters to Mr. Mather, Mr. Willard, Mr. Wadsworth, "To the Ministers, whether English, French, or Dutch," and "To the Ministers in and near Boston;" each one growing more presuming, until they became positively insulting and libel-

[1] [This fac-simile comes to the Editor through Mr. Deane, and is of an original letter in a copy of Calef's book in the Lenox Library, which seems to have been a presentation copy to Governor Bellomont. It was obtained by Mr. Lenox from Obadiah Rich, and bears the bookplate of Sir William Grace, Bart. — Ed.]

[2] *More Wonders*, p. 13.

lous. To none of these epistles did he receive a reply, and he felt chagrined at the indifference and contempt in which he was held by the clergy. Said Mr. Mather, in *Some Few Remarks* (pp. 34, 35):—

"I have had the honor to be aspersed and abused by Robert Calef. I remember that when this miserable man [he was then, 1701, twenty-three or twenty-four years of age] sent unto an eminent minister in the town [Mr. Willard] a libellous letter, which he has now published, and when he demanded an answer, that reverend person only said: 'Go, tell him that the answer to him and his letter is in the 26th of Proverbs and the 4th' ['Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him']. The reason that made me unwilling to trust any of my writings in the hands of this man was, because I saw the weaver (though he presumes to call himself a merchant) was a stranger to all the rules of civility; and I foresaw I should be served as now I find."

A large share of the credit which in modern times has been awarded to Robert Calef grows out of the impression that, in an age when everybody else believed in witches and witchcraft, he was a disbeliever in the whole theory of diabolism. If we assume that his book was an honest expression of his opinions, — but the Boston ministers, whom he libelled, held that there was nothing honest in the book, — he was not a disbeliever in witchcraft. "Not but that there are witches," he says in his preface (p. 3), "such as the law of God describes." Again (pp. 17, 18):—

"That there are witches is not the doubt; the Scriptures else were in vain, which assign their punishment to be by death; but what this witchcraft is, or wherein it does consist, seems to be the whole difficulty. . . . And [I] do further add, that as the Scriptures are full that there is witchcraft, so 'tis as plain that there are possessions; and that the bodies of the possessed have hence been not only afflicted, but strangely agitated, if not their tongues improved to foretell futurities, etc., and why not to accuse the innocent as bewitching them, having pretence to divination to gain credence. This being reasonable to be expected from him who is the father of lies, to the end that he may thereby involve a country in blood, malice, and evil, surmising which he greedily seeks after, and so finally lead them from their fear and dependence upon God to fear him, and a supposed witch, thereby attaining his end upon mankind."

With this full avowal of his belief in the then popular idea of witchcraft, he had a whimsey on the brain that witches could not "commissionate" (this was a favorite word of his) devils to afflict and molest mortals. This proposition, years after the trials were at an end, and when the community was slowly recovering from the sad memories of 1692, Calef was constantly bringing to the attention of the ministers, and challenging them to discuss it with him. What he had to say against the injustice of the methods of trying witches by spectral testimony at Salem had all been said, and better said, by the two Mathers, Mr. Willard, and the other Boston ministers. The obvious intent of Calef and the several unknown contributors who aided him was to malign the Boston ministers and to make a sensation.

It is difficult to determine how much of the book was written by Calef himself, or what responsibility he had in its compilation. The early letters were probably his own; though he prints them, he says, "with some small variation or addition." The later controversial letters over his initials, if he wrote them at all, he doubtless had assistance in. A Scotchman named Stuart contributed two letters to prove the reality of witchcraft. The historical portions, which are full of errors or something worse, and the review of Mather's *Life of Sir Wm. Phips*, must have been furnished by a person more mature than Calef. The reports of the Salem trials were copied bodily from Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*.

The book was printed in London in 1700, eight years after witch prosecutions in New England were forever at an end, and when the country was fully conscious of, and was mourning over, the dreadful scenes which had occurred at Salem. To religious minds it seemed like indecent sacrilege to tear open these healing wounds. For two years or more previous to the publication, Calef had been showing portions of his manuscript, and saying he should send it to England to be printed. The ministers were greatly annoyed thereby, for they knew they were misrepresented and slandered therein.[1] When the book was printed and came back to Boston, there was naturally great excitement and indignation concerning it. This feeling had little relation to any opinions Calef had expressed, or any statements he may have made, on the matter of witchcraft. That was an old and worn-out theme. The book was denounced and hated because it was an untruthful and atrocious libel on the public sentiment of Boston, and on the conduct of its ministers. Dr. Eliot says Increase Mather publicly burned the book at Harvard College. Mr. Mather had resided in England for four years as a preacher, and four years as an agent of the Massachusetts Colony. He had many personal friends and correspondents in England, and he was especially sensitive as to his reputation there. Cotton Mather was enraged beyond expression at the abuse which his father and himself received in the book.[2] Nothing so kindled the wrath of the son as abusive treatment of his father.

Besides the malicious innuendoes with which the book abounds, Calef directly charges both the Mathers with inciting, and being in full sympathy with, the Salem tragedies. "It is rather a wonder," he says, p. 153, "that no more blood was shed; for if that advice of his [the Governor's] pastors

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1858, p. 289.

[2] The measure of Mr. Mather's indignation may be inferred from the means he took to repress it. Nov. 5, 1700 (a copy of Calef's book had just arrived in Boston), he wrote in his Diary: "I set myself to beseech the Lord that he would assist me with his grace to carry it prudently and patiently, and not give way to any distemper under the buffets which are now likely to be given unto me, but imitate and represent the gentleness of my Saviour. And I resigned the whole matter unto the Lord, praying that my opportunities to glorify my Lord Jesus Christ might not be prejudiced Other supplications proper on this occasion I carried before the Lord; and a sweet calm was produced in my mind." Mr. Mather regarded himself as "the chief butt of his [Calef's] malice, though many other better servants of the Lord are most maliciously abused by him."—*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1858, p. 290.

[the two Mathers] could have still prevailed with the Governor, witchcraft had not been so shammed off as it was." The book charges the Boston ministers, in their advice of June 15, 1692, with endorsing the Salem methods. It accuses Cotton Mather with immodest conduct in handling Margaret Rule, and praying with her alone. It arraigns Mr. Mather for his management in the case of the Goodwin children, and for "kindling those flames that, in Sir William [Phips]'s time, threatened the devouring this country," — meaning Salem witchcraft. It misrepresents Mr. Willard's *Some Miscellany Observations* as "liable to a male (*sic*) construction, even to the endangering to revive what it most opposes, and to bring those practices again on foot which in the day thereof were so terrible to this whole country" (p. 38). Calef, or some one using his initials, wrote to Mr. Wadsworth, pastor of the First Church, and later President of Harvard College, criticising a sermon preached Jan. 14, 1697, on the occasion of a public fast, observed on account of the errors committed in the time of the late witchcrafts, and said: "For a minister of the gospel (pastor of the old meeting) to abet such notions, and to stir up the magistrates to such prosecutions, and this without any cautions given, is what is truly amazing, and of most dangerous consequence" (p. 53).

It is obvious that a book of this character, printed while all the men maligned in it were living, would make a sensation; and the only mystery about it is, that in modern times the animus of the book has been so misunderstood, and that its historical value and the character of its author have been so over-rated.

8. *Some Few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book against the Gospel and Ministry of New England, written by one Robert Calef*, 1701. This publication is an indignant reply, by seven members of the Second Church, to the charges which Calef's book had heaped upon their two ministers and the other clergymen of Boston. One of the writers was John Goodwin, the father of the children who had been strangely afflicted in 1688.[1]

On Dec. 4, 1700, Cotton Mather writes thus in his Diary: —

"My pious neighbors are so provoked at the diabolical wickedness of the man who has published a volume of libels against my father and myself, that they set apart whole days of prayer to complain unto God against him, and this day particularly."

Again, in February, he writes: —

"Neither my father nor myself thought it proper for us to publish unto the churches our own vindication from the vile reproaches and calumnies that Satan, by his instrument Calf, had cast upon us; but the Lord put it into the hearts of a con-

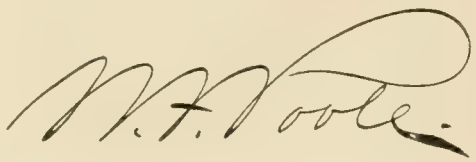
[1] John Goodwin here tells again the story of his domestic afflictions. He replies to Calef's slanders by stating that Cotton Mather had nothing to do with the case until his children had been under their strange molestations for three months; and then he invited Mr. Mather to his house, with other ministers, to pray for them. "Never before," he says, "had I the least acquaintance with him; he never advised me to anything concerning the law or trial of the accused persons," and "matters were managed by me in prosecution of the supposed criminal wholly without the advice of any minister or lawyer, or any other person" (p. 46).

siderable number of our flock, who are in their temporal condition more equal unto our adversary, to appear in our vindication. . . . The book being hereupon printed, the Lord blesses it for the illumination of his people in many points of our endeavor to serve them, whereof they had been ignorant."

Calef made no reply in print, though Mr. Mather intimates in his Diary, April 5, that Calef was going on with his scribblings; and witchcraft soon ceased to be a subject of public comment in New England. Except for Calef's book the discussion would have ended six or eight years earlier.

The theory of witchcraft, after the methods of its treatment had been reformed, was as harmless as the doctrine of Foreordination in the Westminster Catechism. The belief, however, in the reality of witchcraft retained its hold on the popular mind for many years later. What has been called "the explosion of the witchcraft delusion," immediately following and in consequence of the Salem executions, is itself a delusion. Twenty years afterward, when the General Court reversed the attainders of the persons executed in 1692, and voted compensation to their families, the public act of the Court began thus: "Forasmuch as, in the year of our Lord 1692, two several towns within this Province were infested with a horrible witchcraft or possession of devils," etc.; and it assigns as the cause of those errors "the influence and energy of the evil spirits, so great at that time, acting in and upon those who were the principal accusers and witnesses, proceeding so far as to cause a prosecution to be had of persons of known and good reputation."[1]

As the men of that generation passed away, the opinion became prevalent that the strange manifestations which had amazed the beholders were acts of fraud and deception on the part of the "afflicted children;" and when Governor Hutchinson wrote, seventy years later, this was his opinion, and largely that of the educated men of his day. A belief, however, in spiritual and diabolical agency has never wholly faded out from the minds of the masses.[2] In our day it has been revived by a school or sect which claims to have six million adherents in the United States. Those who hold the doctrines of modern "Spiritualism" will see in the elevation of Margaret Rule from her bed, — which they call "levitation," — and in the conduct of the "afflicted children," incidents which have occurred under their own eyes, or are recorded as verities in the books in which they have implicit confidence.



[1] Woodward's *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 1864, ii. 216

[2] Aug. 3, 1863, an aged deaf-and-dumb person, at Castle Hedingham, Essex County, England, who was supposed to be a wizard, was subjected to the Hopkins water-test by a mob of small tradesmen, and died from his injuries. *Annual Register*, 1863, p 147.

CHAPTER V.

LORD BELLOMONT AND CAPTAIN KIDD.

BY THE REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D.,
Minister of the South Congregational Church.

ON the 25th of August, 1695, the flag was out at the Castle almost all day for Pincarton. Pincarton was master of a merchantman in the English trade; and in the evening his vessel and he came up the bay. Pincarton announced that the Earl of Bellomont was made Governor of New England, as successor to Sir William Phips.

He was the first live lord who had ever governed the independent little province, — and the last. And the independent little province was by no means indifferent to the honor of having a lord to be its governor. This was a very amiable lord. He was a lord who was willing to go to the Thursday lecture, and to make himself generally agreeable. He would drink a glass of good Madeira with the sturdiest Puritan there was left among them, and do the honors of the Province House affably to all comers. King William had not hit the popular sentiment when he appointed that blaspheming old sailor, Sir William Phips, to govern these sensitive and jealous Independents. Their leaders were gentlemen, — and they were well pleased to have a gentleman at their head. They were not pleased to lose the old right of choosing their governor. But, next to that, it was a good thing to have a king who was not a Stuart, and to have a governor attached to the Liberal party, who had come from the House of Commons, in the place of an adventurer from their own frontier, promoted from the forecastle.

Pincarton's news was confirmed the next month, when Mr. Edward Brattle arrived, after a six weeks' run from Falmouth in England; but he reported that Lord Bellomont would hardly come over before spring. The other news he brought, as Judge Sewall reports it, was that the Confederates had had success against Namur, Cassel, etc.; and that the "Venetians have gained a great victory over the Turks in the Morea," — a scrap of intelligence which connects the politics of those days with those of to-day.

The news that Bellomont was to be appointed governor had thus leaked out early. In fact, it was more than a year after these notes of Sewall that the king directed the Board of Trade to prepare Bellomont's commission. He was to unite the governments of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York; and to hold the military command of their forces, and those of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and the Jerseys. Matters moved slowly. Bellomont's instructions were not finished till Sept. 9, 1697; his vessel, when he sailed, was blown off the coast of New York, and obliged to take refuge in Barbadoes, and he did not arrive in New York until April 2, 1698. It was in the period after he had been named as governor, before he sailed, that he concluded, in London, his celebrated agreement with William Kidd for the suppression of piracy, which led to the most interesting events in his American administration. It was not, as Macaulay supposed, a plan which suggested itself to Bellomont in New York after his arrival in his government.

When, at last, Lord Bellomont arrived at New York, the General Court of Massachusetts sent a delegation to present to him their resolutions of respect. Of this respect he was not unworthy. He was, according to Macaulay, "a man of eminently fair character, upright, courageous, and independent." In the few years of his American administration he did nothing to forfeit this character. "I send you, my Lord, to New York," said William, "because an honest and intrepid man is wanted to put these abuses down, and because I believe you are such a man." The abuses were those connected with privateering, which readily passed into piracy. Teach, or Blackbeard, Tew, Bradish, and Bellamy are names which still linger in ballads, or in the *Pirate's Own Book*;[1] while other names of rascals less famous may be traced in the colonial records, or are preserved in the local annals of the sea-board towns.

As soon as Bellomont arrived in New York, he addressed himself heartily to this business of suppressing piracy; and his letters home show energy and spirit. He distinctly charges Fletcher, his predecessor, with issuing commissions to pirates in the Red Sea and the East Indies, and reports that Fletcher was on the most intimate terms with them when they returned with their plunder. These pirates, he says, were fitted out from Rhode Island and New York. Bellomont did not hesitate to call New York a "nest of pirates;" and, what was worse, he proved it.

[1] It is possible that no less a person than Benjamin Franklin is the author of the spirited lines, —

"Then each man to his gun,
For the work must be done,
With cutlass, sword, or pistol;
And when we no longer can strike a blow,
Then fire the magazine, boys, and up we go.
It is better to swim in the sea below
Than to hang in the air, and to feed the crow,
Said jolly Ned Teach of Bristol."

In naming his apprentice ballads, Franklin says: "The other was a sailor's song, on the taking of Teach, or Blackbeard, the pirate. They were wretched stuff." Franklin's ballad has never been found, unless the verse above, which I owe to the accurate memory of Dr. George Hayward, be a part of it. The other ballad which Franklin names was the "Light House Tragedy," and was based on the loss of Captain Worthilake and his daughters. The history of the "Tragedy" belongs in another chapter.

To suppress these very piracies, Bellomont, as already stated, had in London associated himself with William Kidd of New York in fitting out the

Bellomont [1]

[1] [This cut follows a photograph given in President de Peyster's *Address on the Life and Administration of Bellomont*, 1879, as from a painting of the Governor. It does not, however, closely

"Adventure galley." Robert Livingston of New York introduced Kidd[1] to Bellomont, and recommended him as a suitable person for this business.[2] Kidd had taken a manly part in the Leisler disturbances a few years before. We have the full contract between Kidd, Bellomont, and Livingston. At Bellomont's instance, a number of people of quality subscribed for the outfit of the galley. They formed what we should now call a "joint-stock company." The king was to receive one tenth of whatever the vessel brought home, and Halifax, Somers, and Bellomont were among the subscribers. In this vessel Kidd sailed for New York, where he selected his crew. Fletcher, who was acting as Governor of New York, and himself commissioning the very pirates whom Kidd was to suppress, reported unfavorably of the expedition. He said as soon as they sailed, on June 22, 1697: "It is generally believed here they will have money, *per fas aut nefas;* that if he miss the design intended it will not be in Kidd's power to govern such a horde of men under no pay." But Fletcher was in opposition, and there were other and good reasons for distrusting his opinion. Kidd's first destination was to be the Indian Ocean. Thither he sailed, and for a year nothing definite was heard of him.

In August, 1698, however, the new East India Company reported to the Government that, instead of suppressing the pirates, he had on several occasions turned pirate himself. Especially they complained that he had captured a ship belonging to the Great Mogul, with whom England was on friendly relations. This ship was called the "Quedah Merchant." The Government, therefore, sent to all the provinces of America a set of circulars to procure Kidd's arrest. This proved easy; for in 1699 he appeared in Delaware Bay, in a sloop with fifty men. He had previously been heard from at Nevis. And at last he "sailed into the Sound of New York, and set goods on shore at several places there, and afterwards went to Rhode Island."

He established himself for a time at Gardner's Island, at the head of Long Island Sound, and sent word to Bellomont at Boston, by a man named Emmott, that he had with him ten thousand pounds worth of goods; that he had left the "Quedah Merchant" at Hispaniola, in a creek there, with a valuable cargo, and that he would prove his innocence of what he had been charged with.

Bellomont laid Kidd's letters before the Council on the 19th, and also informed them "that said Emmott had delivered unto his Excellency two

resemble a contemporary copper-plate engraving ($4\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches), showing the Earl in full armor, with a flowing wig, and inscribed, "His Excellencie Richard Coote, Earle of Bellomont & Lord Coote Colooney, in the Kingdom of Ireland; Governor of New England, New York, New Hampshire, and Vice-Admirall of those seas," of which there is a copy in Harvard College Library. — Ed.]

[1] [Kidd had already appeared in Massachusetts history, when, in 1691, he had been commissioned by Bradstreet and the Council "to suppress an enemy privateer now on this coast." — 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 122 — Ed.]

[2] The articles of agreement signed by Kidd with Bellomont and Livingston are in O'Callaghan's *New York*, iv. 762. It is, perhaps, worth notice that the partnership between another Robert Livingston with another New York adventurer, a hundred and ten years afterward, started another "Adventure galley," on a voyage from which has grown the steam navigation of the world. She was afterward called the "Clermont," and made her first voyage in August, 1807.

French passes found in two ships taken by the said Kidd's company by violence against his will." In a letter home at the same time, Bellomont describes Kidd's messenger as "a cunning Jacobite, a fast friend of Fletcher's, and my avowed enemy."

The council records of Massachusetts, recently copied in England for the State, give a full account of the transactions when this letter was presented. They also give in full Bellomont's letter in reply. Kidd relied upon it as a safe-conduct, or passport; and it must be confessed that its language is almost as strong as can be used. Bellomont was evidently conscious that his former relations with Kidd made it necessary for him to proceed with the utmost caution. He therefore drew this letter in the council chamber, while the Council was in session, submitted it to them, and received their approval.

The letter was in the following words: —

"I have advised with his Majesty's Council, and showed them this letter, and they are of opinion if your case be so clear as you (or Mr. Emmott for you) have said, you may safely come hither and be equipped or fitted out to go to fetch the other ship; and I make no doubt but to obtain the King's pardon for you and those few men you have left, which I understand have been faithful to you, and refused, as well as you, to dishonor the Commission you had from England. I assure you on my word and honor I will nicely perform what I have promised, and not to meddle with the least bitt of whatever goods or treasure you bring here, but that the same shall be left with such trusty persons as the Council shall advise until I receive orders from England how it shall be disposed of. Which letter being read was approved of by the Board."

This safe-conduct accounts for any audacity Kidd showed in coming to Boston. Livingston came here also. He told Bellomont that unless he gave up his bond for ten thousand pounds, Kidd would never give up the "Quedah Merchant" and her rich cargo. The council records give us the full account of what passed between the Governor and Kidd: —

"*In Council, July* 3, *at his Excellency's House.* Captain William Kidd, by command of his Excellency, having been summoned to appear before his Excellency and Council this day at five o'clock, post meridiem, to give an account of his proceedings in his late voyage to Madagascar, the said Kidd accordingly appeared, and prayed his Lordship to allow him some time and he would prepare an account in writing of his proceedings, and present to his Lordship and the Board. Time was granted him to prepare and bring in his narrative until to-morrow at five o'clock, post meridiem, as also an invoice of the bill of lading on board the sloop and the ship, attested to by himself and some of his principal officers, with a list of the names of the men on board the sloop and ship, and of those who belonged to the 'Adventure Galley,' who, he alleges, refused to obey his commands, and evil entreated him and deserted the said ship. And the Council adjourned unto the said day and hour, after Captain Kidd had given a summary account of the lading on board his sloop now in port, and also on board the ship left at Hispaniola. His Excellency appointed Captain Hawes, Deputy-Collector, to put some waiters on board."

The next day Kidd appeared, but said he had not had time to prepare his account. The Council accordingly gave him till the next day, when he did not appear, and was sent for. When he arrived he said he had mistaken the hour, which he thought was to be in the evening at five o'clock. After he retired, "His Excellency communicated to the Lieut.-Governor and some others of the Council several letters which he had received from the Government in England, expressly commanding him to seize and secure the said Captain Kidd and his accomplices with their vessels and goods." It is to be observed that seventeen days had now elapsed since Bellomont sent the safe-conduct. It is possible that he had received these instructions since that time. But, as the alarm about Kidd's piracy had reached England eleven months before, it is more probable that these were the circular orders before alluded to, and that Bellomont had had them from the beginning. The record proceeds: "His Excellency having caused Captain Kidd to be seized and apprehended, said Kidd having neglected to give in a narrative in writing of his proceedings, etc., by the time set him, and some of the company being had upon examination before the Board, the same [*i.e.* the Board] was thereby hindered from going upon any business of the Court; and after some time spent in taking said examinations, adjourned to nine to-morrow." The next day, which was the 7th of July, Kidd was brought before them; and it was ordered that he be committed to prison by *mittimus* by some members of the Board who were justices of the peace. On July 11 —

"Captain William Kidd and his accomplices, lately apprehended within this province for committing divers acts of piracy, on examination severally, acknowledging and agreeing thereon that they left a prize ship, of the burden of four hundred tons or upwards, which they took in the seas in India, at Hispaniola in the West Indies, safely moored in a river there, and in the care of Henry Bolton and eighteen or twenty men more, and a considerable quantity of bale goods of India, saltpetre, iron, sugar, etc., on board of the same, —

"*Advised*, that his Lordship do forthwith cause to be taken up, equipped, and manned for his Majesty's service a suitable ship, with good force, to be managed and applied on the aforesaid affair." Which is, "the securing and bringing away said ship and lading left there by said Kidd and his company, the charge thereof to be answered and secured by the goods and treasure imported here by said Kidd and company, now under seizure and in custody."

Additional stringency was given to all these proceedings from the fact that just before Kidd's arrest the pirate Bradish, who was in Boston jail, succeeded in escaping with one Tee Witherly, another pirate, with the complicity of the maid of the prison-keeper, and, as the Council believed, by the fault of Ray, the jailer. Ten days after Kidd was committed to jail, the Council, being informed that he was kept in the prison-keeper's house, directed that he should be put in the stone prison and ironed.

Kidd had not come to Boston with any sign of anxiety. He had brought

his wife with him,[1] and she had brought her maid. They had left the sloop — the "Antonia" — at the wharf, and had taken their lodgings at Duncan Campbell's. Campbell's house must have been the most luxurious house of entertainment in Boston, for it was here that Bellomont himself had been received only a few weeks before. At that time Campbell received seven pounds six shillings and four pence for providing for the Earl's entertainment. Bellomont had made Campbell his messenger in communicating with Kidd, — Kidd being his countryman, that is, a Scotchman, and his acquaintance. Campbell is described by Dunton as "a bookseller, who dresses *à la mode;* who is a very virtuous person, extremely charming; whose company is coveted by the best gentlemen in Boston, nor is he less accessible to the fair sex."

When Kidd was arrested, Mrs. Kidd's trunk was broken open, and there was taken from it "a silver tankard, a silver mug, silver porringer, spoons, forks, and other pieces of plate, and two hundred and sixty pieces of eight." These Madam Sarah Kidd claimed as her own, and also asked that twenty-five English crowns, the property of her maid, might be refunded to her. The Council granted this petition. The next week Sarah Kidd asked permission to attend upon her husband in prison, "he being under strait durance and in want of necessary assistance, as well as from your petitioner's affection to her husband."

While Kidd was in jail he proposed to Bellomont that he should be taken as a prisoner to Hispaniola to bring back the "Quedah Merchant." He stated the value of her cargo to be fifty or sixty thousand pounds of treasure, which could not otherwise be recovered. But Bellomont was afraid to send him; although if the "Quedah" were a lawful prize, four-fifths of this very treasure belonged to Bellomont and his companions. To this "great refusal" of Bellomont do we owe it that no man knows where that treasure is to-day. It is the treasure in search of which the hill-sides of southern Rhode Island have been honey-combed, and for which adventurous divers are at this moment looking under the waters of the Hudson River.[2]

It is to be observed that when the pirate Bellamy was shipwrecked, eighteen years afterwards, on Cape Cod,[3] his ship was the "Whidah." It is not a violent supposition that when Kidd's men found their captain was gone

[1] Kidd had married her in New York. She was Mrs. Sarah Oort, "the widow of a former friend and fellow-officer," President de Peyster says. She is said "to have been a lovely and

accomplished woman." Lovely she may have been, but she could not write her own name. Her petitions are signed by her attorney with "S. K.," rudely printed by her as her "mark." *Massachusetts Archives*, lxii.

[2] [About forty years ago occurred one of the periodical revivals of the loose traditionary stories regarding Kidd and his concealed treasure, and some pretended revelations were made to connect a sunken hulk in the Hudson highlands with his name. At this time Mr. Henry C. Murphy made a careful examination of Kidd's career, and published a paper upon the subject in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, 1846, i. 39. There is a note as to treasures left by Kidd at Gardner's Island, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1877, p. 332 — Ed.]

[3] See the chapter in this volume by H. E. Scudder.

they took the "Quedah" for themselves. Twenty years is not a long period of life for a ship built in the East Indies. It may well be that Kidd's lost treasure-ship is the same vessel which was wrecked, twenty years after, on the back of Cape Cod.

On Sept. 12 the Admiralty, who had heard of the arrest of Kidd, sent off a vessel to take him and his crew to England; but she met contrary winds, and returned. Another frigate, the "Advice," was sent, and did not bring back her prisoner until the April of the following year. He was kept in prison in England a long time. When Somers, the Whig chancellor, was prosecuted by the Tories in the House of Commons, in April, 1701, one charge against him was that of having been implicated in Kidd's affairs. Although Somers was not tried upon this charge, Kidd was tried under the same Government both for murder and for piracy; in the latter accusation several of his crew were joined with him.

The murder which Kidd was supposed to have committed was that of Moore, his gunner, whose death resulted from a blow given by a water bucket in a fight, without premeditation. No sentence but that of manslaughter was justified by the evidence brought against him. He was, however, found guilty of murder. In the trial for piracy, which followed, he was treated with the same injustice and severity. He claimed that his commission justified his seizing the "Quedah Merchant," for, he said, she was sailing under a French pass when he took her. If any such pass existed, it was in Bellomont's possession. Kidd could not produce it. But, as our readers know, Bellomont acknowledges in his report to the Council that he received at Emmott's hands two such French passes. Kidd's death had been determined upon, and he was hanged.[1]

A well-known ballad has preserved his name, although incorrectly; even in the early editions he is called Robert instead of William, which was his real name. The man he killed has been more fortunate, and we still sing with sufficient correctness, as regards the name, —

"I murdered William Moore, as I sailed, as I sailed."

Our law holds a man innocent till he is proved guilty. In this view we may say that Kidd was an innocent man. But he certainly departed from his orders in taking the "Quedah Merchant;" he remained in the East longer than the time in which he had promised to return; and innocent men do not need such concealment in their goings and comings.

Bellomont's letters are now entirely made public, and they show that he supposed Kidd to have departed from his orders, and that he did not himself dare to join him in enjoying a treasure gained by such doubtful means. The letters are entirely consistent. The seizure of the "Quedah" was

[1] [Kidd's trial in London is reported in *State Trials*, xiv. 123; and Palfrey, *New England*, iv. ch. vi., who gives a judicious account of the matter, expresses surprise at Macaulay's inaccuracy when this report was accessible. An authorized report of it was also published in London in 1701, called *The Arraignment, Tryal, and Condemnation of Captain William Kidd*, etc., of which there was an abridgment issued in 1703. — ED.]

lawful if the French pass existed, and Bellomont and his friends would then have come into possession of four-fifths of sixty thousand pounds. It can hardly be supposed that his political enemies should have terrified him into losing a considerable fortune, and destroying an innocent man.

At the time of the trial no one pretended that Kidd was not guilty. The severest criticism made upon the affair was that Bellomont, Somers, and Halifax were guilty too.[1]

To avoid breaking in on the story of Kidd, we have followed it to its close without interruption. We have also spoken of Lord Bellomont at the council chamber in Peter Sergeant's house, as if we always had lords presiding at the council chamber, and were quite used to such grandeur. As the reader knows, this is not so. The Council had sent General Winthrop and Elisha Cooke (of Cooke's Court) and Penn Townsend, Speaker of the House, with John Rogers for a chaplain, as commissioners to New York to pay the new governor their respects.[2] Before the commissioners left, the Council received a letter from him announcing his arrival, and thanking them for the piety which had ordered prayers for him in the Fast proclamation. "He did not doubt he fared the better for them," — an expression which was probably genuine, for Bellomont seems to have been a sincerely devout man. Bellomont's letter was sealed with a device bearing three birds, and Judge Sewall was well pleased with himself that at the council meeting he suggested that they were *coots*, — Coote being Bellomont's family name. It was more than a year before he left New York for Boston. In more than one of his letters home he explains to the Government that he cannot live in New York, because of the parsimony of the Assembly, while if he resides in Massachusetts the Assembly there treats him more handsomely. His first arrival in Boston was on May 26, 1699. A fit of the gout had seized him on the sea, but he addressed himself manfully to business; and after a stay of two months in Boston, in which time Kidd appeared and was arrested, he went further eastward to visit his other provinces. He officiated at the Artillery election of that year, and delivered the spontoons — as in the ceremony still preserved — to Walley the captain and Byfield the lieutenant.

The Assembly had hired of Peter Sergeant the house which afterwards became the Province House, that they might properly entertain Lord Bellomont. The rent was a hundred pounds. Sewall speaks once and again of official meetings in the house. And, on the 20th of July, the General Court was sent for to wait upon the Governor there, and there he pro-

[1] [Mr. Joseph B. Felt, in 1845, acting under a commission from the Governor of Massachusetts, made an abstract of papers relating to Kidd found in the State Paper Office in London, which seem to have been sent over by Bellomont to the Lords of Trade; and in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1852, he printed this abstract; and later, in 1862, he threw the material into the form of a lecture, but with much absence of literary finish, which is printed in the *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.*, iv. 28. Kidd's story, as ordinarily told, can be found in Mrs. H. P. Spofford's *New England Legends*, 1871.—Ed.]

[2] One hundred pounds was allowed the commissioners for their expenses, and the chaplain received ten pounds for his.

rogued them. A little glimpse of daily life peeps out in Sewall's Diary on the 25th of July, when he "has my Lady up upon Cotton Hill" and shows her the town. The view is still remembered by persons of sixty years old, and has fortunately been preserved in a painting which has been engraved for a later volume of this history. Sewall goes on: —

"Madam Sergeant, Nanfan,[1] Newton there; and Major-general and Mr. Sergeant. Mrs. Tuthill's daughters invited my Lady as came down, and gave a glass of good wine.

"As came down again through the gate, I asked my Lady's leave that now I might call it Bellomont Gate. My Lady laughed, and said, 'What a compliment he puts on me!' With pleasancy."

Bellomont was entirely successful in his efforts to ingratiate himself with the leaders of the little Puritan town. Hutchinson, whose father remembered him, preserves the two anecdotes which have been often repeated, and makes us wish he had condescended to give us more. The General Court in that day always adjourned to attend the Thursday lecture. Bellomont always went with them, and no single act could have done more to conciliate such men as Sewall and most of the ministers. One day, as Bellomont returned with a great crowd around him to his house from the lecture, he passed Bullivant the apothecary, loitering at his shop door. Bullivant was no lecture-goer. He had been imprisoned as one of Andros's friends. As Lord Bellomont passed, he said, "Ah, doctor, you have lost a precious sermon to-day." Bullivant observed in an under-tone, "If I could have got as much by being there as his Lordship will, I would have been there too." Hutchinson also records a speech of the Governor to his wife when his table was filled with representatives from the country towns: "Dame, we should treat these gentlemen well, — they give us our bread."

The crisis compelled by Kidd's arrest brought to the surface the latent determination of what may be called the Independent party not to refer judicial cases to England if they could help it. The reader will remember that the Superior Court dissolved itself and left the country without its highest judiciary, because the Crown had refused its assent to the provincial laws for its establishment. On Feb. 6, 1699–1700, Bellomont called a council to take advice about sending the pirates to England. Kidd had been imprisoned since the 6th of June. Bradish and Witherly had once escaped, but had been re-captured. Bellomont had himself written home, "These pirates I have in jail make me very uneasy for fear they should escape. I would give £100 if they were all in Newgate." There was no province law for punishing piracy with death, and the "Advice" frigate had been sent from England to take them on board. When the Council met at Bellomont's call, Judge Sewall said stiffly, that, before the pirates could be collected from New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, the Governor could call the Assembly together and they

[1] The wife of the Lieut.-Governor of New York, who was Lady Bellomont's cousin.

would gladly rid themselves of such men. At this the Governor seemed displeased, — and well he might. It implied that the Governor himself, even with the advice of the Council, had no right to transport these men for trial.[1] Sewall goes on: —

"I had asked before what pirates, and the Governor said them and their associates. Governor mentioned Kidd, Gillam, Bradish, Witherly, to be sent aboard presently for better security. Council voted to leave it to the Governor's discretion whom to send aboard; only the Governor had said to some that enquired, he intended not [to let] them out upon bail. I think only I, Colonel Townsend, and Captain Byfield were in the negative. I said I was not clear in it. The grounds I went upon were because I knew of no power I had to send men out of the province. Captain Byfield said he was for their going aboard, but reckoned it was not so safe to send them presently as to keep them in jail."

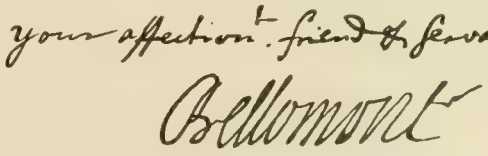
Poor Sewall and his friends were in a minority of three against ten in the Council. It was certainly as hard a case as could have been selected on which to test the colony's independence of English interference.

Sewall's note of the treasure sent makes it out to be an iron chest of gold, pearls, etc.; forty bales of East India goods, thirteen hogsheads, chest and case, and one negro man, and Venturo Resail, an East Indian, born at Ceylon. The capture was thought to be worth fourteen thousand pounds.

Judge Sewall preserves the memory of another incident which shows his sensitiveness perhaps, but, at the same time, the respect paid to the Governor. On Dec. 30, 1698, Stoughton, the Lieut.-Governor, made a great dinner-party for the Council. Sewall was not invited, though he was a member of the Council. On which occasion he says: —

"The grievousness of this proetermission is, that by this means I shall be taken up into the lips of talkers, and shall be obnoxious to the Governor at his coming, as a person deserted and fit to be hunted down, if occasion be; and in the meantime shall go feebly up and down my business as one who is quite out of the Lieut.-Governor's favor. The Lord pardon my share in the abounding of iniquity, by reason whereof the love of many waxes cold."

Bellomont left Boston for New York by sea on the 17th of July, having resided in his eastern dominions about fourteen months. He died on Wednesday the 5th of March of the next year. The news arrived in Boston on Saturday the 15th. The Assembly was immediately prorogued. "The town is sad," Sewall[2] writes; and afterward, "the Artillery Company gave



[1] "For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences," — this was one of the reasons given for breaking with King George seventy-six years afterward in the war of Independence.

[2] *Sewall Papers*, ii. 33.

three volleys in the middle of the town when they came out of the field, with regard to my Lord." [1]

Considering the very full materials which exist for the study of the history of Kidd, and his connection with the Crown and its officers, the number and seriousness of the errors regarding him in the popular mind and in more stately history are equally remarkable. Lord Campbell, in his *Life of Somers*, condenses the story into these lines: —

"Captain Kid was regularly commissioned 'to sink, burn, and destroy pirates;' but on arriving in the Indian Seas he turned pirate himself, and cruised against the commerce of all nations indiscriminately till, after a sharp engagement with an English frigate, in which several fell on both sides, he was captured and brought home in irons."

As the reader knows, this action with the English frigate is entirely imaginary. Lord Campbell probably had in his mind some ballad, with a true or false description of the surrender of some other pirate. Even Macaulay does not escape from the incoherency of others. But it is to be remembered that his notice of Kidd is in one of his posthumous chapters, which he had no opportunity of correcting. His statement of Kidd's adventures begins with a supposed interview in New York between Bellomont and a veteran mariner named William Kidd, of whom a picturesque account is then given. Bellomont recommends the king to commission him, and the king refuses. Bellomont then writes to his friends in England, complaining of their want of public spirit, and proposing a private adventure, in which they engage. All this, as the reader knows, passed in London, not in New York, and the description of Kidd may be taken as largely imaginary. At the end, "Kidd, having burned his ship and dismissed most of his men, who easily found berths in the sloops of other pirates, returned to New York with the means, as he flattered himself, of making his peace and of living in splendor." Properly interpreted, this means that Kidd did not burn his ship, did not dismiss his men, and that he sent to the Governor for a safe-guard, which he received. With it he came to Boston (not New York), and, after consultation, was arrested. Macaulay had the idea that Kidd had seen many "old buccaneers living in comfort and credit at New York and Boston." Since he wrote, that notion has been presented elsewhere to the public. The New York annalists can speak for their own city. In this book it is only necessary to say, that neither in

[1] [The story of Kidd's career is examined with a view to vindicate Bellomont in *A full Account of the Proceedings in relation to Captain Kidd in two Letters, written by a Person of Quality to a Kinsman of the Earl of Bellomont, in Ireland*, London, 1701; the publisher of which closes his address to the reader thus: "As soon as the unhappy news [of Bellomont's death] came to Boston, where the General Assembly was then sitting, a proclamation was published by the Deputy-Governor and Council, upon the unanimous address of the Assembly, for appointing a general Fast to bewail the loss of such a Governor as a public calamity, — so much was his virtue known and esteemed abroad, while he was so unreasonably persecuted in his native country." An account of the seat and family of Bellomont is given in *Heraldic Journal*, i. 166: (corrected) iii. 24. — Ed.]

tradition nor in the local annals is there any trace of such inhabitants. There is no candlestick, or pistol, or tea-pot, said to be an inheritance from so romantic a source. There is no old house said to have been built by such ill-gotten gains. Nor is there, in the full registers of mercantile business and of taxation, any single memorandum which has been pointed at as the evidence of such residence. It has been suggested that Phips's reputation was bad enough to permit calling him a buccaneer. But there is nothing to justify such a charge but the supposition that Phips's commission from the king authorized him to cruise as a privateer.[1] Privateering and buccaneering are entirely different things, and Macaulay should never have confounded the one with the other.

On the other hand, we have the material from which we could make almost a directory of the little town, of which the population did not foot up more than fifteen hundred families. We have Judge Sewall's and Dunton's very full accounts of their affairs, with frequent notes on the lives of the men of wealth at whose funerals Sewall assisted, or of whose dinners Dunton partook. In all such authorities there is no intimation that any man had been a buccaneer. What is even more conclusive is the fact that the life of Boston would have been detestable to any such man, unless he had been thoroughly converted from the error of his ways. A town where he could hardly play cards, where he would be expected to sing psalms at an evening party, and be compelled to stay in the house on Sundays, or to go to meeting twice, would be hateful to him. It would have been the last place for him to seek as a harbor after the storms of life.

It is possible that Macaulay remembered the statement that John Hull's mint proved valuable to buccaneers and pirates, in converting their plunder into pine-tree shillings. The mint may have been sometimes useful for them, but there is not a word of contemporary evidence to that effect.[2] There are severe reports condemning the mint from the officers of the London mint, but they do not hint at any such use, which they would gladly have done had they heard of it. And, indeed, the operations of the New England mint were so small that it could hardly have served any pirate's purpose. In 1661, when it was doing as much as it ever did, apparently, the General Court tried to obtain from the mint-master some little royalty as its part of the profit. Hull offered ten pounds as "a free gift to the country," and would pay no more. The committee of the Court asked for five per cent on Hull's royalty, which was sixty-two pounds on every thousand coined.

[1] Cromwell, whose story is told in Vol. I. p. 509, was no buccaneer or freebooter. He was a privateer, sailing under Warwick's commission. Kidd never saw him, for he died in 1649. He was in Boston but a few weeks, and lived by choice in one of the poorest hovels in the town.

[2] Hutchinson's statement is very accurate, and must be taken for just what it says, and no more. At the date of 1652 he says: "The trade of the province increasing, especially with the West Indies, where the buccaneers or pirates at this time were numerous, and part of the wealth which they took from the Spaniards, as well as what was produced by the trade, being brought to New England in bullion, it was thought necessary for preventing fraud in money to create a mint." He does not say that the buccaneers brought their silver; and his remark applies only to 1652, misprinted in his volume 1651.

But Hull and his partner refused absolutely to give this. When this report was presented, the Court voted to accept the offer of ten pounds, "and what else the committee could get." And, so far as appears, this is all they ever did get from the past coinage. On the estimate of their committee, ten pounds would represent a coinage of only three thousand pounds. Six years after, Hull and Sanderson agreed to pay forty pounds for the years intervening, and ten pounds annually in future; and in 1675 they agree to pay twenty pounds. If we suppose that this agreement was as favorable as that which the committee proposed, the coinage was then only six thousand pounds a year. The mint-house and all the apparatus cost £395 12*s.* 2*d.* This does not indicate a large outfit.

Such are the reasons for warning those who wish to make historical romances from early Boston history, that they will be rash if they introduce on the scene retired buccaneers "living in splendor" on their ill-gotten booty.

Edward E. Hale

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

BY THE REV. ALEXANDER McKENZIE, D.D.,

Pastor of the First Church in Cambridge.

THERE were in Boston at the beginning of this period three Congregational churches. They were the churches of the founders of Boston and the colony. In faith and order they were "to the manner born." They expressed the purpose and the genius of the Puritan pilgrims to this open land. But there was among the people less unanimity of feeling than in earlier years. Public morality and simplicity were less conspicuous. Half a century had been long enough to revive class distinctions and class interests, which in more perilous days had been suffered to slumber. There had come to be a local aristocracy which asserted itself and was acknowledged. This party was most in sympathy with the king and his friends, and most submissive to their new measures which had created the province. With this party the clergymen, to a considerable extent, were allied. They were largely dependent upon the good-will of the leading men, especially in Boston, where they were sustained by voluntary offerings. But beyond this consideration they were most connected in their social and domestic relations with the families which held the highest position, while they naturally favored a policy which promised to promote a quiet and settled order of things. The spirit which had from the first characterized the clergy of Massachusetts had not passed away. Far from it. But it had less vigor and more distrust than in the days which were gone. New trials were to come to Church and State. How would they be met and borne? What fresh tidings would come in the tardy ship which brought the old news to the new country? For her coming Religion waited as one to be soon and deeply affected.

The churches were under a two-fold charter of Puritan and colonial origin. In matters of ecclesiastical government they consented to the Cambridge platform of church discipline, gathered out of the Word of God, and agreed upon by the elders and messengers of the churches assembled in Synod, 1648. In regard to doctrine, this Synod gave its assent to the Confession recently framed by the divines at Westminster.

In process of time it became necessary for the New England churches to present their own confession of doctrine. They believed that such confessions were of great value. Moreover, it was charged upon them that their principles were unknown ; "whereas it is well known that as to matters of doctrine we agree with other reformed churches; nor was it that, but what concerns worship and discipline, that caused our fathers to come into this wilderness." The elders and messengers of the churches of Massachusetts, "by the call and encouragement of the honored General Court," came together in 1679, and held a second session in 1680. They gave their assent to the Savoy Confession, and renewed the assent of the Cambridge Synod to the Westminster Confession, "for the substance thereof." They confirmed the Cambridge platform for matters of discipline, and prepared their own assertion of doctrine, mainly in the language of the previous assemblies. The result was "a Confession of Faith, owned and consented unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches assembled at Boston, in New England, May 12, 1680, being the second session of that Synod." In this platform and confession is the basis of the religious history of Boston in the provincial period. They are, indeed, in substance the constitution of the Congregational churches of the country to this day.

At the opening of the period we are reviewing the Rev. James Allen was the minister of the First Church, having been installed in 1668. In 1684, the Rev. Joshua Moody was installed as assistant minister. While preaching at Portsmouth he had been illegally imprisoned upon a sentence of six months for refusing to administer the Lord's Supper to Governor Cranfield and to two of his friends, according to the rites of the Church of England. After thirteen weeks he was released and commanded to preach no more in that province. He came to Boston and entered the service of the First Church. He continued in that office until 1692, when he returned to Portsmouth.[1] The meeting-house was of wood, and stood on what is now Washington Street, a little south of Court Street, on the spot now occupied by Joy's Building. The church preserved its original covenant, under which it abides to this day.[2]

The second minister of the Second Church was the Rev. Increase Mather, who attained the office of teacher in this church in 1664, as the associate of the Rev. John Mayo, who retired from active service in a few years. At the beginning of the provincial period the minister of the Second Church[3] was also the President of Harvard College. Sixth in the list of Presidents stands his name: "CRESCENTIUS MATHER, *accessus* Junii 11°, 1685, *ex off. decessit*, Sept. 6°, 1701." The Rev. Cotton Mather was now colleague with his father in the pastoral care of this Second Church, having been ordained to that office in 1685, although he had assisted his father before that time.

[1] [See Mr. Foote's chapter in Vol. I. — ED.]

[2] [It will be found in Vol. I., in the chapters by Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Whitmore. — ED.]

[3] [There is in the *Heraldic Journal*, i. 58, a list of the Communion Service of the Second Church, the vessels showing the armorial bearings of their givers, mostly of the provincial period. — ED.]

The Third Congregational Church in Boston had, as was told in the first volume,[1] a less peaceful origin than those which preceded it. The covenant was much longer than that of the First Church, but resembled it closely in character and spirit. The members bound themselves —

"To walk together as a Church of Christ, according to all those holy rules of God's word given to a church body rightly established, so far as we already know them, or they shall be hereafter further made known unto us. . . . And for the furtherance of this blessed fellowship we do likewise promise to endeavor to establish among ourselves, and convey down to our posterity, all the holy truths and ordinances of the Gospel, committed to the churches, in faith and observance, opposing to the utmost of our church power whatsoever is diverse therefrom or contrary thereunto."

These sentences are significant when read in connection with the events which had led to the formation of the church, and the events with which it was afterwards to be connected.

To a gift of land for the erection of a meeting-house, as already related, Madam Norton subsequently made additions; and her gifts, largely increased during the lapse of years, still serve the church and ministry for which she gave them, although in a place where her prophetic eye could hardly see the land and the house which were to be. When this period opened, Samuel Willard, the second pastor of the Third Church, had been eight years in that office. The new church and the house in which it worshipped early received the designation of the South Church, changed afterward, when a church had been erected in Summer Street, to the Old South Church.

In addition to these Congregational churches there was also the First Baptist Church, which had been organized in 1665, as already explained in the first volume. The minister at the opening of this period was Elder John Emblen, who had come from England in 1684 that he might assume this charge.

The change which was involved in passing from the colonial to the provincial estate was marked by one bold feature, which was hardly less significant and important than the alteration in the form of government. During the half-century in which the colonial charter was retained the churches of Massachusetts had been of one faith and one order, with very slight exceptions. The principles of the first settlers had been preserved. There were a very few Baptists when the charter was withdrawn, and the Quakers were at no time numerous, but were made conspicuous on the one side by their exceptional behavior, and on the other by the severe measures which were resorted to for their removal. But this contest was over. The Puritans and the Puritan church held the ground, and made the religious history. To their ecclesiastical polity, and the methods of worship attached to it, they were naturally the more firmly and persistently devoted for all which it had cost to establish themselves and their institutions in this wilderness. What-

[1] [In Mr. Foote's chapter. — Ed.]

ever affection for the Church of England may have survived in any breast, their presence here was a protest against that church, and a witness to the exile and sacrifice which had been forced upon them by its authority. If it is difficult for us in our liberal day to revive or justify their rigid opposition to such as differed from them in matters of religion, so is it difficult to stand in their place, to surround ourselves with the experiences which environed them on both sides of the sea, and to reproduce the causes of the effects which are now too rudely censured. For them religion comprehended all things. Church and State, home and school, virtue and piety, liberty and order, were involved in it. Religion to them meant the Puritan Church.

The narrative which is given by Mr. Foote in the previous volume,[1] regarding the introduction of Episcopacy, has brought the reader to a marked and important change in the ecclesiastical affairs of Boston and Massachusetts in this single innovation upon the established order here, in this bringing in of the very institutions which had been renounced. Henceforth a new order of things must prevail. The old would still be the more prominent and popular, but it would be modified by the new. In regard to the general state of church affairs, we may cite the judgment of a modern historian[2] devoted to the ancient church system of New England, that "under the provincial charter ecclesiastical affairs were conducted in a somewhat different, and on the whole in a decidedly better manner than under the colonial charter. The temptation to join the church for worldly advantage was greatly diminished by extending the right of voting to all persons alike of a certain estate, whether members of a church or not. And by cutting off appeals to the General Court in all matters strictly ecclesiastical the churches were restored to their original independence, which had been partially taken away."

There are various matters of less importance which throw light upon the religious condition of Boston at this time. Besides the regular services in the churches, there were lectures and private meetings and catechisings, by which the Word was divided to the people according to their age and condition. The "Thursday Lecture" has come down to our own day. Religious exercises were connected with the various events of the people's life,—with town-meetings, the framing of houses, the gathering of the militia, the opening of the Court, and the like occasions. The Artillery election was dignified by a sermon. The people were required to support the ministry, and expected to attend upon the services of the church. The Sabbath was, of course, observed with great strictness, but the law of the Lord was upon all time.[3] Judge Sewall records a strong effort of his own to have the days of the week numbered, as they had formerly been, in place of their usual names, but he could get little support in the project. Synods and councils were held for the orderly self-government of the churches.[4] The

[1] Vol. I. p. 191, etc.

[2] Clark, *A Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts from* 1620 *to* 1858, p. 108.

[3] [See Mr. Scudder's chapter in this vol.—ED.]

[4] [See Dr. Dexter's chapter on "Later New England Congregationalism," in his *Congregationalism as seen in its Literature*, 1880. — ED.]

distinction between pastor and teacher had become very rare, and the office of ruling elder nearly obsolete.

Days for public thanksgiving and fasting were appointed from time to time as the affairs of the community made them appropriate and desirable. The rite of marriage was now performed by clergymen, as well as by magistrates, although still regarded as a civil ordinance. Funerals were observed in a very simple way, that no superstitious or unscriptural notions might be fostered by them. A variation from the English mode of taking an oath by holding the Bible or by kissing it is found at this time, and this became one of the questions which divided the colonists from the Andros party. Sewall has an entry in June, 1686, when he took the oath of allegiance and received his new commission as captain: "I read the Oath myself, holding the book in my Left hand, and holding up my Right Hand to Heaven." The strong disapproval of frivolous amusements is to be noticed. In 1684 there had been published in Boston *An Arrow against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing, drawn out of the Quiver of the Scriptures. By the Ministers of Christ at Boston, in New England.* In the following year "the Ministers of this Town Come to the Court and complain against a Dancing Master who seeks to set up here and hath mixt Dances, and his time of Meeting is Lecture-Day; and 't is reported he should say that by one Play he could teach more Divinity than Mr. Willard or the Old Testament. Mr. Moodey said 'twas not a time for N. E. to dance. Mr. Mather struck at the Root, speaking against mixt Dances." The unseemly custom prevailed of taking a condemned criminal to the meeting-house before his execution, that he might hear a discourse suited to his condition.[1]

With all these public and private interests and transactions, the daily life of the people ran on, with its work and worship. There was abundant preaching and teaching; discipline was maintained in church and home; children were born, and were baptized if the parents conformed to the rules of the churches; old and young died, and were buried with open and with secret grief. There were days of private, as well as of public, fasting and prayer. Families often came together for religious services. The people carried their joys and griefs to the sanctuary, and by putting up a "Bill" engaged the sympathy of the congregation. Society was receiving accessions, and not always of men like the old stock in character or behavior or affiliation. It could not be long before the strangers whom civil office, or military concerns, or the affairs of war brought over had an influence upon the tone and manners of the community, removing it from the severity of those who were here before them, and quite as notably from their virtues. Men born upon the soil were naturally of a sterner type than those who had received their early nurture in England, with its comfort and indulgence. The wilderness offered a more austere birth and training. But it developed a nobler manhood, which would not be improved but injured by contact with

[1] [These traits are noticed more at length in Mr. Scudder's chapter. — Ed.]

men of easier lives and less commanding virtue. The liberalizing tendency which is manifest during this period is not in all respects a gain. The end of it is not yet.

In 1687 a number of Huguenots who had come from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes received permission to occupy the town's school-house in School Street for their worship; but the reader is referred for their story to another chapter of the present volume. An interesting tract is preserved, written by a nameless author, a French Protestant refugee, who had come to America to gather information which would be of service to his brethren in their proposed plan to settle here. He writes: "The English who inhabit these countries are, as elsewhere, good and bad; but one sees more of the latter than the former, and, to state the case to you in a few words, there are here of all kinds, and consequently of every kind of life and manners." It is clear that these colonies were still in the world and a part of it.

The Declaration of Indulgence issued by the king in 1687, which was made the occasion of a public Thanksgiving by the Governor, was regarded in various ways by the people. "In New England, as in the parent country, the sanguine portion of dissenters from the church received the Declaration with joy; the sagacious, with distrust and apprehension." The Second Church in Boston, on the 30th of October, 1687, voted that its officers might "draw up an address of thanks to the king for his declaration, wherein he does promise us the free exercise of our religion, and that he will maintain us in the enjoyment of our rights and possessions." "I told the brethren," writes the pastor, that "I would take their silence for consent. All were silent, — *nemine contradicente*." But others, with more shrewdness, anticipated different results from those on which Mr. Mather congratulated himself and his people.

With the troubles in which the province was involved under the administration of Andros this is not the place to deal. When it was deemed wise to make a representation before the Court of England of the condition of things here, and that some one should be sent over to present to the king the loyal thanks of the people for his Declaration, and to beg for relief at his hands, it was resolved that Mr. Increase Mather should be the messenger. He was forty-eight years old, and "the most eminent among the clergy of Massachusetts." The new Government made strenuous efforts to prevent his going upon this errand. At length, by night, and in disguise, he contrived to embark on the ship "President," and sailed on April 7, 1688. On the sixth of the following month he landed at Weymouth, in England. The character of this conspicuous man and his efforts in England fall into another portion of this history. Yet, because he was a minister, his work should be noted here. He was diligent in his business, and he stood before kings. Did he not also stand before mean men? He was abroad at an eventful time. England was disturbed. The bishops were imprisoned and released. The king became a prisoner and a fugitive. The

Prince and Princess of Orange became the sovereigns of the realm. That was in 1689. In the same year Andros was deposed and imprisoned, and a provisional government was set up in Massachusetts. William and Mary were solemnly proclaimed, and a day appointed for thanksgiving. "Again Englishmen were free and self-governed in the settlements of New England." That meant liberty and prosperity for the churches. The Puritan, with his preferences and determinations, was again in the ascendant here. The new Government received the royal sanction for the time. Finally, a new charter was granted, and the Province of Massachusetts Bay was created. The charter was far from pleasing to Mr. Mather and to those with whom he was associated. But he consented to that which he was not able to supplant or substantially improve. To him was granted the privilege of nominating many of the persons whom the king was to place in office here, and those whom he named were appointed. "He was probably understood by the courtiers to be the most considerable man in Massachusetts, and the most important to be gratified." But his highest offices were religious. It was the minister who was made the ambassador of the people, and the counsellor of the king. When his business in England was discharged, Mr. Mather returned home in company with the new governor, Sir William Phips. Judge Sewall makes a record of their arrival. "May 14th, 1692, Sir William arrives in the Nonsuch Frigat: Candles are lighted before He gets into Town-house. Eight Companies wait on Him to his house, and then on Mr. Mather to his. Made no volleys because 'twas Satterday night." A day of thanksgiving was appointed for the safe arrival of the governor and the minister, "who have industriously endeavored the service of this people." One[1] who has used no friendly pen in writing of Mr. Mather has frankly declared that "he returned to New England with a well-earned consciousness that he had fulfilled, during his residence abroad, his entire duty to the colony, and that in the charter he had brought home he had conferred on it a blessing. . . . His conduct in this great crisis of his country entitles him to unqualified approbation." Such was not the popular verdict of a disappointed people. "The event, though prosperous for his country, was to him an abundant source of calumny and animosity, and ended in his loss of political influence, and his severance from all subsequent public employment." "One thing was certain," remarks Dr. Palfrey; "that, in a sense different from that of earlier times, Massachusetts was now a dependency of the British crown."

The Second Church in Boston had received back its senior minister after an absence of four years, during which his son was holding the pastoral office. The ministers and churches of Boston and of the colony were called to sad experiences in this year, 1692, which brought the new charter and the new governor. The story is not to be told here in detail, yet it forms a dismal chapter in the religious history of the period. It was not altogether a new matter. Witches were believed to have made their appearance in New England before this. Several years earlier President Mather had told

[1] Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, pp. 78, 123.

numerous stories of persons possessed with evil spirits, in his *Illustrious Providences*. Cotton Mather had written a treatise on the subject, with accounts of the cases of possessed persons, and this had been circulated here and in England, where it had the commendation of Richard Baxter. When Governor Phips arrived in the province there were about a hundred persons lying in jail charged with witchcraft. He organized a commission of seven magistrates for the trial of the accused. The result is but too well known. There is no need to paint the transactions in colors deeper than belong to them. Viewed by themselves, there would be small danger of doing it. Let the time, the place, the surroundings be remembered. The belief in witchcraft was not a product of New England, nor the offspring of Puritan thought. "The estimation of witchcraft as a crime equally real as murder, and more heinous, and the practice of punishing it accordingly, were much older than the Puritan occupation of New England. They were much older than the Protestant Reformation." Belief in it was profound in this province and seemed to be well sustained. What part had the churches and the ministers of Boston in the fearful events connected with it? According to an old practice, the magistrates asked the advice of the clergy of Boston. They made answer in a paper drawn up by Cotton Mather. They advised "a very critical and exquisite caution;" that the accused should be tenderly treated, and that no tests of a doubtful character should be used. They recommended "the speedy and vigorous prosecutions of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the directions given in the laws of God, and the wholesome statutes of the English nation." Their counsel was but partially followed; and it was the harshest part which was followed. We know but little of what was said and done in the churches. But we may be certain that during the brief period in which this sad excitement prevailed here the sufferers were regarded with the deepest sorrow. Fervent were the prayers, prolonged the fasts, which sought their deliverance. In church and home they were kept in remembrance day and night. Of this we need no proof. The feeling must have been intense when there came to be insinuations against Lady Phips, and against Mr. Willard, the minister of the South Church. No one could tell who would be next accused, or what friend would be haled away to prison and death. We have in the mere suggestion a vivid glimpse of the religious history of the town in these painful weeks, even though the most of the active trouble was at a distance. The evil ran its course and ended. The danger was over. The prisons were emptied of their victims. Some who had served on the juries acknowledged the injustice of their verdicts and begged forgiveness, with strong promises. A day of general fasting was proclaimed, that in deep humility the pardon of God might be sought. It was in 1697, January 14, and Judge Sewall handed to the minister of the South Church his memorable confession of his part in these mournful transactions, and stood to hear it read, bowing when it was finished. There is a common tradition that on one day in every year to the end of his long life the good man and magistrate kept a

day of private prayer and humiliation in acknowledgment of his guilt and in supplication for mercy. The testimony of the faithful historian of New England[1] may well close this brief reference to these sad events, and be a witness to the religious training of the people: "Nor is it possible to avoid considering of what stuff some men and women of that stock were made, when twenty of them went to the gallows rather than soil their consciences by the lie of a confession."

The new charter of this province contained provisions which immediately affected the religious condition of Boston. The religious element was separated from the government, as a recognized feature. Membership in a church was not to be required of the voter. A property qualification took the place of the ecclesiastical. Some change in this direction was inevitable. But the religious character and purposes of the founders of the colony, and their not unwarranted judgment touching the sort of men whom the colony needed for its rulers, should remove from their arrangement of the suffrage any suspicion of narrowness. The new charter granted to all Protestants liberty of conscience and liberty of worship. The governor had authority to reject bills passed by the Council and representatives, and the king reserved to himself the right to revise and repeal the laws; and all laws approved by the governor were to be reported to him. The king gave his sanction to an act providing for the strict observance of the Lord's day. All labor and amusements on that day were forbidden, except works of necessity and mercy. The domestic and public authorities were to see that the law was observed in all its minute particulars. This would be in accord with the principles of the founders of the province. So also would be the act which provided for the settlement and support of ministers, and secured to each town "an able, learned, and orthodox minister or ministers," who should be "suitably encouraged and sufficiently supported and maintained by the inhabitants of such town." It was also in keeping with the principles of the first men who were here that education should be encouraged, and enlarged arrangements made to this end. The new governor was a man from whom the ministers and churches might expect much. He was born on the banks of the Kennebec, and had become a member of the North Church in Boston. It was by the nomination of Increase Mather that he was appointed to the chief magistracy of Massachusetts Bay. Naturally, therefore, he would be somewhat under the influence of the Mathers, which meant that Puritan traditions and judgment would be favorably regarded, and in a good degree preserved. Sir William Phips is described as an honest and pious man, enterprising and industrious, benevolent and friendly; yet not sufficiently learned, or wise, or patient for the head of a province in a difficult time. His official career was brief, as he died in London in February, 1695, at the age of forty-four.[2]

[1] Palfrey, *Compendious History of New England*, p. 124. [The story is told with more particulars in Mr. Poole's chapter in this vol.—ED.]

[2] [Compare Dr. Ellis's account of Phips in his chapter in this volume, and a brief notice of him in Dr. Hale's chapter. — ED.]

By the change of the charter the Quakers received an enlargement of their liberty, and were placed more nearly on an equality with other Christian denominations. The days of their persecution were over before this, but they were not highly esteemed. Thomas Chalkley, a prominent Quaker, who visited Boston in 1693, complains bitterly of the unkind manner in which he was received, and the harsh wishes which were expressed regarding himself and his associates. For this there may have been a personal or temporary reason. But while they held their meetings they had no regular place of worship. Finding that they were to have a more generous recognition, they prepared for themselves a permanent place in which to meet.

In 1694 William Mumford, one of the Society, a stone-cutter by trade, bought a large lot of land in "Brattle Close or Pasture," on which the Quincy House now stands, at the corner of Brattle Street and Brattle Square. Upon this land he built a brick meeting-house, twenty-four by twenty feet, which was the first brick meeting-house in the town.[1] Mr. Mumford conveyed a portion of his land to trustees who resided in different places, to be held by them "for the service and worship of Almighty God by the society or community of People called Quakers, at all and every time and times forever hereafter, when and as often as need shall require, and to and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever." It was not many years, however, before it was found desirable to have a different place for their services, and Mr. Mumford purchased another lot for the Society. The changes in their outward estate under the provincial government were in keeping with those which marked their intercourse with their neighbors.

Various events of more or less consequence fell into the year 1695. On April 29, after thunder and lightning, there was an extraordinary storm of hail, so that the ground was made white, as if by fallen blossoms, and large quantities of window-glass were broken. Mr. Cotton Mather dined that day with Judge Sewall, whose new house suffered severely, and was with him in the judge's new kitchen when this occurred. "He had just been mentioning that more Ministers' Houses than others, proportionably, had been smitten with Lightening; enquiring what the meaning of God should be in it. . . . I got Mr. Mather to pray with us after this awfull Providence. He told God He had broken the brittle part of our house, and prayd that we might be ready for the time when our Clay-Tabernacles should be broken." In the same year there was great indignation against Thomas Maule, a Quaker, who is best known for his place in the *House of the Seven Gables*. In 1694 he published a large Pamphlet with the title *Truth Held Forth and Maintained*, etc. The House of Representatives took the matter up in 1695, and voted that the book was "stuff'd with many notorious and pernicious Lies and Scandals, not only against particular and privat persons, but also against the Government, Churches, and Ministry; and

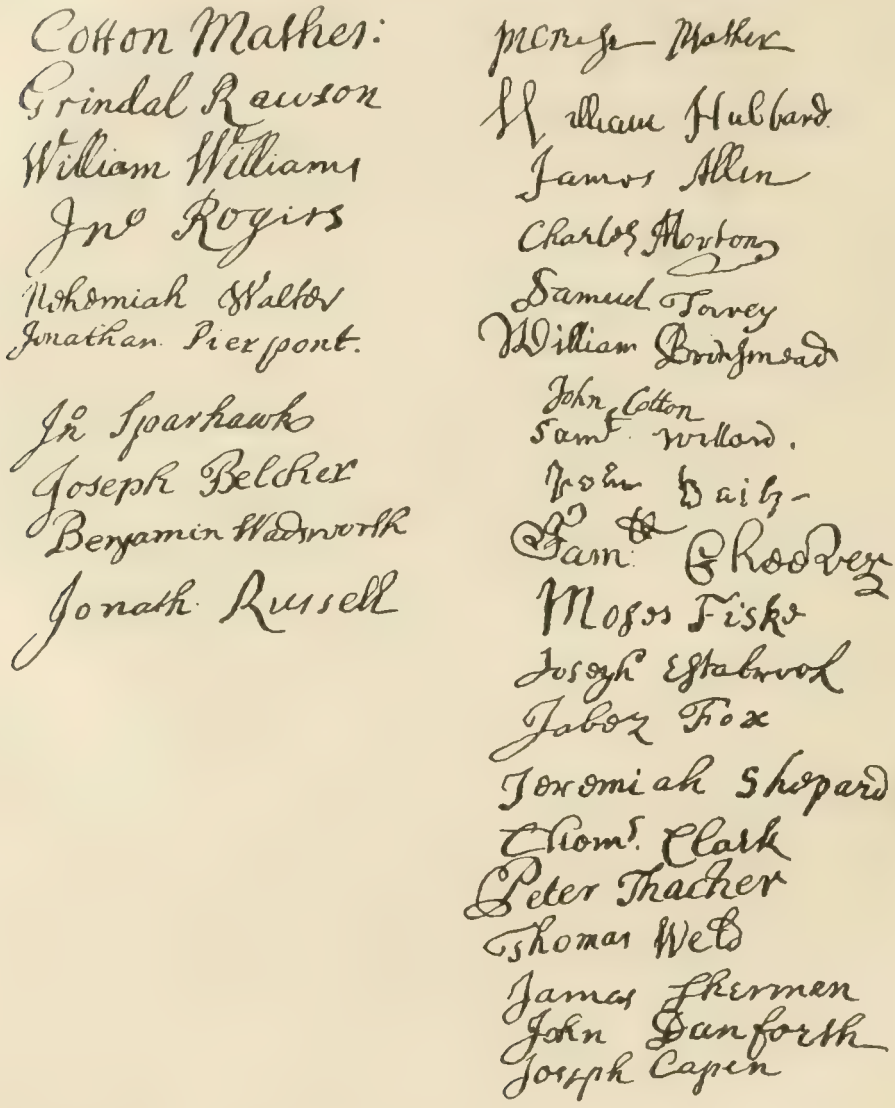
[1] [See Vol. I. 195, and the history of this and their later meeting-house and burial-ground in Shurtleff, *Desc. of Boston*, ch. xv. Compare also the Introduction to this volume. — Ed.]

against those Worthies who first followed Christ into these uttermost ends of the Earth. . . . As also many corrupt Expressions in point of Doctrine, perverting the Scriptures, and subverting the True Christian Religion." The Representatives prayed that the premises might be inquired into, "and some suitable Testimony borne against the Author and his Evil Work." Maule was indicted and tried before the Superior Court at Salem in 1696, and was acquitted by the jury. Afterwards he produced another treatise, to which he gave the significant name of *Persecutors Mauled with their own Weapons.*

In this year, 1695, the ministers of Boston were considerably exercised upon the question of marriage, more particularly of the intermarriage of persons related to one another. In connection with several neighboring ministers they published a short treatise upon the subject. Possibly some special case of recent occurrence moved them to this action. The conclusion of their arguments and citations was that "it is unlawful, incestuous, and an heinous sin in the sight of God" to enter upon marriages of this character. Mr. Allen, the Mathers, and Mr. Willard, joined with others in this declaration. At the May session of the General Court a law was passed that no persons should be allowed to marry where there was "an affinity between them as declared in the Scriptures." The preface was as follows: "Although this Court doth not take in hand to determine what is the whole breadth of the divine commandment respecting unlawful marriages, yet for preventing that abominable dishonesty and confusion which might otherwise happen, — Be it enacted, &c."

In the First Church in Boston, Rev. John Bailey was associated with Rev. Mr. Allen, from July 17, 1693, until his death, Dec. 12, 1697. He was one of the ministers driven from England for nonconformity. He was a faithful and popular preacher, conscientious and sensitive, diligent and exemplary. He was accustomed to say: "Three things I desire to get: patience under the calamities of life; impatience under its moral infirmities; and earnest longings for the life to come." One of his frequent petitions has been preserved: "May we not be of the number of them who live without love, speak without feeling, and act without life." There was a great assembly on the very cold day of his funeral, when Mr. Cotton Mather preached a suitable discourse, from Psalm xxxi. 5. On the 8th of September, 1696, Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth became an associate pastor of the First Church, and "was inducted by the neighboring ministers with a formality hitherto unpractised in the land." Mr. Allen gave the charge and Mr. Increase Mather the right hand of fellowship: "Spake notably of some young men who had apostatized from New England principles, contrary to the Light of their education; was glad that he was of another spirit." Mr. Willard joined in the laying-on of hands. Mr. Wadsworth was born in Milton, Massachusetts, in 1669, graduated at Harvard College in 1690, and after studying theology preached for the First Church for nearly three

years before he was formally installed as pastor. During the last year of Mr. Bailey's life the First Church had, therefore, three ministers. The senior pastor, the Rev. James Allen, was of English birth, and was sixty-four years old at the time of Mr. Wadsworth's settlement. He lived



MINISTERS OF THE PROVINCE, AS SIGNING IN AN ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCIL, HELD AT BOSTON, MAY 27, 1697.

in a manner befitting the minister of the First Church in Boston. He maintained the style of a gentleman, built himself a stone house, had a very handsome estate, and used it with hospitality. He was the steady friend of ecclesiastical order, but held the authority of Christ above any human

decrees, and asserted the freedom of his own judgment and conscience, whose dictates he was ready to obey. He would shield the church both against any injustice within it, and any encroachments upon it. The three Boston churches were under the care of strong men at this time, — Allen, Wadsworth, the Mathers, and Willard. They were men to be felt, — in different ways, indeed, but for one end.

Sir William Phips was succeeded in the government of the province by Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, of the Irish peerage. This was the first time that Massachusetts had a governor who was not either one of the original settlers, or a native of the country. The new governor arrived in this country in April, 1698. From two Englishmen who visited Boston about this time we get glimpses of the town and its people. John Dunton was here in 1686, and in 1705 published in London a book which he named his *Life and Errors*. He seems to have been partially insane, but his book is amusing and interesting. He met many people, and saw many things in Boston and the surrounding towns. He was well received, and perhaps designed to write truthfully of what he saw. He visited Increase Mather, who "is deservedly called 'The Metropolitan Clergy-man of the Kingdom.' And the next to him in fame . . . is his son, Mr. Cotton Mather, an Excellent Preacher, a great Writer, and, which is more than all, he Lives the doctrine he Preaches. . . . Mr. Mather's Library is the glory of New England, if not of all America. . . . I am greatly wanting to myself, if I did not learn more in that hour I enjoy'd his Company, than I cou'd in an Age spent in other men's." Of Mr. Willard he writes: "He 's a man of Profound Notions; Can say what he will, and prove what he says. I darken his Merits if I call him less than a Walking Library." Of Mr. Allen: "He 's a grave, Antient Divine, and now Pastor of the New Church in Boston. All that I shall say of him more is, that he 's very Humble and very Rich, and can be Generous if he pleases." He was delighted with Mr. Moody's house and garden. "He that 's a Lover of a good Prospect would call this house an Earthly Paradise, and the very Elisium of Boston. But that which gives it the greatest Ornament is that Learned Person that lives in it. . . . No wonder then Piscateway was so loth to lose him; for if there be a good Man in the World, 'tis He."

We have in the journal of Jasper Dankers, who visited Boston in 1680, this picture of a Fast-day service: "In the first place a minister read a prayer in the pulpit of full two hours in length; after which an old minister delivered a sermon an hour long, and after that a prayer was made, and some verses sung out of the psalm. In the afternoon, three or four hours were consumed with nothing except prayers, three ministers relieving each other alternately; when one was tired, another went up into the pulpit."

In 1699 Boston was favored with a visit from Mr. Edward Ward. He "was the first of a list of Londoners who have visited New England for the purpose of traducing its inhabitants, and casting ridicule upon its customs and practices. From such persons have been transmitted the false traditions of our ancestry which are met with so frequently by historical

inquirers." Some of his statements are interesting in this connection, and can readily be distinguished from the inventions of his malicious wit: —

"To the Glory of Religion, and the Credit of the Town, there are four Churches, built with Clap-boards and Shingles, after the Fashion of our Meeting-houses; which are supply'd by four Ministers. . . . Their Churches are Independent, every Congregation, or Assembly, in Ecclesiastical Affairs, being distinctly Govern'd by their own Elders and Deacons, who in their Turns set the Psalms; and the former are as busie on Sundays, to excite the People to a Liberal Contribution, as our Church-Wardens at Easter and Christmas are with their Dishes, to make a Collection for the Poor. . . . The Inhabitants seem very Religious, showing many outward and visible Signs of an inward and Spiritual Grace. But tho' they wear in their Faces the Innocence of Doves, you will find them in their Dealings as Subtile as Serpents. . . . Election, Commencement, and Training-days are their only Holy-days; they keep no Saints-Days, nor will they allow the Apostles to be Saints; yet they assume that Sacred Dignity to themselves, and say, in the Title Page of their Psalm-Book, 'Printed for the Edification of the Saints in Old and New England.'"[1]

At the coming of Governor Bellomont Boston contained, it is believed, "more than a thousand houses, and more than seven thousand inhabitants." The strictness and exclusiveness of the colonial times had naturally been relaxed as the years went on, and the people became established in their affairs, and entered into closer relations with other communities. The advance of business would of itself have a liberalizing influence. The widening of the franchise, which separated citizenship from membership in the church, would tend in the same direction. With these changes the established church of New England remained necessarily far in the ascendancy. Only one place for the worship of the English Church was to be found in the province, and those who supported that had received few favors from the people, and had contended against great obstacles. "Its supporters had been dispersed, and its minister had gone home discouraged at the time of the Revolution; and it recovered with difficulty from the disrepute contracted by its connection with the usurpation of Andros." Lord Bellomont gave the English Church the benefit of his favor. The Bishop of London had sent by him a gift of books and an assistant clergyman. The assistant died on the voyage, but another came in his place. Rev. Samuel Myles was the rector, and Rev. Christopher Bridge the assistant for several years. The Governor sought to satisfy all parties. He gave his presence on Sundays at the King's Chapel, and on the lecture days at the First Church. He used his influence abroad for the English Church, and the Lords of Trade sought to procure the ecclesiastical supervision of the province.

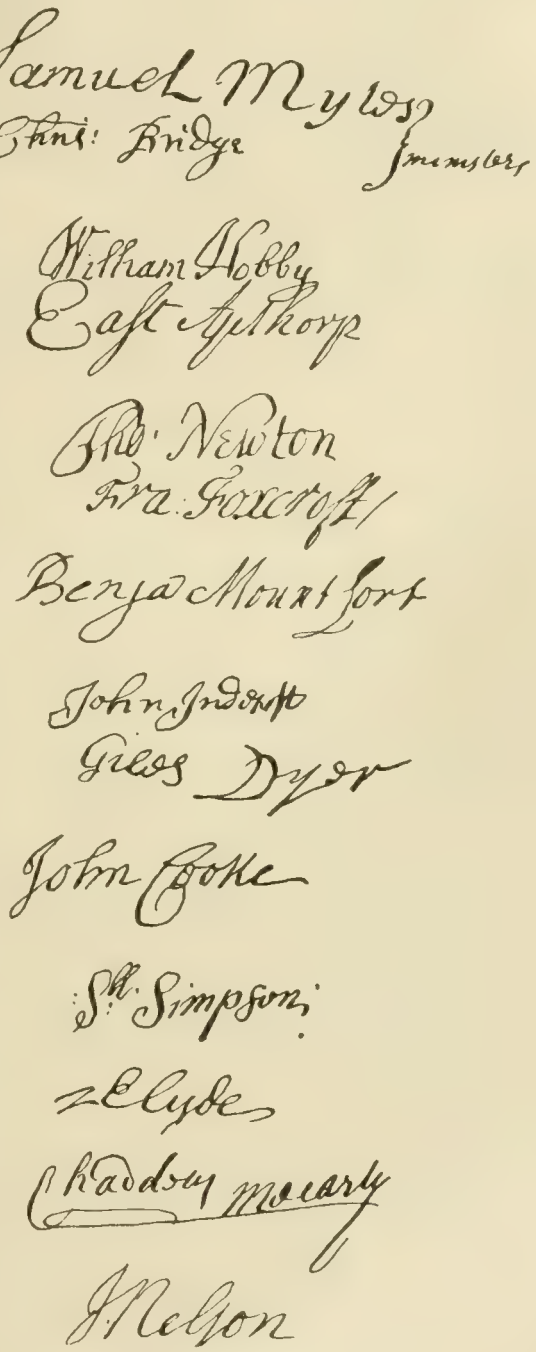
About the year 1699 Elder John Emblen, the minister of the Baptist church, died. He had come from England and had served this church for some fifteen years, and seems to have been held in good esteem by his people. After his death the church wrote to England for assistance, and

[1] Ward's *Trip to New England*, quoted in Shurtleff, iii. 109.

received a respectful letter in reply. It was to be several years before they would again have a settled minister.

The relations between the churches and Harvard College were still very close at this period. The college had come into being for their sake, or rather for the religious well-being of the colony, which was their especial charge. At this particular point, while Increase Mather was at its head, it was passing through experiences which were of great interest and importance, and with which the churches had a prominent concern. It was a critical time in its bearing on the destiny of the institution. That is not to be described in this place; yet it cannot be entirely passed over. The college had in its highest chair the most eminent of the clergy of Boston. The position gave in return to the man who held it great honor and influence among his brethren and in the churches. The president had always been a minister. Other ministers had been very prominent in the management of the college as its overseers. In times of religious excitement or change the college would feel the movement of the churches. This is a part of the religious history of this period.

The Second Church in Boston at this time shared its pastor with the college. He had retained his residence in Boston. The General Court had voted that the president should live in Cambridge. More than once



MINISTERS, WARDENS, AND VESTRY OF KING'S CHAPEL, 1700.

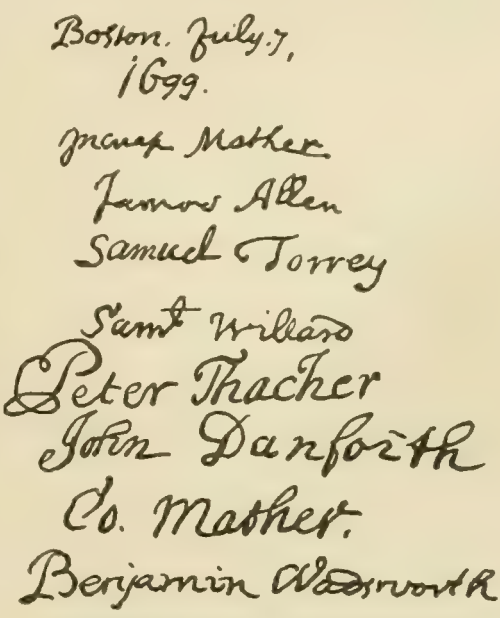
was this action taken, but the president did not move. He had the hope of removal to a greater distance, and desired to be sent to England to procure a satisfactory charter for the college. Others desired him to undertake the mission, and a petition was sent to the General Court asking public countenance and assistance for the project. With pleasant recollections of his former visit to England, he seems to have had a wish to spend his remaining years there. There were movements in the community which did not commend themselves to his judgment; nor could he have the influence to which he seemed entitled, and which he thought would be for the welfare of the churches. The corporation of the college was not disposed to insist upon the residence of the president in Cambridge, but acknowledged with gratitude his manifold services, and gave him money to purchase a horse that he might more conveniently make his visits to the college. His offer to resign his office was answered by the unanimous vote of the corporation desiring that he would continue to preside over the college, which would be injured in many ways by his withdrawal. He gave his time to the college with great liberality, — passing the Sabbath with his church, and spending a large part of the other days with the college, where he administered affairs with vigor and instructed the students in morals and religion. He was the better able to divide his time in this way in that he had the assistance of his active and vigilant son in his pastoral work. The proposal to move the president to Cambridge was followed up, and had the support of those who were hostile to Dr. Mather, and who thought that his influence would be lessened if he were there, and the possibility of his mission to England be made more remote. We are now concerned with these matters only as they affected his church. He was not pleased with the standing of the college with regard to its charter, and there was no president's house. But if there were no such trouble, he knew that his church would not be willing to release him, and he was not willing to cease from preaching. It was urged on the other side by a committee of the legislature that he would "preach twice a day to the students, expounding the Scriptures." He said that "exposition was nothing like preaching," and that he could not go until his church spared him. In 1698, December 16, he wrote to Lieut.-Governor Stoughton, —

"If I comply with what is desired I shall be taken off, in a great measure at least, from my public Ministry. Should I leave off preaching to 1500 souls (for I supose that so many use ordinarily to attend in our Congregation) only to expound to 40 or 50 Children, few of them capable of Edification by such Exercises, I doubt I should not do well. I desire (as long as the Lord shall enable me) to preach publickly every Lord's Day. And I think all the Gold in the East and West Indies would not tempt me to leave preaching the Unsearchable Riches of Christ, which several of the Presidents in the College were necessitated to desist from because of their other work. . . . I am satisfied that the Church to which I stand related will not set me at liberty. Many of them say that God has made me their Spiritual Father: and how can they consent that I should go from them?"

This discussion takes us into the life of at least one church at this time. Feb. 5, 1699, there was a meeting of the brethren of the Second Church, and this question was proposed by the senior pastor: —

"Whether do you consent, that the Pastor of this church be dismissed from his relation unto, and his work in, this congregation, that he may wholly devote himself to the service of the College, and that in order thereunto he remove his habitation from Boston to Cambridge? When the vote was put in the affirmative, not one man would lift up his hand; when in the negative, every one of the brethren lifted up his hand."

But in July, 1700, a meeting of the church was held by direction of the General Court, and consent was given that President Mather should remove to Cambridge. Accordingly he made the change in the same month, and in the succeeding October removed back to Boston because he did not have his health in Cambridge. He expressed to the Lieut.-Governor his desire that another president should be thought of. It is not necessary to pursue this matter here. At this point another church became more immediately interested. When it became clear that President Mather would not reside at Cambridge, Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of the Third or South Church, was appointed vice-president of the college; and when President Mather had again informed the Court that he could with no conveniency live near the college, Mr. Willard was asked "to accept the care and charge of the said college, and to reside in Cambridge in order thereunto." The Council appointed a committee "to attend the meeting of Mr. Willard's church and desire their consent that he might go and reside at Cambridge to take care of the college." As the business did not prosper according to the design of the Council, a few days later "further application was made to Mr. Willard's church for their consent to his going to reside at Cambridge to take care of the college." The result at last was that, upon the close of Dr. Mather's connection with the presidency, Mr. Willard was placed in charge of the college, with the



LATE CORPORATORS OF HARVARD COLLEGE.[1]

[1] [The document from which these signatures, showing some of the principal Boston ministers, are taken, is a petition for a new charter of the college, in which they style themselves members of the late corporation, — preserved at the State House. The paper is printed in Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, i. 99. — ED.]

understanding that he was to reside in Cambridge "one or two days and nights in a week, and to perform prayers and expositions in the Hall, and to bring forward the exercise of analyzing." But Mr. Willard had the title of vice-president. This title seems to have been retained to avoid the inconsistency of allowing the president to reside in Boston after the order that he should live in Cambridge, and after President Mather had retired because he could not comply with it. The order could be evaded by appointing a vice-president. The college could thus have a head, and the church retain its minister. This name alone, in the long catalogue of presidents, stands with the designation "Pro-Præses." As the Second Church is no longer called upon to share the service of its senior pastor with the college, and the college is no longer under his charge, let the testimony regarding him of the academic historian, who cannot be held partial towards Dr. Mather, be put on record here: —

"That he was well qualified for the office, and had conducted himself in it faithfully and laboriously, is attested by the history of the College, the language of the legislature, and the acknowledgment of his contemporaries. It seems obvious, that it was honorable and useful to the institution to have for its head an individual who had taken so large a share in the political, religious, and literary controversies of the times, and had in consequence acquired both celebrity abroad and influence in his own country." [1]

Turning back a little, we are next to consider an event of considerable significance in the religious history of Boston and the province. There were in the town three Congregational churches. At this time a fourth was founded, differing in some respects from those which had preceded it. It did not come from an increase of the population, which demanded increased accommodation for worship. Its origin was due in some measure to personal causes, — to an unwillingness in some persons to be under the control of those who were largely ordering the religious affairs of the community. It was also a movement in favor of a more liberal policy in the worship and administration of the church.[2] This church has now disappeared from public view, and no longer enters the doors of its elegant temple that it may worship God according to its judgment of that which is right and true. But some of the things for which it contended at the start have long had their place in the policy and practice of the Congregational churches. There were several questions involved in this movement. First, was the fundamental subject of baptism. This rite was originally connected with membership in the church. When received by an adult it was regarded as the seal of a new Christian life, and was associated with an open confession and a formal union with others of similar belief and character. The rights and benefits of this ordinance were extended to the

[1] Quincy, *History of Harvard University.*

[2] ["This church," says President Quincy, "was the first fruit of that religious liberty which the charter of William and Mary introduced into Massachusetts." — *History of Harvard University*, i. 132. — ED.]

households of those who were baptized. The language of the Boston Confession of 1680 is explicit: "Not only those that do actually profess faith in and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents are to be baptized, and those only." The framers of this Confession did not regard baptism as so essential that no person could be regenerated or saved without it; but they did have very high ideas of its importance, and held it a sin to neglect it. With their deep sense of its meaning, it was natural that they should limit its application, and should carefully guard the approach to the font. The definition of the ordinance and the limitation of its subjects were in keeping. But what if, for any reason, persons who had been baptized in their infancy did not become members of the church? Were their children to be denied the privilege of baptism? This would leave them to be classed with Indians, as "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise." The feeling was deep and the demand was loud. A council had met in Boston in 1657, and a synod was again convened in 1662, partly for the purpose of deciding the matter involved in the demand for a more open system of baptism. The result is known as the "Half-way Covenant." The declaration of the later assembly was substantially the same as that of the earlier, —

"That church members, who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereunto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in his church, their children are to be baptized."

Of course a controversy followed this deliverance. Out of this arose the Third Church in Boston. The concession was not likely to satisfy for any length of time those whom it sought to relieve. The way to the font was still narrow. The Half-way Covenant came into general use; but the utterance of the synod of 1680 upon the subject of baptism has been already given. The fourth church was to be made a witness for more liberal things than even the new legislation proposed.

Another matter which was related to this was the practice of requiring from candidates for admission to full membership in the church a public relation of their religious experience before the whole congregation. The reasons for this are obvious, and are based upon the common principle that any society shall be a judge upon the qualifications of those who would join it. But how could there be an intelligent judgment unless the candidate revealed his religious history so far that others could decide whether he was a regenerate person? For full membership in one of these churches implied more than an intellectual assent to the truth and a virtuous life. The method of admission was quite in keeping with the meaning of membership. Still, men and women would shrink from laying their hearts bare before their neighbors, even if they were able to describe the changes in their spiritual

condition. Nor can we wonder if they refused to subject themselves to the comments of others, however friendly the spirit of such remarks might be. Many would refuse to comply with the requisition who were fitted for full communion, and the churches would suffer with them in this mutual deprivation. The new church would take a more liberal course.

Under the prevailing system, the parish government was vested in the members of the church as distinct from the congregation. In choosing a pastor, or regulating ecclesiastical affairs, the church ruled. It was so in the State, while the franchise was confined to the members of the churches. But this distinction had passed away in civil matters. Should it be retained in spiritual affairs? As the numbers of those who were not in church membership increased, there came to be more and more reason why the distinction should be removed; especially since the duty of supporting the church and its ministry paid no respect to it. Those who were to bear a part of the expense claimed a right to a voice in deciding for what and to whom their money should be given. From the point of view of these outside supporters this was but fair. This right had in some cases been conceded before. Some things could be said on the other side: that the church was first; that it was divine, and the appointed custodian of the truth, responsible for its purity, for its maintenance, and for its diffusion. The church was qualified by its character and bound by its vows to be "the pillar and ground of the truth," and to give it to the community and the world. If any would have the privileges of the church, let them assume its duties. The door into the church was open; and more imperative than the right of voting for a minister was the duty of confessing Christ. The reply was ready: We do not choose, or we are not able, to join you in full communion; but we are sufficiently intelligent, and virtuous, and interested to have a voice where you have our money, and to have a part in deciding who shall be the teachers of our children. The new church had regard to this natural demand.

One other point concerned the public worship. The founders of New England had come out from the English Church. Disapproving of many of its methods, and sufferers at its hands, they turned far from its forms even of worship. In the English service there was much reading of the Scriptures. The Puritans would have no Scripture without comment in their public services. "Dumb reading" they would not have. The English Church had many prayers and made very frequent use of the Lord's Prayer. From this custom the Puritans dissented. The Lord's Prayer should not be used in the churches, and for the rest one prayer was sufficient, so that it be sufficiently long and broad. One praying, one singing, one preaching, constituted the customary elements of their simple worship. There were those who thought the time had come for more variety and freedom, and for what they deemed a more excellent way. In the new church these views would have a practical expression.

It will be seen, therefore, that the new church was not to differ from

those which preceded it in matters of doctrine or of general administration. But it was to be governed by a more liberal policy and to do its part of the common work upon a broader plan. Those who were associated in the enterprise were men of high standing in the community. They had wealth, position, influence, and all that was needed to secure for their endeavor a dignified and promising beginning. The first steps in this movement appear to have been taken in 1697. In January, 1698, a piece of land called "Brattle Close" was conveyed by deed from Thomas Brattle to the persons who were to form the new society. In 1699 a meeting-house of wood was erected. It was a simple structure, not painted on the inside or outside, and had its tower and bell on the west side, and the entrance on the south side. The pews were square, and there were two galleries. The window-frames were iron. It was a simple house, but its erection marked an advance in freedom of opinion, and especially in the practical expression of opinion.

The first minister of the proposed church was Benjamin Colman. He was a Boston boy, born in 1673; a pupil of Ezekiel Cheever, a graduate of Harvard College in 1692, under the Presidency of Mr. Mather, who in the same year received the first degree of Doctor of Divinity which the college conferred. He was a member of the Second Church in Boston. He preached for a short time in Medford, and afterwards continued his theological studies at Cambridge. In 1695 he went to England, where he was kindly received and enjoyed the friendship of some of the most eminent of the dissenting clergy. He preached in London, Cambridge, and Ipswich for about two years, and then was appointed minister of the dissenting congregation in Bath. When the new project was formed in Boston, its friends thought that he was the proper man to be placed at its head, and he was invited to return and assume the care of the church. His friends urged his acceptance of the call, and he complied. Inasmuch as the new church differed in some respects from the three which preceded it, it was thought there might be some embarrassment in procuring his ordination at the hands of their ministers, and it was suggested to him that he should obtain his ordination from "some nonconformist ministers in England, the more eminent they are the better it may be," although no reason was given to him for advising this course. He was ordained in London, by the Presbytery, Aug. 4, 1699, and soon after sailed for Boston with good testimonials from his English friends. He arrived on the 1st of November, and began almost at once to preach in the "pleasant new-built church."

There was no church organization as yet. But those who were to constitute it published a declaration of their principles, that it might be clearly known what they proposed and what they did not propose. The title to their paper[1] gave a name to the church. It was as follows: —

[1] It is not known who was the actual author of the paper; but it is supposed, with good reason, that it was prepared by Mr. Colman. [The manifesto can be found in S. K. Lothrop's *History of the Church in Brattle Street*, p. 20. — ED.]

"A MANIFESTO or Declaration, set forth by the Undertakers of the New Church, Now Erected in Boston in New England, Nov. 17, 1699." "We think it Convenient," so it runs in the preamble, "for preventing all Misapprehensions and Jealousies, to publish our Aims and Designs herein, together with those Principles and Rules we intend by GOD'S grace to adhere unto." There was no change of doctrine from that which had been held and taught from the beginning. "First of all, We approve and subscribe the *Confession of Faith* put forth by the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*." They wished to preserve close and friendly relations with the other churches. "It is our sincere desire and intention to hold Communion with the Churches here as true Churches; and we openly protest against all Suspicion and Jealousie to the contrary, as most Injurious to us. And although in some Circumstances we may vary from many of them, yet we joyntly profess to maintain such Order and Rules of Discipline as may preserve, as far as in us lies, Evangelical Purity and Holiness in our Communion." They stated clearly their points of divergence from the accustomed ways of the churches. They would "conform to the ordinary practice of the churches of Christ in this Country" in the other parts of divine worship. But "we judge it therefore most suitable and convenient, that in our Publick Worship some part of the Holy Scripture be read by the Minister at his discretion." Nothing is said of prayer; but it is the trustworthy tradition that the Lord's Prayer was to be once repeated by the minister in the service of every Sabbath. In regard to baptism they affirmed: "We allow of Baptism to those only who profess their Faith in Christ and Obedience to him, and to the Children of such; yet we dare not refuse it to *any* Child offered to us by *any* professed Christian, upon his engagement to see it educated, if God give life and ability, in the Christian Religion." They thought that such "Professions and Engagements" should be received by the pastor. They still further said: "We assume not to ourselves to impose upon any a Publick Relation of their experience; however, if any one thinks himself bound in Conscience to make such a Relation, let him do it. For we conceive it sufficient if the Pastor publickly declare himself satisfied in the person offered to our Communion, and seasonably propound him." There was one other point of difference. "*Finally*, We cannot confine the right of chusing a Minister to the Male Communicants alone, but we think that every Baptized Adult Person who contributes to the Maintenance should have a Vote in Electing. Yet it seems but just that persons of the greatest Piety, Gravity, Wisdom, Authority, or other Endowments should be leading and Influential to the Society in that Affair."

These were the conspicuous points in the constitution of the "Manifesto Church." The association of "Undertakers," as the movers in this enterprise named themselves, had been working for nearly two years. On the 12th of December, 1699, a church was organized, and fourteen persons declared "their consent and agreement to walk together in all the ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ." At the same meeting in which the church was formed it was voted "that Mr. Colman present the desires of the Society to the ministers of the town to keep a day with us." The reply of two of the ministers is preserved. It is addressed simply to "Mr. Colman," and signed by Increase Mather and James Allen, and is in the handwriting of the former of the signers. It alludes to an insinuation given once and again that if the Undertakers would lay aside their Manifesto and promise to abide by the *Heads of Agreement* of the United Brethren in London, they could have

the fellowship and assistance of the ministers whom they had addressed. That had not been done. If now they would give proper satisfaction for their disorderly proceedings, their desire could be gratified. Otherwise they could not receive such countenance as would make the ministers of the other churches partakers of the guilt of the irregularities which had justly given offence. This reply is dated Dec. 28, 1699. Following this letter came one of greater length from John Higginson and Nicholas Noyes, ministers of Salem, dated Dec. 30, 1699. It has been styled "a letter of admonition and rebuke," and characterized as "severe, without being unkind or disrespectful." Its general drift was in the same direction with the previous letter. Early in January, 1700, Dr. Increase Mather published a controversial tract suggested by the new movement, entitled *The Order of the Gospel.* Its character can be easily conjectured from the name of the author and the title of the publication. A few months later another tract was put forth, claiming to come from "sundry Ministers of the Gospel in New England." It is thought to have been chiefly Mr. Colman's work, and that he was assisted by Rev. Mr. Bradstreet, of Charlestown, and Rev. Mr. Woodbridge, of Hartford. Similar publications continued to appear for two or three years. The new movement and the principles involved in it were thus considered in the best light of the time. But without waiting for this discussion the ministers of Boston had consented to recognize the new church. By what means this result was effected we are not told. Very likely mutual explanations had brought the two parties nearer together. The mediation of gentlemen of influence, who were in a position to advise both parties, probably had much to do with the peaceable settlement of the affairs of the conflicting churches. Such good and kind endeavors are acknowledged by Mr. Colman in the records of his church. The diary of Judge Sewall preserves the account of such efforts at accommodation. The result is best told in Judge Sewall's own words. It was in the year 1700.

"January 31. Fast at New Church. Mr. Colman reads the Writing agreed on. Mr. Allin Prays, Mr. Colman preaches, prays, blesses. p. m. Mr. Willard prays, Mr. I. Mather preaches, Mr. Cotton Mather prays; sing the 67 Psalm without reading. Mr. Brattle sets Oxford Tune. Mr. Mather gives the Blessing. His Text was, 'Follow peace with all men and Holiness,' — *Doct.*, Must follow peace so far as it consists with Holiness (Heb. xii. 14). Mr. Colman's Text was Rom. xv. 29. . . . Mr. Willard pray'd God to pardon all the frailties and follies of Ministers and people, and that they might give that Respect to the other churches that was due to them though they were not just of their Constitution. Mr. Mather in 's Sermon and Mr. Cotton Mather in 's prayer to the same purpose. Mr. Willard and C. Mather pray'd excellently and pathetically for Mr. Colman and his Flock. 'Twas a close dark day."

It could not be expected that all feeling of variance should pass away at once. It would take time for the Manifesto Church and its minister to be fully established in intimate relations with their neighbors. But they gained their place. Except in the matter of Baptism, the position which

they assumed is substantially that upon which the larger part of the Congregational churches of the land has for a long time been standing. It has been a natural development, a part of the change in the spirit and practice of the times with the advance of the times. The first religious service of the new society was held soon after Mr. Colman's arrival, when a day of thanksgiving to God was kept for "the many smiles of His providence on our undertaking." Mr. Colman preached from 1 Chron. xxix. 13, 14. The Lord's Supper was administered to the new church for the first time on Feb. 14, 1700. The church and society were soon in a flourishing condition. They increased in numbers and in influence. At the end of the first year a considerable addition was made to Mr. Colman's salary. Before the close of the second year it was thought advisable that the pastor should have a permanent assistant, and Mr. Eliphalet Adams, of the class of 1694 at Harvard, was engaged. He was ordained as colleague pastor, but was appointed from year to year. On Nov. 30, 1701, Judge Sewall went to the Manifesto Church to hear Mr. Adams. He prayed very well, and "gave us a very good sermon from Gal. iv. 18, — *Doct.*, It is just and commendable, etc. Mr. Adams gave the Blessing." In the afternoon he made a short prayer, and read the Scriptures; and "Mr. Coleman made a very good sermon from Jer. xxxi. 33, — 'and will be their God, and they shall be my people.'" But this connection was not to be of long duration. Dissension arose, although the cause of it is not known. There were "divisions and angers," and in 1703 Mr. Adams departed. He was afterward settled in New London, Conn., where he was highly esteemed. He was a trustee of Yale College, and was at one time chosen to be its Rector, but declined. He was very useful to other churches, and in religious work for the Indians. He died in 1753, in his seventy-seventh year.

Mr. Colman remained for the twelve years after the departure of his assistant in the sole charge of his large parish. For several years there were no church meetings, as the last which had been held were very uncomfortable. In October, 1711, the meeting-house of the First Church was burned. A public fast was held on account of this calamity, for the fire was very extensive, and a collection was taken in each of the churches for the benefit of the sufferers. Both the Brattle Street and the South churches offered their houses for the use of the homeless congregation, and both offers were accepted. The ministers shared the services, and the people divided their attendance. The South Church, at least, agreed to make the same allowance to the ministers of the First Church as to their own pastor. When the First Church had provided a new house for its own use, the congregations separated with great good feeling.

In 1713 Mr. Thomas Brattle died, and left as a legacy to the Brattle-Street Church "a pair of organs, which he dedicated and devoted to the praise and glory of God with us, if we would accept thereof, and within the year after his decease procure a sober person skilful to play thereon."

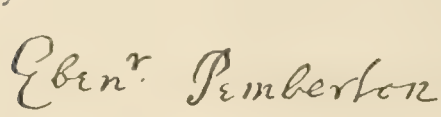
The Church, with all possible respect to the memory of "our devoted friend and benefactor," "*Voted*, That they did not think it proper to use the same in the public worship of God."

It was thought at length that it was advisable to have an associate pastor, and a public meeting of the whole congregation was called to consider the question. It was decided to keep a day of prayer for the Divine guidance in the choice of a minister. A fortnight after the day of prayer and fasting another public meeting was held. After prayer and a suitable discourse, the brethren put their written votes into a box on the table before the minister, and it was found that Mr. William Cooper had been chosen as associate to the pastor. That was in 1715. Mr. Cooper was a Boston boy; the son of "the woman that one would have wished to be born of." He graduated at Cambridge in 1712, with a high reputation as a young man of diligence, devotion, and consistent piety. When he was honored with the invitation to the Brattle-Street Church, he was inclined to accept it, yet he was fearful that he was not well prepared for so high an office. He therefore asked that his ordination should be deferred, and that meantime he should be required to preach but once in two weeks. His wishes were respected. He was ordained May 23, 1716. At this service the usual methods of ordination were departed from in two points. The spirit of the church which had made changes at the beginning of its history was not averse to further deviation toward what seemed a more excellent way. It had been the custom for the candidate himself to preach upon the occasion of his ordination. Many of the young ministers complained of this usage as an impropriety. On this occasion Mr. Colman preached from 2 Timothy ii. 1. Between the sermon and the ordaining prayer Mr. Cooper read a paper in answer to four questions propounded by Mr. Colman regarding the candidate's views of Christian doctrine and of the duties of the ministerial office. This was, in Mr. Colman's view, the "more proper part and service" for the young man.[1] The Manifesto Church was fortunate in its variations from established usage. It has long been the recognized custom in Congregational churches that the sermon at an ordination shall be preached by some other person than the man to be ordained, while the statement of his views of truth and duty is made by him in an open meeting, when he is questioned by the elders and messengers of the churches.

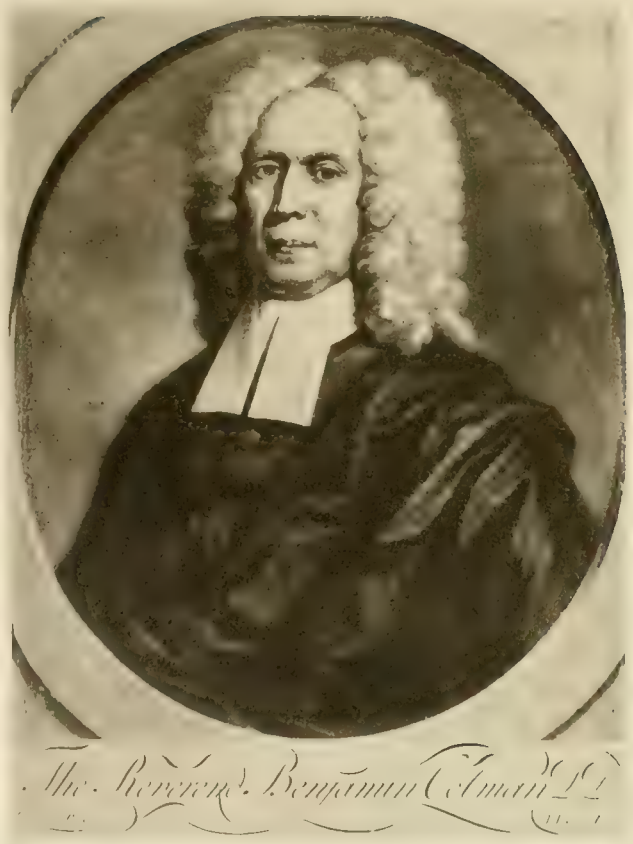
Leaving the new church thus equipped for its work, we turn to bring other matters to the same time. In the year 1700 the Legislature of Massachusetts passed an act requiring Jesuits and Popish priests to leave the

[1] [Heliotypes of Benjamin Colman and William Cooper are given herewith, from engravings by Pelham. A portrait of Colman by Smybert hangs in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. There is an engraved likeness of him, with a memoir, going somewhat into the history of the Manifesto Church, in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1849. The chief life of Colman is by E. Turell, Colman's son-in-law. Quincy (*Harvard University*, ii. 79) says it is "the best biography extant of any native of Massachusetts, written during its provincial state." Tyler, *American Literature*, ii. 171, gives a careful estimate of his intellectual character. Mr. Colman's sermon at the ordination of Cooper was printed, 1716, and it was accompanied by Mr. Cooper's confession of faith, with his answers to the questions proposed to him by Mr. Colman. — ED.]

province by the 10th of September. A similar decree was made in the same year in New York. This was in accordance with the law of England. The reason for these enactments here was that such Jesuits and Popish priests "as have lately come, or for some time have had their residence in the remote parts of this province, and other adjacent territories, have endeavored to seduce the Indians from their obedience to the king of England, and to excite them to hostilities against his government." There were no persons in Boston at that time who would be affected by this legislation; but it is an indication of the feeling of the people toward the Romish Church upon political grounds. It is well known that their feeling, so far as it was based on religious considerations, was much deeper. Happily, loyalty to the king and fidelity to truth and liberty were in accord in their minds with regard to these matters. In this year Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton was settled as colleague pastor with Mr. Willard over the South Church. He was the son of one of the founders of this church; he was born in Boston in 1671, and graduated at Harvard College in 1691. He continued his residence at Cambridge, was appointed Tutor and Librarian, and was a Fellow of the College from 1707 to 1717. He was ordained on Aug. 28, 1700, when sermons were preached by both Mr. Willard and himself. He was a young man of quick mind, a hard student, and of ardent piety. He gave promise of great usefulness when he was placed in his new and lofty station.



In 1701 Lord Bellomont died in New York. "Perhaps he died of sheer disappointment and mortification." Upon Stoughton, the Lieut.-Governor, the administration again devolved. He, too, died before the end of the year; a stern man, wilful, independent, determined to do his duty at all hazard, and finding, it is reported, after the prosecution of the imagined witches, over which Sewall fasted and prayed, "no reason to repent of what he had done with the fear of God before his eyes." He cared nothing for popular favor; but "he was helped by the friendship of the clergy, which he took as much pains to secure as he ever thought it worth while to bestow for any amiable purpose." The Council, acting under the charter, was the chief executive authority in the province in the interim which followed the death of Stoughton. There was a man waiting for the place. Joseph Dudley was appointed governor by King William. The king died before Dudley was ready to leave England, where he had been devoting himself to his own interests, and had succeeded in gaining the favor of the dissenting ministers, whose judgment would have its influence with their brethren on this side of the sea. The king was not willing to make what would be so unpopular a nomination in the province. But Dudley was able to change the royal mind by a petition which indicated a change in the mind of Massachusetts, and by a letter from Cotton Mather, who with his father had been active in removing him from power, by which he was authorized to say that



The Revrend. Benjamin Colman D.D.

The Revd. Mr. William Cooper

"there was not one minister nor one of the Assembly but were impatient for his coming." The king died, but on the second day of Queen Anne's reign a new commission was issued, and in June, 1702, Joseph Dudley reached Boston as the Governor of the Province. With him came the Lieut.-Governor, Thomas Povey, "a stranger sent, whom we knew nor heard anything of before." The new Governor was well received. A delegation from the Council went down the harbor to meet him. He was congratulated on his safe arrival; and his attention was called to the black clothes which testified to the sorrow felt for the king's decease. The peaceable accession of the queen was acknowledged with thanksgiving, and the coming of his Excellency was recognized as "a very fair first-fruit of" the new reign; "for which we bless God and Queen Anne." There also came with the Governor an ancient minister. In answer to an inquiry, the Governor said it was George Keith. He had been a minister among the Friends, but was at this time connected with the English Church. He "had converted many in England," and had been sent over by the Bishop of London, with a salary of two hundred guineas a year. "I look'd on him," writes one of the committee of reception, "as Helena aboard. This man crav'd a Blessing and return'd Thanks, though there was the chaplain of the Ship and another Minister on board."

At this time we find more strenuous efforts made to establish Episcopacy here. We come upon Governor Dudley, on the third Sabbath after his arrival, at King's Chapel, listening to Mr. Myles, who inveighs vehemently against schism. What seemed to the other ministers the real schism was to have more effective assistance.

In the days of the Commonwealth there had been formed in England a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. After the Restoration a new society was formed for the same object, whose field extended beyond New England into "parts adjacent." Naturally the immediate application of the funds of this organization was made by the dissenting or Congregational churches, for there were no others here for a long time; and when an Episcopal church was established in Boston, it was very much in need of funds for its own support, although it contained men who were in authority and many connected with the army. An attempt was made to divert the money given for the instruction of the Indians to the support of the struggling English Church. The design failed, and a new society was incorporated by the king, in 1701, and called "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." This was to be under Episcopal control and in the interests of the Episcopal Church. The instruction of the heathen was not named among its objects. It was "to instruct our loving subjects in our plantations in the principles of true religion;" to provide for the support of an orthodox clergy, and for the ordinances of the church. This meant the extension of the English Church; and the churches in whose sight the work was to be done so regarded it. It was with jealous eyes they looked upon it. It is to be

remembered under what circumstances these colonies had been created. The new society went to the old towns of New England, and set up the English clergy in their government and worship. The religious establishments already there were to be assailed, and their adherents drawn to the new ways. In 1712 we find Mr. Colman complaining to the Dean of Peterborough that the funds of the society had been used to create divisions and to hinder the progress of the gospel. As the plan was unfolded, it was found that it contemplated appointing bishops for New England, and establishing schools and colleges which should be under the influence of the English prelates, that the youth might be drawn from the ways of their fathers to the ways which their fathers had abandoned. The new church received accessions, but the New England clergymen for the most part resisted all efforts to draw them from their loyalty to their own churches. In 1722 Timothy Cutler,[1] Rector of Yale College, and six other Congregational ministers, chiefly of Connecticut, gave in their adherence to the Episcopal Church. They were in a region where "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" had made a liberal bestowment of its funds. It was a grievous thing to the churches when the head of one of their colleges thus turned against them. We can readily imagine the sensation produced in Boston when the tidings reached the ministers here. We can safely conjecture the theme of many a sermon, and many a conference and prayer.

The matter was to come closer. Mr. Cutler sailed at once for England, where he received Episcopal ordination, and was made a Doctor in Divinity. A society was established in Boston for him, and he returned as a missionary, with a yearly salary of sixty pounds sterling. It was in 1724 that he arrived in Boston. At once he made a claim, in connection with the rector of King's Chapel, to be received to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College. The feeling which Mr. Cutler's defection had caused was intensified by this proceeding. It was regarded as an attempt to have the control of the Congregational college shared with the Episcopal Church. It was a very tender point; there was none more sensitive. The college was open to all who chose to seek its training; but the government of the college by right belonged with the churches and the purposes in which it had its origin. The overseers declared that Mr. Cutler and Mr. Myles had no right, under the constitution, to sit as Overseers of the College. They appealed to the General Court, and the answer was the same. The plan in this part had failed, and this project was abandoned. The churches had the comfort of renewed security in the possession of the revered school.

[1] [A heliotype after an engraving of Cutler by Pelham is given in the present chapter. An account of his family is given in Abner Morse's *Genealogical Record* of several families having the name of Cutler, 1867. Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, i. ch. xvii., traces the effects of Cutler's advent to Boston. He was born in Charlestown in 1683. — Ed.]

The Diary of Judge Sewall, though the record of one man's life, gives us many glimpses of the religious current in this period. A few references to it may connect us more intimately with the times: —

1700. "Having been long and much dissatisfied with the Trade of fetching Negros from Guinea, at last I had a strong Inclination to Write something about it; but it wore off." Reading Bayne's Commentary on the first chapter of Ephesians he began to be uneasy. He was shown a petition to the General Court to free a negro and his wife unjustly held in bondage. There was an attempt to discourage the bringing of negroes by laying a duty of forty shillings upon each one. Cotton Mather resolved to publish a sheet to exhort masters to labor for the conversion of their black servants. At length the good Judge, far in advance of his times, published his memorial against Slavery, entitling it, *The Selling of Joseph*.[1]

1701. He was disturbed because Josiah Willard had cut off his full head of hair and put on a wig. The Judge gave an earnest admonition and referred the offending brother to Calvin's Institutes. When, later, Mr. Willard preached for Mr. Pemberton, the Judge attended service at Mr. Colman's, partly out of dislike to the hair-cutting, and partly "to give an Example of my holding Communion with that Church who renounce the Cross in Baptisme, Humane Holydays, etc., as other New-english Churches doe." Mr. Colman's people were much gratified by his presence.

1702. Feb. 19. "Mr. I. Mather preached from Rev. xxii. 16, — bright and morning Star. Mention'd Sign in the Heaven, and in the Evening following I saw a large Cometical Blaze, something fine and dim, pointing from the Westward, a little below Orion." He learned that a line drawn to the comet would strike just upon Mexico, and that he must look towards Mexico to view the comet, which suggested changes there. "I have long pray'd for Mexico, and of late in those Words, that God would open the Mexican Fountain."

June 1. "Ministers were disgusted because the Representatives went first in the Proclaiming the Queen, and that by order of our House."

Oct. 1. "The Governor and Council agree that Thorsday, Oct. 22, be a Fast Day. Governor moved that it might be Friday, saying, Let us be Englishmen. . . . I suggested to Major-General that the Drought might be mention'd; Mr. Winthrop spake, but the Governor refused."[2]

Nov. 10. "Mr. Leverett comes from Cambridge; open the Court in the Meeting-house, because the Town-house is very near a house that has the Small Pocks; so that people are afraid to goe there. . . . Sat in the Deacon's seat."

1703. Aug. 2. "It is said the Colors must be spread at the Castle every Lord's Day in honor of it. Yesterday was first practiced. If a ship come in on the Lord's Day, Colors must be taken down. I am afraid the Lord's Day will fare none the better for this new pretended honor."

1704. March 5. "The dismal News of the Slaughter made at Deerfield is certainly and generally known; Mr. Secretary came to me in the morning, and told me of it. I told Mr. Willard, by which means our Congregation was made a Bochim. 'Tis to be observed that the great Slaughters have been on the Third day of the week, our Court day."

[1] [See Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] The royal Governors were inclined to interfere with the provincial religious days for Thanksgiving and Fasting, and to have a hand in wording the proclamations.

June 30. The Judge went to the execution of six pirates, who elsewhere are said to have "dyed very obdurately and impenitently, hardened in their sin," though great efforts had been made for their reformation.[1]

1705. Sept. 10. He tried to prevail with ministers to have the Lord's Supper celebrated once in four weeks, as it was in the time of Cotton and Wilson. He thought it would be an honor to Christ, and a great privilege and honor to Boston to have the Communion in one of the four churches on every Lord's Day. "We have nothing to do with moneths now; Their Respect now ceases with the Mosaical Pedagogy."

We turn now from the suggestive pages of this Diary. In the First Church the pastor, Mr. Allen, had become so infirm through age that he seldom took any part in the Sabbath services, and on May 10, 1705, Rev. Thomas Bridge was installed as colleague with him and Mr. Wadsworth. Two of the elders of the church joined with the ministers in the laying-on of hands. Mr. Bridge was born in England and educated there. He was a merchant before he was a minister. After travelling abroad, he preached in the West Indies, and then came to Boston. He is described as a sincere and humble man, full of love for the civil and religious liberty of this country. "Prayer was his gift, and the Bible his library."

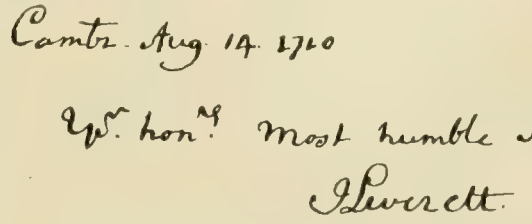
In the same year, 1705, the religious atmosphere was disturbed by an effort made by the Boston Association of Ministers to change the platform of the churches. Sixteen proposals were sent out for the consideration of the associated ministers in different parts of the country. These proposals were not without their good points; but they were opposed to the spirit and habit of Congregational churches. It was proposed that the ministers' meetings should have an ecclesiastical character, and should assume some of the matters usually committed to the churches; that these associations, with the addition of a lay element, should constitute standing councils, whose decisions should usually be authoritative, and that no one should be allowed to preach unless he had the written testimonial of an association. These proposals took away from the churches much of the independence and authority of which Congregational churches have always been very jealous, and it was impossible to gain consent to them. The answer to them was made by the Rev. John Wise, of Ipswich, a stout defender of civil liberty against encroachment, and a military chaplain of martial spirit and skill. He entitled his answer *The Churches' Quarrel Espoused*. It was a very shrewd and sharp attack and defence. It overthrew the proposals and strengthened the traditional principles of the churches, which settled down more firmly on their old platform. Mr. Wise followed this victory, in 1717, by another publication called *A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches*, — a very clear demonstration of the New England polity, and one which had a large influence in its day.[2]

[1] [See further in Mr. Scudder's chapter. — Ed.]

[2] [See Dr. Dexter's *Congregationalism*, etc., p. 494, and Tyler, *History of American Literature*, ii. 104; also, Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

In 1707 the Rev. Samuel Willard died, — the minister of the South Church and vice-president of the College. He was in his sixty-eighth year, and had been an important man in public affairs. He was a man of large ability and of extensive learning. "His death was a severe blow to his church and to the college, and regarded as 'an awful rebuke to the whole land.' . . . That he was diligent and laborious is shown by the number of his publications. His common sermons were fit to be preached before assembled clergymen." His principal work was a course of monthly lectures on the Shorter Catechism, — *A Complete Body of Divinity*. These lectures were read at the college, and were listened to by crowds of people from Boston. They constituted "the first folio on theology published in this country, and the largest which had been published here on any subject, being a very expensive undertaking for the then Western Churches in America." [1]

On Oct. 28, 1707, John Leverett was chosen President of Harvard College. It was a disappointment to the Mathers, who had hoped, and not without reason, that one of them — and it mattered little to them whether it was the father or the son — would be chosen to that most distinguished office. It was not alone that this office had passed beyond their grasp which tried and provoked them; but they had been forced to see the college come under the influence of men who were in sympathy with the new religious movement which had found expression in the Manifesto Church. In his religious opinions Leverett was in agreement with the Brattles.


Camtr. Aug. 14. 1710

Yr. hon.rs Most humble Servt

J Leverett.

The Mathers were not men to be quiet under either wrong or misfortune. They were disturbed before by the course of public affairs, and the public and private life of the Governor. Dudley had been imprisoned with Andros by the party with which the Mathers were prominently associated. On the accession of Dudley to the chief place in the province they greeted him with respect and admiration. The father described the Governor to himself as "blessed with rare accomplishments, natural and acquired," and "beyond all others advantaged to serve and honor Christ, by promoting the welfare of his churches." The Governor on his part acknowledged that "if he ever had a spiritual father, Mather was the man." Cotton Mather used his office to give the new governor warning and advice against Leverett and Byfield the speaker, though the force of the admonition seems to have returned upon his own head.

In July, 1707, there was printed in London a tract of about forty pages,

[1] [These two-and-fifty Lectures make nine hundred and fourteen double column pages, — the work of nineteen years. Tyler, *American Literature*, ii. 168. A heliotype after Pelham's engraving of Willard, which appeared in this folio, is given in Vol. I. Quincy, *Hist. of Harvard University*, i. ch. viii., draws the character of Willard. — ED.]

entitled *A Memorial of the Present Deplorable State of New England.* Of this pamphlet "it is evident that Rev. Cotton Mather was the inciter and perhaps the compiler." It was a severe arraignment of the Governor for his maladministration of his office, by which New England had been brought under many disadvantages. It was very plain that whatever friendship, or semblance of friendship, there had been between these ministers and the Governor was now at an end. No single cause for this change need be sought. The part which Dudley had in placing Leverett at the head of the college was sufficient to bring matters to a crisis, and to draw upon the Governor the power of their anger.

Under the date of Jan. 20, 1708, Increase Mather wrote to Governor Dudley a letter heavy with the gravest charges. He was charged with "bribery and unrighteousness;" with contrivances to ruin the country; with "hypocrisy and falseness in the affair of the college;" with the shedding of innocent blood; with the neglect of the worship of God. The writer justified himself especially in his reproof, because the Governor had called him his spiritual father, if he had any; and because it was thought that he had been influential in procuring the appointment of the Governor. On the same day Cotton Mather wrote to him in a similar strain, in a letter less orderly and particular, but quite as severe and very much longer. To these epistles Governor Dudley replied on Feb. 3, 1708. The reply is more calm than the circumstances would lead one to expect. If it is not marked with the confidence of a man who has the assurance of his conscience that the charges against him are without reason, it is still the utterance of a man who feels that his adversaries are vulnerable and not without fault.

"Why, then, have you permitted me to go on in these evils, without admonition, till you tell me I have ruined myself, family, and country? And how can you clear yourselves from having a hand in so extensive desolations? . . . I desire you will keep your station, and let fifty or sixty good ministers, your equals in the province, have a share in the government of the college, and advise thereabouts as well as yourselves, and I hope all will be well. I am an honest man, and have lived religiously these forty years to the satisfaction of the ministers in New England; and your wrath against me is cruel, and will not be justified."

The conduct of the Mathers did not have the approval of their ministerial brethren. Mr. Pemberton talked very warmly about Cotton Mather's letter to the Governor. "Said if he were as the Governor, he would humble him, though it cost him his head." Mr. Colman preached on February 5, from Galatians v. 25. "'Tis reckon'd he lash'd Dr. Mather and Mr. Cotton Mather and Mr. Bridge for what they have written, preach'd, and pray'd about the present contest with the Governor."

The Memorial published in England in 1707 was received and read in this country. It was soon followed by a pamphlet on the other side: *A Modest Enquiry into the Ground and Occasions of a late Pamphlet, intituled*

A Memorial of the Present Deplorable State of New England. By a Disinterested Hand. It was designed, of course, to be a justification of Dudley. It was followed in its time, in 1708, by another publication on *The Deplorable State of New England By Reason of a Covetous and Treacherous Governour and Pusillanimous Counsellors.* Whatever was written, and with whatever justice, Dudley did not possess and could not regain the

THE "OLD BRICK" OR FIRST CHURCH.[1]

confidence and esteem of the people over whom he was placed. He remained in office for a few months after the death of the queen, when one Colonel Burgess was appointed in his place, with William Tailer as lieut.-governor. Burgess was induced to decline the position offered to him, and Samuel Shute was appointed governor,[2] with William Dummer, Dudley's son-in-law, for lieut.-governor. In 1720 Dudley died. The alienation

[1] [There is another view of this building, which stood from 1713 to 1808, in Rufus Ellis's *Last Sermon Preached in the First Church, Chauncy Street, May* 10, 1868, with some reminiscences of it by Mr. William Hayden in the appendix. See also Drake, *Landmarks*, 84, etc. — ED.]

[2] [See Dr. Ellis's chapter in this vol. — ED.]

from him of the Mathers seems not to have been removed. What is perhaps of more moment, after the election of Leverett the Mathers, though still by virtue of their pastoral office overseers, "ceased all official interference in the affairs of the college," although the younger did not refrain from an open expression of his discontent with the management of college affairs. We find him in 1718 writing to Governor Shute: "Though the College be under a very unhappy government, yet for my own part I earnestly desire that it may go on as easily and as quietly as possible. . . . For some reasons I desire to keep at the greatest distance imaginable from all the affairs of Harvard." But the association of his name with the college was not so soon to cease.

In the year 1708 the Baptist Church in Boston called to its pastorate Mr. Ellis Callender, who had been a member of this church since 1699.

In 1709 a meeting-house for the Quakers was built in Boston on the front part of their land in Leverett's Lane, now Congress Street, opposite the present Exchange Place. The house was of brick, and measured about thirty by thirty-five feet. It had in front a high wooden fence, with a large gate, which was seldom opened except for the small monthly meetings of the society. The rear part of their land seems to have been set apart for a burying-ground. Most of the bodies placed there were in 1826 removed to Lynn.[1]

In 1710 the First Church in Boston built "a convenient, suitable house for the use of the ministry." In 1711 the meeting-house of the First Church was burned, as has already been narrated; and in 1712 "was founded the fabrick of a new church, which was occupied in May, 1713. It stood on the site of the former house, and was built of brick. It was of three stories, with a clock and belfry. It was afterwards known as the 'Old Brick.'"

In 1713 Mr. Joseph Sewall was settled at the South Church as colleague with Mr. Pemberton. He was the son of Judge Samuel Sewall, and graduated at Cambridge in 1707, and studied theology there. At his ordination he preached the sermon from 1 Corinthians, iii. 7. There was a large assembly. Nine churches were represented and twelve ministers sat at the table by the pulpit.

"Church sat in the gallery; Mr. Pemberton made an August Speech," writes the proud father, "Shewing the Validity and Antiquity of New-English Ordinations." The Mathers, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Pemberton, and Mr. Colman, joined in laying on hands. "Then Mr. Pemberton Pray'd, Ordain'd, and gave the Charge Excellently. Then Dr. Increase Mather made a notable Speech, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and pray'd. . . . The chief Entertainment was at Mr. Pemberton's; but was considerable elsewhere.'"

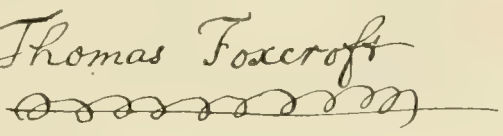
In 1714 the New North Church in Boston was formed. "Seventeen substantial mechanics[2] formed the nucleus" of this society. They set up a

[1] [See the Introduction to this volume. — Ed.]

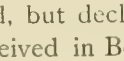
[2] [Solomon Townsend, Erasmus Stevens, Moses Pierce, Caleb Lyman, John Pecker, Alexander Sears, Ebenezer Clough, John Goldthwait, Samuel Gardner, William Parkman, John Barrett, Isaac Pierce, Joshua Cheever, Matthew Butler,

small building of wood, "unassisted by the more wealthy part of the community except by their prayers and good wishes." Rev. John Webb, of Harvard, 1708, was ordained pastor of the new church Oct. 20, 1714. The congregation increased so much that in 1730 the house was enlarged, and in 1802 a more substantial structure took its place.

In 1715 Rev. Mr. Bridge, of the First Church, died, in the eleventh year of his ministry in this church. "He made a sudden exit from the scene of his labors, leaving behind him a name which is better than precious ointment, and four publications evincing his concern for the cause of righteousness and the welfare of mankind."[1] In 1717 Mr. Thomas Foxcroft was chosen as the colleague pastor of the First Church, and was ordained November 20. He graduated at Harvard in 1714. His father was a member of the English Church, but the son joined the Congregationalists, and became a very popular preacher. In 1718 Mr. Elisha Callender, H. C. 1710, was ordained as pastor of the Baptist Church. The two Mathers and Mr. Webb joined in the service of ordination. Cotton Mather preached the sermon, which was entitled "Good men united." Mr. Callender was the son of his predecessor in this church. The father is supposed to have died about 1726.



Later in 1718 Mr. Thomas Prince was ordained as colleague with Mr. Sewall at the South Church. Mr. Prince graduated at Harvard in 1707, and after studying theology at Cambridge went abroad and spent several years in travel. He preached for a few years in England, but declined to remain there. He was well received in Boston,[3] and after supplying the pulpit of the South Church for a portion of the time, he was called to the pastoral office. He preached at his ordination from Hebrews xiii. 17.



Elias Townsend, John Goff, and James Barnard. John Dixwell, son of Col. Dixwell (James Davids) the regicide, was a deacon. Mr. Samuel Holden, who was chosen deacon in 1752, was the oldest man in Boston when he died, about 1793 — ED.]

[1] [Rev. William Cooper's diary (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1876, p. 435) says: "1715, Sept. 26. Dyed here the Rev[d] Mr. Thomas Bridge, in the 59[th] year of his age, and ye 11 of his pastoral office to ye 1[st] Ch. of X in this place. His birth and education were in England. He was a man of much piety, devotion, love, humility, meekness, etc., and of great fidelity in the discharge of his office. He dyed of lethargical or apoplectick disease." A sermon on his death by Cotton Mather was printed in Boston, 1715. See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1865, p. 161. — ED.]

[2] [A heliotype reproduction of an engraving of Prince is given in the present chapter. There are portraits of him in the galleries of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the American Antiquarian Society; an engraving is in Drake's *Boston*, p. 646. For memoirs of him by Samuel G. Drake, see *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1851, p. 375; and by William H. Whitmore, see the edition of the *Catalogue of the Prince Library*, which Messrs. Wiggin and Lunt were allowed to print from the type used in printing the Boston Public Library edition of the *Catalogue*, which has an introduction on Prince and his library by Justin Winsor. See also Tyler's *American Literature*, ii. 144; and *North American Review*, Oct. 1860, by Whitmore. A letter from Prince, giving an account of his family, published in the *N. E Weekly Journal*, July 15, 1728, is reprinted in the *Register*, 1851, p. 378, where will also be found a tabular pedigree. — ED.]

[3] [He had arrived in the harbor on Sunday, July 21; and he speaks in his diary of the captain in his pinnace taking him to Long Wharf

In 1719 the New South Church was formed. In 1715 the town had made a grant to sundry petitioners, among whom was Samuel Adams, of "a Piece of Land comonly called Church Green, nigh Summer Street in Boston, of sixty-five feet in Length and forty-five feet in Breadth (with convenient High Wayes Round the same), for the Erecting thereon an Edifice for a Meeting House for the Publick Worship of God." It is not known why this piece of land was so early decorated with the ecclesiastical name which it has borne till within a few years.[1] On this lot was erected "a convenient wooden building, with a handsome steeple, finished after the Ionick order, in which is a bell." On Nov. 22, 1719, Mr. Samuel Checkley, H. C. 1715, was ordained as the minister of the new church.

In 1720 Rev. Peter Thacher was installed pastor of the New North Church. It was an event of great local interest and importance. Mr. Thacher was the grandson of the first minister of the South Church. He graduated at Cambridge in 1696. He was ordained pastor of the Weymouth Church in 1707, and remained there until he was called to Boston. He was eminently qualified for the position to which he was invited, but he was already the pastor of a church. Standing among the customs of our time, we smile at the controversy over the propriety of calling a minister from one church to another. Mr. Thacher was called by a majority of only one vote, and that one was the casting vote of the pastor. It was not right, said the objectors, for a wealthier society to draw away the minister of one that was poorer:

> "Weymouth, in God's sight, is as precious as Boston, and the souls there of as great worth as the souls here. And to the common objection, that it is a pity that Mr. Thacher, being so bright a light, should smoke out his days in so much obscurity, we answer, first, bright lights shine brightest in the darkest places; and, secondly, bright lights are the obscurer for burning in a room where there are more, and as bright."

To the other excuses of the majority, — that ministers had moved in this way before; that Mr. Thacher was not equal to the work in Weymouth, especially the pastoral visitation; that he had not done much good by his preaching there; and that he wished the delight and profit of the conversation he would find in Boston, — they made forcible replies. The other ministers sought to reconcile the conflicting parties. They advised the majority not to insist on the settlement of Mr. Thacher, and the minority

about a quarter of an hour after service had begun, whereby he escaped "the crowds of people that came down the wharf at noon-time" to see him; for "they tell me," he adds, "there were about 500 came down inquiring after me. But now, the streets being clear, I silently went up to the Old South meeting, and none there knew me." Judge Sewall says: "He was at our meeting; but not thinking of him, and he having a wig on and russet coat, I saw him not at all." Prince says again: "After the exercises ended I made haste into the porch on purpose to avoid Mr. Sewall's taking notice of me in public."— *Sewall's Diary*, iii. 135. The diary of the Rev. Jacob Eliot records, under date of July 28, 1717, the first sermon that ever Mr. Prince "preached in New England," at the Old North; and later (Sept. 5) he mentions his first Thursday lecture. Sewall says: "Mr. Prince preached in my son's turn." He also chronicles a fast kept at the Old South, Sept. 25, "to chuse a minister," when Mr. Sewall preached in the morning, and Cotton Mather in the afternoon. See also *Sewall's Diary*, iii. 140. — ED.]

[1] [See Introduction to this volume for the early history of this lot. — ED.]

The Revd Mr William Welsteed

THOMAS PRINCE A.M.

not to build another meeting-house. A conflict of pamphlets followed with titles which indicated the deep feeling on both sides. The majority wrote with the more moderation, but the dissentients, though they showed the most temper, seem to have been in the right. When Mr. Thacher came in accordance with the invitation given to him, the Boston ministers refused to sit on the council which was to install him. Only one church was fairly represented on the council; one other minister, a relative of the candidate, came, though his church had refused to send him. There was danger of disorder at the public service. The council went out of the back gate of Mr. Webb's garden, and through an alley which opened in front of the meeting-house, and thus gained possession of the pulpit. An uproar ensued. In the midst of the tumult the minister of the church at Rumney Marsh, the only one on the council, asked the necessary questions concerning the call and its acceptance, and declared Mr. Thacher regularly inducted into his office as minister of the church. The dissenting part of the society withdrew, and prepared to build another meeting-house and to organize a new church. The needs of the neighborhood did not require another place of worship, but the convictions of these persons demanded it. Twenty-four persons associated themselves for this purpose, and this number was soon increased to forty. They built a brick house which was long regarded as a structure of remarkable elegance. It fronted upon Hanover Street, with entrances on three sides. It was dedicated on May 10, 1721. Mr. Cotton Mather preached the morning sermon from Psalm xxiv. 10. Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cooper, and Dr. Colman, took part in the services, with Mr. Wadsworth, who preached the afternoon sermon from Revelation ii. 1. In May, 1722, a church was gathered,[1] and on the same day Mr. William Waldron was ordained as the first pastor. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1717. His ministry was brief, as he died in 1727. But he greatly endeared himself to those who knew him. He was possessed of a deeply religious spirit, and of warm affections. A zealous adherent to the New England polity, he was devoted to the liberties of the people. His preaching was sound in argument and direct and plain in method. He was heartily commemorated in the discourses of his associates as a man of unusual worth.

It was the custom at this time for the Congregational ministers of the province to come to Boston at the session of the General Court for the election of magistrates. They generally dined together at the house of one of the ministers, and frequently had the company of the Governor and other persons connected with the government. The connection between the ministers and the government was an intimate one. The judgment and advice of the ministers had, at an earlier time, been more sought by the rulers; but their influence continued to be evident and efficient. At length it was thought advisable that this gathering of the clergy should have a

[1 A list of persons connected with the new brick church, 1722–75, compiled by T. B. Wyman, is printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1864 — Ed.]

more formal character, and the "Convention of Congregational Ministers" was organized. In 1720 they "Voted, that a sermon should be preached annually to the ministers on the day following election." Dr. Increase Mather was chosen the preacher for the next year, with the Rev. Solomon Stoddard and the Rev. Cotton Mather as substitutes. Dr. Increase Mather accordingly preached the sermon in 1721. In 1722 Mr. Cotton Mather preached. During the first eight years the sermon was delivered in a private dwelling-house. In 1731 there is the first notice of a collection of money for missionary purposes, and this was repeated in subsequent years. At a later date, 1786, the "Congregational Charitable Society of Massachusetts" was incorporated by the Legislature, that the benevolent work begun by the Convention might be more efficiently carried on. The result of this movement has been the accumulation of a large fund, the income of which is used for the benefit of the families of deceased ministers. A collection for a similar object is taken after the sermon which is still preached before the "Convention of Congregational Ministers."

In 1723 Dr. Increase Mather closed his long life. Its story is inseparable from the history of the times in which he lived. From his graduation in 1656 he was actively engaged in the duties of the profession he had both inherited and chosen, and in the affairs of the town, the college, and the colony. After his death, Mr. Joshua Gee was chosen as colleague with Mr. Cotton Mather in the pastoral work of the Second Church, and was ordained in December, 1723. Mr. Gee was a Harvard graduate of 1717, and gave promise of large usefulness. His early preaching attracted much attention, and his talents gave him a wide influence. He was an instructive and convincing preacher, full of zeal, and moved by strong convictions. Though said to have been of an indolent habit, he bore an active part in the controversies of his time. He bound his parishioners to him and devised wise things for them and for his successors in founding a library for the use of the church and its ministers.

In May, 1724, President Leverett suddenly died.[1] The great question immediately arose, who should succeed to his high station? It was an important and difficult question at any time, but was rendered more so by the divisions in the religious views of the friends of the college, and by the jealousies which this state of things would naturally engender. It is not strange that Cotton Mather desired and expected the office. It is not strange that he was passed over in the choice. Rev. Joseph Sewall was elected; chosen for his piety, Mr. Mather wrote. It was not a just reflection upon him or the electors; yet the gifts of Mr. Sewall seem to have been better suited to the work of a pastor than to that of president. The Old South Church was unwilling to give him up, and he declined the office. The Rev. Benjamin Colman, of the Brattle Street Church, was chosen. In connection with this election, the friends of the college sought to secure from the General Court a fitting salary for the president, and one which could be depended

[1] [Quincy depicts his character. *History of Harvard University*, i. ch. xv. and xvi. — Ed.]

upon. The effort failed, and Mr. Colman declined the office. Several months passed before another election was made, when the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, of the First Church, was chosen. He declared his reluctance to accept the office, and his preference to remain with his church. His church finally consented that he should accept the call to the new position, if he judged it to be his duty. He consented to be made the president of the college, and the General Court granted him one hundred and fifty pounds "to enable him to enter upon and manage the great affair of that presidency, and a committee was appointed to look out a suitable house for the reception of the President," and to inquire into the financial condition of the college. He was inaugurated on Commencement Day, 1725. He retired from the pastoral office, but continued for a time to preach in his turn for the First Church, whose friendship he possessed to the end of his life.

In 1723 the Second Episcopal Church in Boston was built for the new Society, which bore the name of Christ Church, and was to be under the care of the Rev. Timothy Cutler. That house of worship is still standing on Salem Street. It was in its day much admired for its architectural beauty.[1] In 1744 a chime of bells procured in England by Dr. Cutler, and consecrated there, was placed in the tall steeple, which has been twice rebuilt, where it still remains.

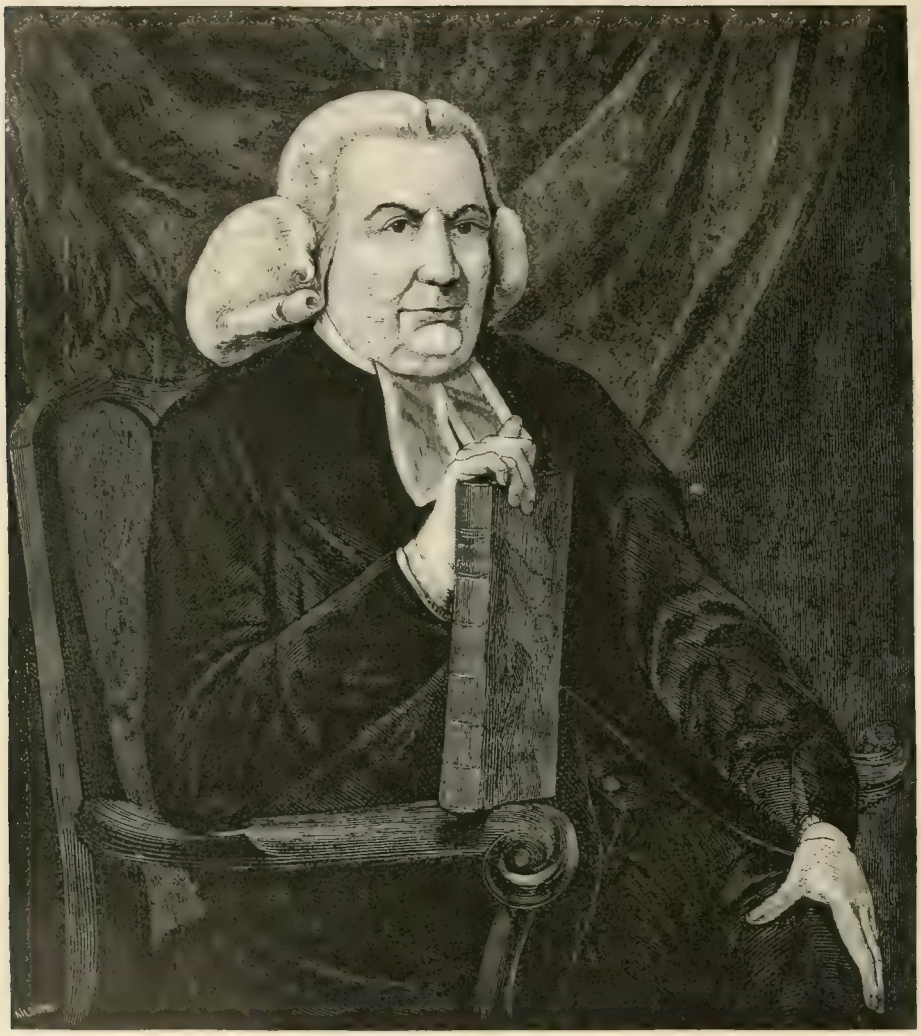
After Mr. Wadsworth had assumed the presidency of the college, the First Church took measures to procure another minister; and in 1727, on October 25, Mr. Charles Chauncy was ordained as the colleague of Mr. Foxcroft. Mr. Chauncy was the great-grandson of President Chauncy, and graduated in 1721. He filled out a long life with industry and piety, and died in 1787, after a ministry of nearly sixty years in this church. He was called to defend the faith and practice of the churches, and to oppose those who would subvert them; and he proved a valiant champion. He left in print a large number of works, chiefly sermons, to witness to the earnestness of his life.

In 1727 a colony of Irish Presbyterians formed a church and began worship in a plain wooden building, which had been used as a barn, in Long Lane, now Federal Street. Rev. John Moorhead was their minister for a very long period.[2] In 1744 they were strong enough to put up a neat church edifice, which was afterwards enlarged to meet the wants of the flourishing society. The bell and vane of the old Brattle Street Meeting-house were presented to the new house, by Governor Hancock. At the New Brick Church, in 1728, Mr. William Welsteed took the place of Mr. Waldron as pastor. He was a Boston boy, a graduate of the college in 1716, and a

[1] [A list of the original pew owners is given in Drake and Snow. Two hundred and fourteen persons contributed £737 18*s.* towards the cost of erection. The bells weigh 7,272 pounds. One is inscribed, "We are the first ring of bells cast for the British Empire in North America." Another says, "Abel Rudhall, of Gloucester, cast us all. Anno, 1744." — Ed.]

[2] [A heliotype after Pelham's engraving of Moorhead is given in the present chapter. It was both painted and engraved by this artist in 1751. — Ed.]

tutor there from 1720 to 1728. He remained for twenty-five years the minister of the church.[1] After the first ten years Mr. Ellis Gray was associated with him. He also was a Boston boy, and graduated at Harvard in 1734.



REV. CHARLES CHAUNCY, D.D.[2]

Both of these ministers died in 1753, on the communion Sabbath, at the same time of the day, of the same disease, and after each had preached his last sermon, to his own people, from the same text with the other,

[1] [A heliotype after an engraving of Welsteed is given in the present chapter. — ED.]

[2] [There are portraits of Chauncy in the collections of the Historical Society, and in Memorial Hall at Cambridge. The present engraving follows that in the Historical Society. See W. C. Fowler's *Memorial of the Chauncys*, 1858, pp. 304, and a memoir in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1856, p. 325. There is a good characterization of Chauncy in Tyler's *American Literature*, ii. 200. — ED.]

— "Redeeming the time, because the days are evil." They were not especially distinguished men, but were accomplished and exemplary, diligent and useful. In this year, 1728, died the Rev. Cotton Mather, sixty-five years old, — busy and disturbed years, whose story and spirit will be told in another place.

In the same year William Burnet arrived in Boston as governor of the province. The position of the son of the renowned Bishop of Salisbury in the ecclesiastical affairs of the province can be readily conjectured. He had a generous reception, but his brief period of administration was chiefly occupied in the effort to procure the settlement of a stated salary upon the governor. In September, 1729, he died, from a fever contracted by the overturning of his carriage as he was coming to Boston from Cambridge, where the General Court was holding its session. Jonathan Belcher was appointed to his place, — a grandson of Andrew Belcher, the ancient innholder of Cambridge, and a graduate of Harvard in 1699. After an administration which had been of advantage to the province, he was transferred to New Jersey in 1741. He adhered to the religion of his fathers, and with fond recollections of his early home desired that his burial should be at Cambridge.

A law was passed in 1729 which relieved Baptists and Quakers from parish taxes. In 1730 the Old South Church entered its new house of worship, which was to become famous before the century closed.

In the year 1732 another church was established, in Hollis Street. Governor Belcher was very prominent in the organization of this church, and gave the land on which the meeting-house was built. This was a small wooden building, and had a bell weighing eight hundred pounds, the gift of a nephew of the Thomas Hollis from whom the church and the street took their name. The first minister was Rev. Mather Byles, who was born in Boston in 1706, who graduated at Cambridge in 1725, and after careful preparation began to preach. He was ordained over the Hollis-Street Church, Dec. 20, 1733. Mr. Byles came to be well-known for his literary and poetical accomplishments, and for his lively wit. He had a considerable reputation as a preacher. When the conflict between the province and the royal government was hastening towards the Revolution, he took sides with the Tory party, and boldly expressed his opinions. In consequence of this course he was compelled to retire from the office which he had so long filled, which he did in 1776. He was denounced in town-meeting, in 1777, as an enemy to his country, and was tried, and for a short time confined to his own house under a guard.

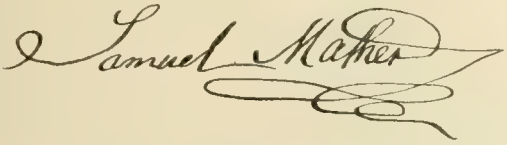
Mr. Samuel Mather was the son of Mr. Cotton Mather, born in 1706, graduated in 1723, and in 1732 called to be colleague with Mr. Gee at the Second Church. After he had held this place for nine years, serious difficulties arose between Mr. Gee and Mr. Mather, and between Mr. Mather and a majority of the church. It was charged that the junior pastor was

not entirely sound in doctrine, and not entirely proper in his conduct. He asked to be dismissed; the church refused, and proceeded to an investigation. A council was called which tried to heal the breach. For a little time it seemed that the endeavor might be successful. The council finally

Mather Byles

[1] [This cut follows a well-known mezzotint likeness of Mather Byles, which has also been reproduced in heliotype in Rev. George L. Chaney's *Historical Discourses* on the history of the Hollis-Street Church. A portrait of Dr. Byles is owned by Miss Kate O. Stone. Dr. Byles lived on Tremont Street, nearly where that street parts from Shawmut Avenue, and in the process of widening the thoroughfares the site of his house is brought partly upon the pavement. Drake's *Landmarks*, 412. Tyler, *History of American Literature*, ii. 192, draws his character sharply.

advised that Mr. Mather should be dismissed and his salary continued for one year. He was accordingly dismissed, and ninety-three of the church withdrew with him. Two hundred and sixty-three remained. The withdrawing parties made overtures looking to a return, but these could not be accepted if Mr. Mather was to be reinstated. The separatists therefore went forward and erected a meeting-house on Hanover Street, and became the Tenth Congregational Church in Boston. Mr. Mather continued to minister to this church until his death, in 1785, when, in accordance with his request, most of his people returned to the Second Church. The meeting-house was afterward sold to the Universalists. In spite of the opposition which Mr. Mather encountered, there is no good reason to doubt his uprightness. He seems to have been in good standing outside of the Second Church. His family position, both on the side of his father, grandfather, and of his wife, who was a sister of Governor Hutchinson, exposed him to jealousy and ill-will more than if he had been differently connected. He is accounted a man of learning, though not a powerful preacher.



To look back once more, in 1737 the West Church in Boston was formed, and a meeting-house was erected on Lynde Street. It was the only church in that part of the town. The first minister was Rev. William Hooper, who, after a service of nine years, turned away from the New England churches, and connected himself with the Church of England. He went to England and was again ordained, after which he returned and was made the minister of Trinity Church, the third Episcopal Church in the town. The house of worship of this church was opened in 1735. It stood on Summer Street, at the corner of Hawley, and was a plain wooden structure, ninety feet by sixty, without steeple or tower. The interior was considered the finest in the town. The first minister was the Rev. Addington Davenport, who was for three years the Assistant Rector at the King's Chapel, and assumed the charge of the new church in 1740.

President Wadsworth died in 1737. His health began to decline soon after he was placed over the college, but with all the disadvantages of his impaired strength he performed his duties to the general acceptance of the friends of the college. "His conduct in their discharge was marked by

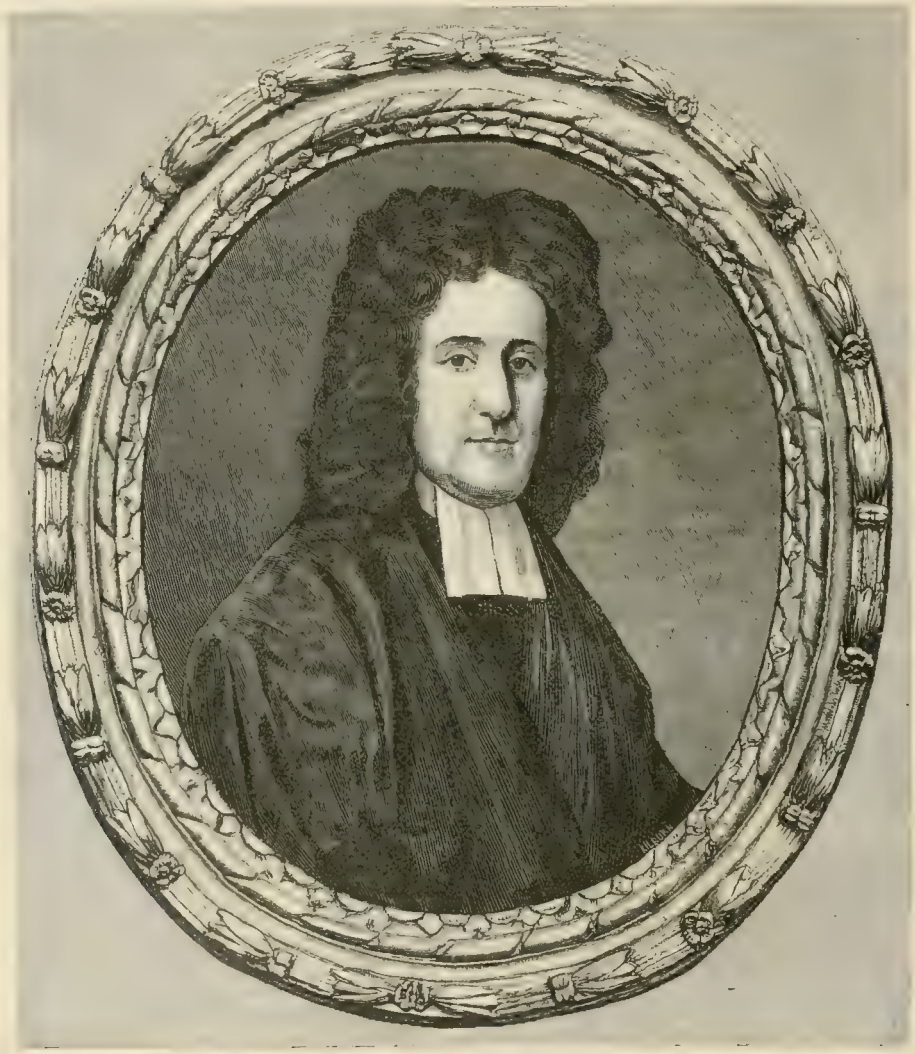
He is chiefly remembered for his Tory proclivities, which will be touched upon in the next volume. His wit and jests still pass current in Boston, and Tyler has noted the instances of his repartee recorded in Tudor's *Life of James Otis*, 156; Belknap Papers in 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 285, 471; iii. 51, 234; and Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 377, 378, 382. See also Sargent, *Dealings with the Dead*, ii. 364, etc. Duyckinck, *Cyc. of Amer. Lit.*, i. 119.

Some contemporary stanzas are still remembered: —

"There 's punning Byles provokes our smiles,
A man of stately parts;
He visits folks to crack his jokes,
Which never mend their hearts.
With strutting gait and wig so great,
He walks along the streets;
And throws out wit, or what 's like it,
To every one he meets."

— Ed.

firmness, prudence, and judgment. Faithful to every trust, kind to all, calm, cautious, moderate, self-possessed, and affectionate, he left a name precious to his own, and appreciated highly by after-times." In seeking another president the Corporation turned again to the ministers of Boston, and made choice of the Rev. William Cooper, of the Brattle-Street Church.



BENJAMIN WADSWORTH.[1]

This election appears to have been a compromise, and not to have secured the favorite candidate of either of the religious parties between which the community was divided. Mr. Cooper promptly declined the proffered honor and responsibility, and a few days later the Rev. Edward Holyoke, of Mar-

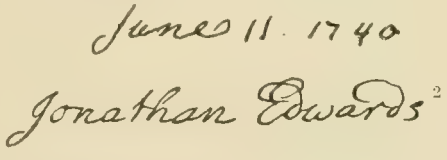
[1] [This cut follows a portrait now hanging in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. — ED.]

blehead, was unanimously chosen. He had graduated in 1705, and had been a tutor, librarian, and fellow in the college. He was considered eminently fitted for the duties of the office. His religious principles coincided with the mildness and catholicism which characterized the government of the seminary. To the inquiry of Governor Belcher, Mr. Holyoke's neighbor, the Rev. John Barnard answered: "I think Mr. Holyoke as Orthodox a Calvinist as any man; though I look upon him as too much of a gentleman, and of too catholic a temper, to cram his principles down another man's throat." "Then I believe he must be the man," replied the Governor. He was inaugurated Sept. 28, 1737. The General Court agreed to pay to the Society which had thus given up its pastor one hundred and forty pounds, "to encourage and facilitate the settlement of a minister there."

In 1738 Rev. Elisha Callender, of the First Baptist Church, died. He had served this church for twenty years, and was "beloved by people of all persuasions for his charitable and catholic way of thinking. His life was unspotted, and his conversation always affable, religious, and truly manly." In 1739 the Rev. Jeremiah Condy was made the minister of this church. He was a graduate of Harvard College in 1726.

In 1739 the Rev. Peter Thacher, of the New North Church, died. He was a man of great powers and wide learning; of a manly and earnest spirit; devout and amiable. "To call him the evangelical reasoner is comprehensive of his character as a preacher." [1]

We are brought now to the consideration of the religious movement often called "The great Awakening." There had come to be in the churches a lack of spiritual vigor, a languor, a deadness of faith, and an unsoundness of belief, which were not in keeping with their position or their history, and which foreboded evil things for the years that were to come. Out of this sleep they were awakened in a marvellous manner. The new life began to appear in 1734, under the powerful preaching of Jonathan Edwards, at Northampton. It spread to the surrounding towns. It aroused the interest of the Boston churches. Dr. Colman wrote to Dr. Edwards for an account of the work, which was given in a long letter afterward published in London. The Boston ministers kept their people interested, and circulated among them Dr. Edwards's letter and several sermons which had been influential in the movement. The remarkable interest in the valley of the Connecticut was not of long continuance; partly, it would seem, because so many had quickly felt the new life, and had come under its control, or turned away from it. But Boston was yet to feel its power. At the hands of a stranger it was to receive



[2]

[1] [His relationship to other members of this family of ministers can be traced in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Regs.*, 1859, p. 246, and 1866, p. 316, and in the *New England Magazine*, July, 1834. See also *Heraldic Journal*, iv. 75. — Ed.]

[2] [This is the subscription to a letter on file at the State House, addressed to Josiah Willard, relating to the labors of Whitefield. On his mother's side Edwards was descended from the Boston Stoddards. — Ed.]

the strange gift. The fame of George Whitefield, a young minister of the Church of England, then engaged in Christian work in Georgia, had reached so far, and was connected with so amazing results, that Dr. Colman sent him an invitation to visit New England. With his colleague, Mr. Cooper, he prepared the way for him by publishing a sermon by a clergyman of South Carolina, highly extolling his gifts and powers, and they accompanied this with a memoir of the coming man. For Whitefield came. Reaching Newport by water, he preached there to great assemblies, and then hastened on to Boston. Fortunately for him and for his reception, Governor Belcher was in sympathy with him. The Governor's son and "a train of the clergy and principal inhabitants" went out to meet him and to escort him into town, where a warm welcome awaited him. This was on Sept. 18, 1740. We have his own record of the beginning of his work here: —

"Friday, September 19, I was visited by several gentlemen and ministers, and went to the Governor's with Mr. Willard, the secretary of the province, a man fearing God, and with whom I have corresponded, though before unknown in person. The Governor received me with the utmost respect, and desired to see me as often as I could. At eleven I went to worship at the Church of England, and afterwards went home with the commissary. He treated me very courteously; and, it being the day whereon the clergy of the Established Church met, I had an opportunity of conversing with five of them. In the afternoon I preached to about four thousand in Dr. Colman's meeting-house, and afterwards exhorted and prayed with many who came to my lodgings."

On Saturday he preached in the morning at Mr. Sewall's, and afterward on the Common, and again at his lodgings. On Sunday he heard Dr. Colman preach, and in the afternoon preached at Mr. Foxcroft's church, and afterward on the Common and at his lodgings. He preached at Mr. Webb's, and Mr. Gee's, and was to have preached at Mr. Checkley's, but for an accident which drove the people to the Common. He went to Cambridge, where he found the college with the president, four tutors, and about a hundred students. He concluded that the college was —

"Not far superior to our universities in piety. Discipline is at a low ebb. Bad books are become fashionable among the tutors and students. Tillotson and Clark are read, instead of Shepard, Stoddard, and such like evangelical writers; and, therefore, I chose to preach from these words, — 'We are not as many, who corrupt the Word of God;' and God gave me great freedom and boldness of speech. A great number of neighboring ministers attended, as indeed they do at all other times. The president of the college and minister of the parish treated me very civilly. In the afternoon I preached again, in the court. I believe there were about seven thousand hearers. The Holy Spirit melted many hearts."

He preached the weekly lecture at Mr. Foxcroft's, and preached in Charlestown and Roxbury; and "from a scaffold erected without the Rev. Mr. Byles's meeting-house," and in Mr. Welsteed's church, and on Satur-

day afternoon on the Common to about fifteen thousand people, and on Sunday at Mr. Sewall's and Dr. Colman's, when, at both churches, offerings were made for an orphan house in Georgia.

"I then went and preached to a great number of negroes, on the conversion of the Ethiopian, and at my return gave a word of exhortation to a crowd of people who were waiting at my lodgings. I went to bed greatly refreshed with divine consolations."

Whitefield then visited other places, where he preached with great effect, and came again to Boston. He continued to preach to throngs, who were wonderfully affected by his appeals.[1] On Sunday, October 12, he preached in the South Church, which was so crowded with people that he was obliged to get into the house by a window. The Governor took him in his coach to the Common, where he preached his farewell sermon to an immense crowd, — "near twenty thousand people." On the next day the Governor took him to the Charlestown Ferry, handed him into the boat, kissed him, and bade him farewell with tears. Whitefield was evidently greatly pleased with his visit. "Boston people are dear to my soul, and were very liberal to my dear orphans." We have his reflections as he turned toward his Southern home. In his view Boston had kept up the form of religion well, but had lost much of its power. There was too much vanity to be seen in the assemblies.

"Jewels, patches, and gay apparel are commonly worn by the female sex. I observed little boys and girls commonly dressed up in the pride of life; and the infants that were brought to baptism were wrapped in such finery, that one would think they were brought thither to be initiated into, rather than to renounce, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. Boston, however, is remarkable for the external observance of the Sabbath. Men in civil offices have a regard for religion. The Governor encourages them; and the ministers and magistrates seem to be more united than those in any other place where I have been. I never saw so little scoffing; never had so little opposition."

What did others say of him? We have the testimony of the Rev. Thomas Prince of the Old South Church: —

"Upon Mr. Whitefield's leaving us, great numbers in this town were so happily concerned about their souls, as we had never seen anything like it before, except at the time of the general earthquake. And their desires were excited to hear ministers more than ever; so that our assemblies, both on lectures and Sabbaths, were surprisingly increased. And now the people wanted to hear us oftener, in consideration of

[1] [Paul Dudley thus recorded his impressions: "Mr. Whitefield is without doubt a very extraordinary man, full of zeal. . . . His preaching seems to be much like that of the old English Puritans. It was not so much the matter of his sermons, as the very serious, earnest, and affectionate delivery of them without notes, that gained him such a multitude of hearers. The main subjects of his preaching while here were the nature and necessity of regeneration, or conversion, and justification by the righteousness of Christ by faith alone."—*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1861, p. 58. Compare Mr. Drake's chapter on Roxbury in the present volume. — ED.]

which a public lecture was proposed to be set up at Dr. Colman's Church, near the midst of the town, on every Tuesday evening. . . . When the evening came, the house seemed to be crowded as much as if Mr. Whitefield was there. It was the first stated evening lecture in these parts of the world."

That great results followed the efforts of Whitefield is evident. That his methods were not approved by some of the ministers and people is also certain. His position was peculiar. He was an ordained minister of the English Church. Yet his work in Boston was done in the New England churches.

"His own received him not," remarks one of the writers of that time; "but we [ministers, rulers, and people] generally received him as an angel of God, or as Elias, or John the Baptist risen from the dead. . . . Such a power and presence of God with a preacher, and in religious assemblies, I never saw before, and am ready to fear I shall never see again."

That there were features of his preaching which cannot be commended is not more than should be expected. Let it be remembered that he was not twenty-six years old; that he had drawn public attention to himself wherever he had gone, and had found throngs waiting patiently and with longing upon his words. The unparalleled admiration which he received was enough to turn the head of a weak man, and transform him into a body of self-conceit. It did not have that effect upon this man. He never lost sight of his office, or its design. If he judged harshly, if he rebuked sharply, if he censured unjustly, we are not called upon either to be surprised at his haste, or to conceal his mistakes. Better than the judgment we could form is the opinion of the ministers of Boston, who in 1740 welcomed him to their pulpits and rejoiced in his labors. "Our Governor can call him nothing less than the Apostle Paul," says one writer. Old Mr. Walter, of Roxbury, Eliot's successor, said of his preaching, that "it was Puritanism revived." The feeling against him would be as strong at the college as anywhere. It is intimated by President Quincy that he had been misinformed regarding the college by some who were disaffected towards it. His preaching is said to have been effective there. The visiting committee of the overseers reported in June, 1741, that "they find of late extraordinary and happy impressions of a religious nature have been made on the minds of a great number of students, by which means the college is in a better order than usual, and the exercises of the professors and tutors better attended." The overseers recommended that the Faculty should encourage and promote the good work, and appointed a day of thanksgiving and prayer. Tutor Flynt seems to have been an impartial though interested witness of these events. He writes of Whitefield, —

"He appears to be a good man, and sincerely desirous to do good to the souls of sinners; is very apt to judge harshly, and censure, in the severest terms, those that

differ from his scheme. . . . I think he is a composition of a great deal of good and some bad; and I pray God to grant success to what is well designed and acted by him."

Soon after Whitefield left Boston his work was taken up by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, a Presbyterian minister from New Jersey. He labored in and near Boston for two or three months, and produced a deep impression. We have Mr. Prince's account of him and his work. He was esteemed a man of deep religious character. "His preaching was as searching and rousing as ever I heard," while Whitefield's is described as "in the manner moving, earnest, winning, melting." Tennent showed no desire to please his hearers, but directed his reasoning and appeals to their hearts and consciences.

"I do not remember any crying out, or falling down, or fainting, either under Mr. Whitefield's or Mr. Tennent's ministry all the while they were here; though many, both women and men, both those who had been vicious and those who had been moral, — yea, some religious and learned, as well as unlearned, — were in great concern of soul."

It is a good commentary on the influence of these two men that after they had gone persons continued to repair to their own ministers, and were instructed by them. "And now was such a time as we never knew. The Rev. Mr. Cooper was wont to say, that more came to him in one week in deep concern about their souls, than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry. I can also say the same as to the numbers who repaired to me." Mr. Webb said that he had in three months' time above a thousand come to him. "The people seemed to love to hear us more than ever." Numerous lectures were opened in the different churches and were largely attended, while there were frequent services in private houses. There were large additions to the churches from all classes. The very face of the town seemed changed. Negroes and boys left their rudeness. There was an altered "look and carriage of people." The taverns were deserted by those who had resorted to them with idle or evil intent. For a year and a half after Mr. Whitefield's departure the good work went on. But a change was to come. There was in the town of Southold, on Long Island, a minister named James Davenport. He was esteemed by Whitefield and Tennent as a godly and heavenly man. He was of an excitable temperament, extravagant, and unbalanced. The successes of Whitefield stirred him up to engage in similar labors. He began his work by examining the ministers, if he was allowed to do so, and pronouncing on their religious state, and by warning the people of the danger of sitting under unconverted pastors. At length he reached Charlestown, where he declared the minister an unconverted man. He crossed over to Boston, where the ministers invited him to a conference. They asked him why he left his flock so often and for so long periods, and why he assumed to judge of the estate of other

ministers and their people, and thus to make division. They decided, after hearing him, that they ought not to invite Mr. Davenport into their places of public worship, lest they might appear to countenance his errors. They were not satisfied that he had a call to preach in the fields from day to day, as he had been doing. While thus protesting against this man and his measures, they repeated their testimony "to the great and glorious work of God, which of his free grace he has begun and is carrying on in many parts of this and the neighboring provinces." Thus shut out from the churches, Davenport went to the Common, and there and on Copp's Hill preached to large gatherings and uttered his mind concerning the ministers. For uttering "many slanderous and reviling speeches against the godly and faithful ministers of this province" he was indicted and tried. Several of the ministers sent a note to the Court, asking that he might be treated with as much gentleness as was consistent with justice and good order. The fact was proved, but the verdict was "not guilty," on the ground that he was *non compos mentis*. That was in August, 1742. Little is known of the effect of his work in Boston. A few persons withdrew from the churches. In February, 1748, the eleventh Congregational Church in Boston was formed, and the Rev. Andrew Croswell, of Groton, Connecticut, who had defended Davenport, was installed as pastor. The meeting-house of the French Protestant Church, which about this time was disbanded, was secured by the new society. Mr. Croswell continued to be the pastor till his death, in 1785, when the house passed into other hands.

The indirect results of the commotion made by Davenport were long felt. The minds of the ministers and the people had been agitated on the vital matter of conversion, and controversy was the natural, as it is the usual, result. The ministers of Boston published two treatises, — one by Tennent, and the other by Dickinson, a Presbyterian clergyman of New Jersey; and at the annual meeting of the ministers of the province in May, 1743, they published their testimony "against several errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, which have of late obtained in various parts of the land." As this was the action of only a small portion of the clergy of the province, another meeting was held on the day after Commencement, when another declaration of "testimony and advice" was read and signed by sixty-eight of the ninety ministers present. They declared "their full persuasion that there has been a happy and remarkable revival of religion in many parts of this land through an uncommon divine influence." They were grieved that this should have been represented abroad as "all enthusiasm, delusion, and disorder," while they lamented that in some places there had been irregularities and extravagances. They declared that laymen should not invade the office of the minister, or ministers the province of others; that the people should beware of prejudices against their own pastors, and of separations and uncharitableness; and, above all, that the people should not despise the outpourings of the Spirit. The wisdom of the Massachusetts clergy was largely represented in this declaration; yet there were some ministers, justly

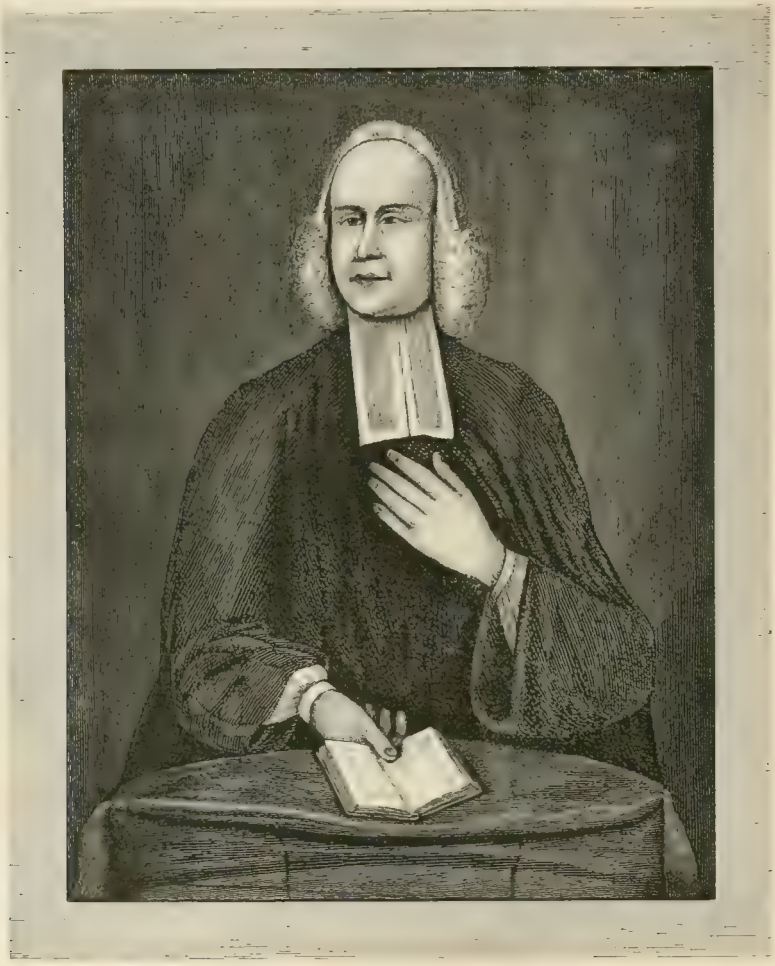
held in respect, who did not look so favorably on the movement. In 1742 Dr. Edwards published his *Thoughts on the Revival*, recognizing "the proofs of a mighty and infinite blessing." The next year Dr. Chauncy put forth his *Seasonable Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England*, in which he took strong ground on the other side, which seems to have been in accord both with his natural temperament and with the position he had before taken with regard to the work. After a time the special interest passed away, leaving its permanent results. In 1744 we find Thomas Prince mourning the withdrawal of the awakening influence of the sovereign Spirit. "But few are now added to our churches, and the heavenly shower in Boston seems to be over."

Mr. Whitefield made another visit to Boston in 1744. The common people received him, he writes, with joy which cannot be described. "But many of the ministers, — how shy! how different from what they once were!" He suffered from the dissension which was caused by Davenport and the controversy which he created. Besides this, Governor Belcher was gone. Mr. Whitefield is very frank in his statement: —

> "He honoured me with great honour, and the clergy paid the nod, and obeyed. In many, I then perceived, it was quite forced; and, I think, when at his table, I whispered to some one and said, 'If ever I come again, many of those who now seem extremely civil will turn out my open enemies.' The event has proved that in this respect, I have been no false prophet. You know where it is written, 'There arose a king who knew not Joseph.' But, many or all, my poor labours are yet attended with the usual blessings."

He preached in several of the largest houses of worship, — Dr. Colman's, Dr. Sewall's, Mr. Webb's, Mr. Gee's, — and at the Brattle-Street Church he administered the communion. "He comes," says the historian, "with the same extraordinary spirit of meekness, sweetness, and universal benevolence as before." But the newspapers assailed him. Two associations of ministers in Essex County rebuked their brethren in Boston for receiving him to their pulpits. The College Faculty retaliated the charges brought against the college in the hot discussions of the time, by publishing their testimony against Whitefield, calling him very hard names. Whitefield replied, and others continued the controversy. "Whitefield was sore beset. In letters to various friends he expressed more diffidence than might have been expected from a young man who had drunk so deeply into the intoxication of popular applause;" thus writes the calm historian in our day. "I certainly did drop some unguarded expressions in the heat of less experienced youth, and was too precipitate in hearkening to and publishing private information." He assured the Faculty of the College of his "sorrow that he had published his private informations . . . to the world." Twenty years later, when the Library had been burned, he gave to the college his "Journal and a collection of books; and also by his influence he procured a large number of valuable books from several parts of Great Britain."

Whitefield spent about three months in Boston and its vicinity on his second visit. He came again in 1754, when "thousands waited for, and thousands attended on, the word preached." Ten years later he returned, and was received "with the usual warmth of affection." He had collected



Whitefield[1]

[1] [This cut follows a portrait of Whitefield now hanging in Memorial Hall at Cambridge. Engraved portraits are numerous. Dr. Dexter enumerates, in the bibliography appended to his *Congregationalism as seen in its Literature*, the various publications which the "Great Awakening" called forth; and some of the chief of them are noted as for and against Whitefield in the *Prince Catalogue*, p. 65. The files of the newspapers of the day, particularly Fleet's *Evening Post*, show with what acrimony the friends and opponents of Whitefield opposed each other. When Foxcroft of the First Church published his *Apology*, Fleet opened his columns to severe rejoinders. That editor also waged a paper war with the Rev. Joshua Gee on the same point; and under the pseudonym of Deborah Shearman he or some one in his alliance wrote

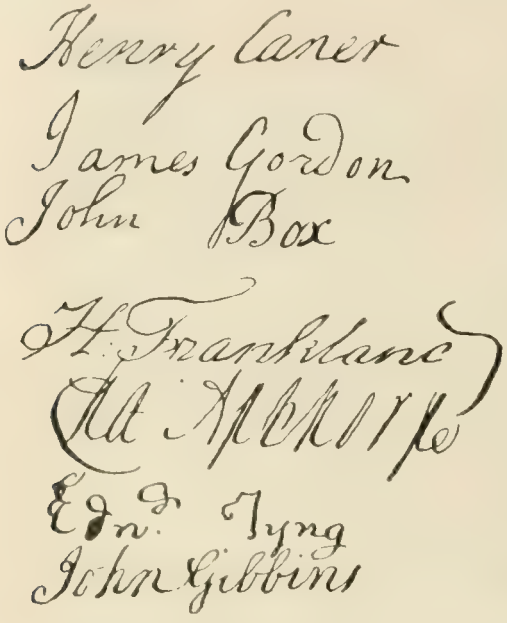
money in Great Britain for the benefit of the sufferers by the great Boston fire of 1760, and received the thanks of the people of the town. At the time of this fourth visit his health was impaired, but he preached with the usual results, and was held back when he would go Southward. In 1770 he was here once more, and preached in Boston and in other towns. But his work was drawing to a close. He died at Newburyport, Sept. 30, 1770. For thirty years his influence had been felt in New England. It is impossible to state its results. The converts of the "Great Awakening," in which he was so prominent, were numbered by tens of thousands. If our figures were precise, they would but slightly express the influence of this wonderful movement. The thoughts of all the people were stirred, for good or ill, and an abiding impression was made upon the minds and hearts of the communities which knew its presence and its power. It stands as a marked feature in the history of the times. We take leave of the life of Mr. Whitefield with the testimony of Dr. Pemberton: "The longer he lived, the more he evidently increased in purity of doctrine, in humility, meekness, prudence, patience, and the other amiable virtues of the Christian life."

There remain no other striking events in the religious history of the provincial period. The first established Episcopal church had outgrown its house, and the corner-stone of the new King's Chapel was laid in 1749. Governor Shirley, Sir Charles Henry Frankland, and Peter Faneuil were the chief promoters of the project. It was not till 1753 that the construction of the new building, without and about the walls of the old, required the Society to seek a temporary home elsewhere. The building as then left was not complete; its portico was not added till 1789, and the spire, planned for its tower, has never been added to this day. In the Congregational churches the work went on, with its orderly succession of sermons and lectures, with the varied influences of the Great Awakening. In the First

provoking open letters to the preacher. Buckingham, *Personal Reminiscences*, i. 135.

Whitefield's Journal shows considerable entries regarding his work in Boston, and Tyerman, in his *Life of Whitefield*, London, 1876, makes sufficient extracts, with other illustrative matter. This latter work, however, is not always accurate on New England affairs, quoting commendable and indifferent authorities with equal readiness. Thomas Prince's *Christian History* (see Mr. Goddard's chapter in the present volume) is a principal contemporary record of these times, being issued between March 5, 1743, and Feb. 16, 1745. There is something concerning the opposition of Cutler, Chauncy, Holyoke, and Wigglesworth, with extracts from their publications and from others given in Tyerman, ii. 12, 123, etc. There is not a little conflict of testimony, however, among the Boston ministers. Colonel John Phillips in his MS. diary records Whitefield's form of benediction: "The peace of God which passeth all understanding keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his dear Son Christ Jesus our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be amongst you, and remain with you; and the whole Israel of God, now, henceforth, and forevermore, amen, Lord Jesus, amen, and amen." He says of Whitefield's preaching: "Jan. 9, 1744–45. Mr. Whitefield preached at Mr. Webb's, p.m. There were many cried out, Robinson's daughter and others. Such a disturbance that made Mr. Whitefield leave off before he had done his sermon." Again, "a crying out, and he desired the person to come to him that evening." "June 19, 1745. Mr. Whitefield preached his farewell sermon at Mr. Webb's at 5 o'cl. p.m., from Ephesians 6 chap., from verse 10 to the end of the 19th verse; a full assembly. He hath been gone about a fortnight to Londonderry and the towns about there; came back yesterday." The reader owes these extracts to the kindness of Mr. Wendell Phillips. — Ed.]

Church Mr. Foxcroft died in 1769, after a long ministry. His colleague, Dr. Chauncy, though differing from him in his views both of theology and of policy, paid generous tribute to his memory.[1]



KING'S CHAPEL.[2]

In the Second Church Mr. Gee died in 1748. Mr. Samuel Checkley, Jr., was settled as colleague pastor in 1747, and remained as sole pastor for the twenty years following Mr. Gee's death. Mr. Checkley was the son of the first pastor of the New South Church; he was born in Boston, graduated at Cambridge in 1743, and died in 1768. "He is said to have been distinguished for a peculiar sort of eloquence, and an uncommon felicity in the devotional service of public worship." In 1768 Mr. John Lathrop was installed in the pastoral office. His ministry was long and useful, covering nearly fifty years.

In the Old South Church Rev. Thomas Prince died in 1758,[3] after a pastorate of forty years. He was a good minister, an instructive preacher, a noted scholar. He turned his attention to historical studies, and rendered important service to all who would know the early history of New England. The remains of his library are now in the care of the city, and are greatly valued for their antiquarian wealth. Mr. Prince revised the New England version of the Psalms, and his book was adopted by the Church for use in public worship. In 1769 Rev. Joseph Sewall died, after a service of fifty-six years, during which he had four colleagues. He was distinguished for his fervor and devotion, and was known as "the good Dr. Sewall" and "the weeping prophet." For some time before his death he was carried into the pulpit in a chair, and sat while he taught the people. Four very short pastorates were those of Alexander Cumming, Samuel Blair, John Bacon, and John Hunt. The ministry of Mr. Cumming was closed by his death in 1763.[4] Mr. Blair was called to the presidency of the

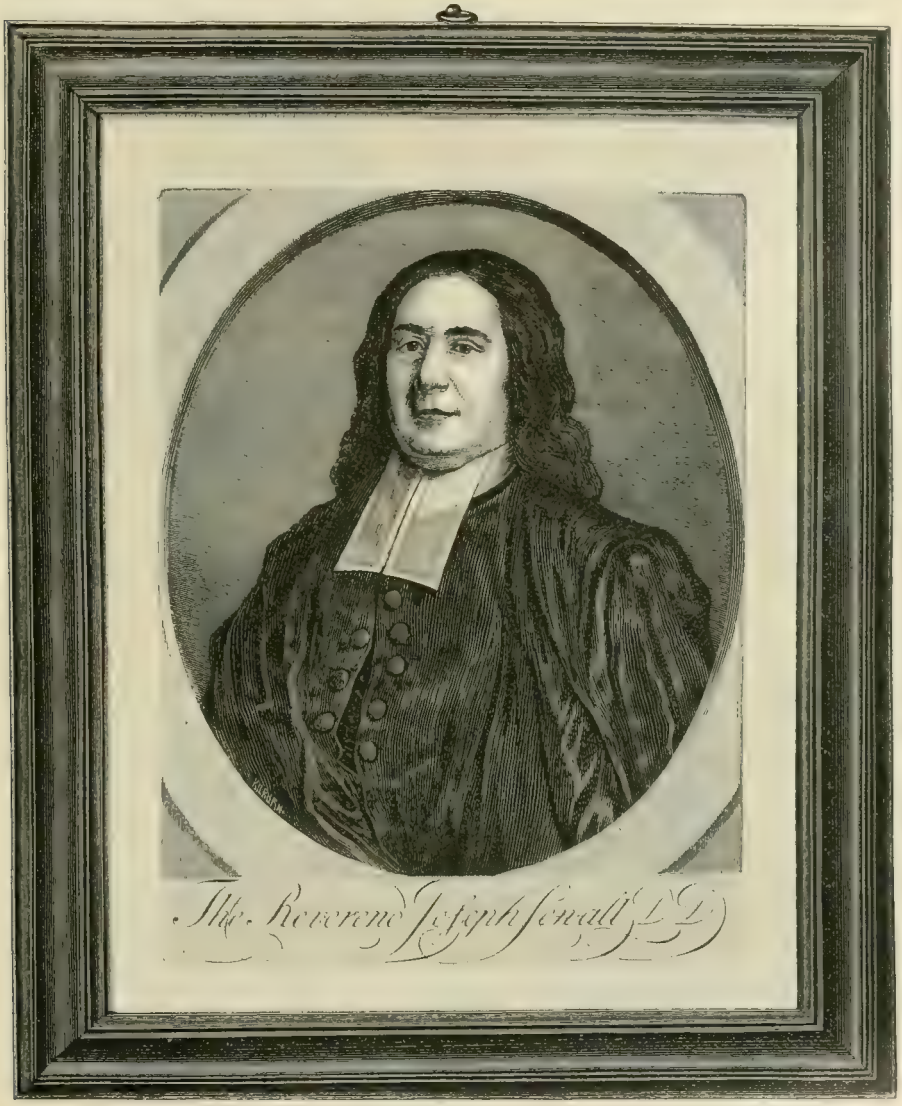
[1] [In a sermon printed in Boston in 1769. See items from it in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1854, p. 364. — Ed.]

[2] [The signatures are of the minister, the two wardens, and a committee of the vestry of the chapel, appended to a petition, Mar. 14, 1747, asking for more land to enlarge their edifice. — Ed.]

[3] [Miss Mary Fleet records it in her diary: "Sunday, between 5 and 6 o'clock in ye afternoon, the Rev[d] Mr. Prince departed this life after a month's languishment." — *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* 1865, p. 60. — Ed.]

[4] [He had been ordained as colleague of Dr. Sewall in 1761; and in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of March 2 appeared a long account of the ceremonies and of the "very grand entertainment" given at Dr. Sewall's house, which, "though capacious," was not sufficient for all the guests.—Ed.]

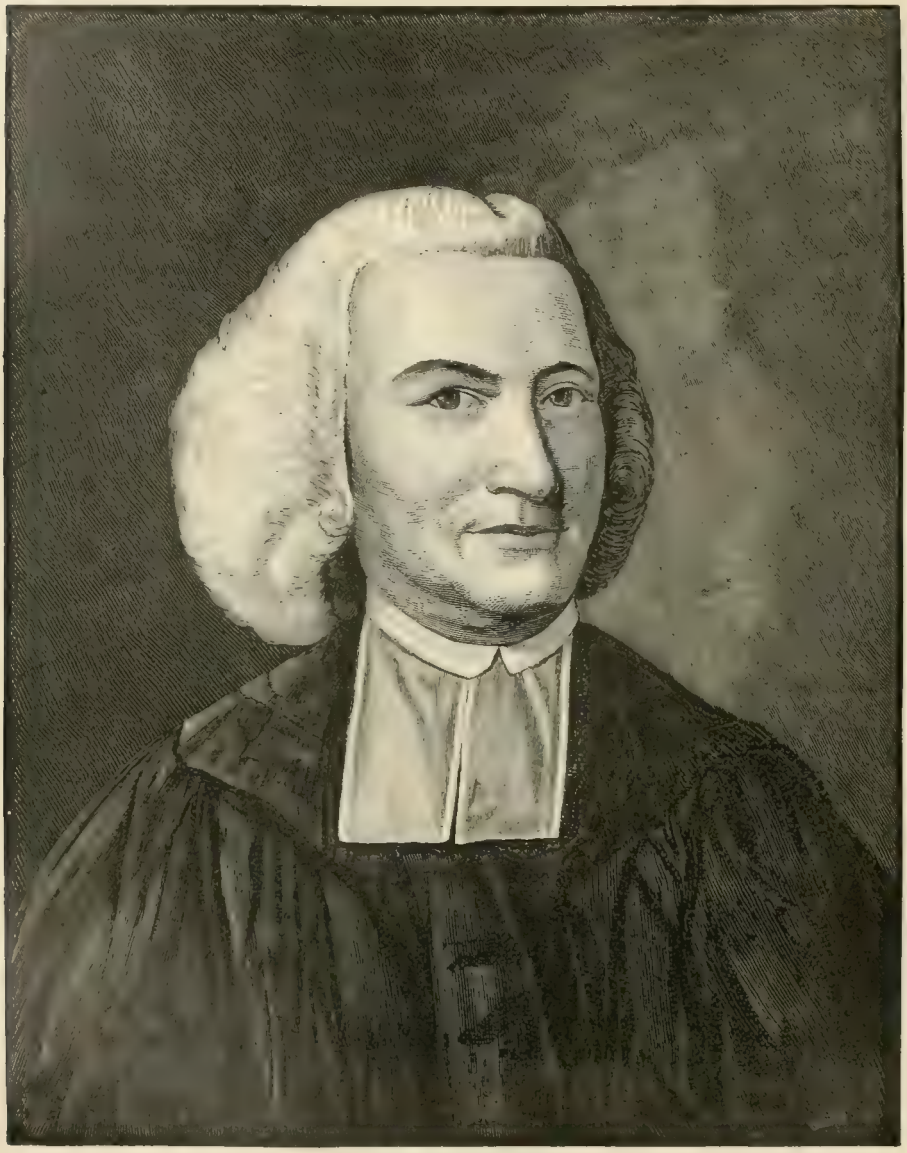
College of New Jersey, but declined the office. On account of his health and of troubles in connection with the Half-way Covenant, he resigned in 1769. The congregation were dissatisfied with Mr. Bacon, and he retired and entered upon civil life. Mr. Hunt, on returning from Brookline in 1775, was shut out of Boston by the British troops, and retired to Northampton, where he died in the same year.



JOSEPH SEWALL.

[NOTE. — The above cut follows Pelham's engraving of a portrait, by Smibert, belonging to the Essex Institute, Salem. There is an engraving in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, January, 1856. A portrait owned by Mr. Salisbury was recently exhibited in the Old South Loan Collection. Buckingham, *New England Magazine*, 1832, speaks of a miniature likeness engraved on copper by Nathaniel Hurd in 1764. — ED.]

In the Brattle-Street Church Mr. William Cooper died in 1743. Dr. Colman, in his funeral sermon, presents him as a man distinguished for his piety and his learning; for the fervor of his preaching and of his prayers; for his boldness and independence; and for the success of



DR. SAMUEL COOPER.[1]

[1] [Copley painted several portraits of Dr. Cooper which, according to A. T. Perkins's list of Copley pictures, are in the possession of the Society, of Rev. Dr. Lothrop, and of Dr. O. W. Holmes, which last is "very fine, half-length, with wig and bands." A likeness also hangs in the rooms of the Historical Society, from which the present cut is engraved. An engraved likeness appeared in the *Boston Magazine*, 1784. — Ed.]

his long life.[1] In May, 1746, Samuel Cooper, his son, was called to be the successor of his father, and the colleague of Dr. Colman. He graduated in 1743 at Harvard College, where he had taken high rank as a scholar, and was marked out for a brilliant career. Dr. Colman preached the ordination sermon from Isaiah vi. 8. This was among his last public acts. In the following year he died, after a ministry of forty-seven years, — a man of pure heart and a liberal spirit; of large intellectual attainments; a persuasive and impressive preacher.

In the New North Church Mr. Andrew Eliot was settled in 1742. He graduated at Harvard College in 1737. He preached the sermon at his ordination. He entered on his ministry in a time of great excitement, and retained the position for thirty-six years, and for most of the time was the sole pastor of the church. He was a plain preacher, but the people liked to hear him. He was honored for his wisdom and manliness, and was held in veneration after his death.[2] The Rev. John Webb died in 1750. He graduated at Cambridge in 1708, and was for thirty-six years the minister of this church. "When I consider the whole of his character," said his surviving colleague, "I cannot but think him one of the best of Christians, and one of the best ministers."

At the New South Church Mr. Penuel Bowen was settled in 1766, as colleague with Mr. Checkley, and he was dismissed in 1772. He afterward went to South Carolina and entered the Episcopal Church. He was a Harvard graduate of 1762. Mr. Checkley died in 1769, after a pastorate of fifty years. He graduated at Cambridge in 1715, and was the first pastor of this church, to which the labors of his long life were given. In 1773 Mr. Joseph Howe began a pastorate which was ended by his death in 1775.

[1] ["Dec. 4, 1743. Rev. Mr. William Cooper preached at our meeting, and it was the last sermon he preached with us or anywhere else. He was at lecture the Tuesday evening following, and that was the last time he was abroad. He continued indisposed with a cold until Sabbath day, and then was taken with an apoplectic fit. Dr. Colman stayed the church, and they appointed a fast to be kept the next day. The next day, Dec. 13, Rev. Mr. Cooper died about six o'clock in the morning, and the Committee met at Colonel Wendell's, and we sent four men about to warn the Church and Congregation to meet in the meeting-house at 3 o'clock, and we voted to be at the whole charge of the funeral; and accordingly we subscribed between 600 and 700 pounds, and the next day we got £847 10*s.*, and others put in so as to make up £895 10*s.* Mr. Cooper's whole family, consisting of ten persons, and Dr. Colman, were put into mourning, and 29 rings for the association; and Governors Shirley and Belcher, and President and Mr. Appleton, and three layers out, and Mr. Foye and spouse, and four doctors and Rev. Addington Davenport had rings; and 12 doz. of men's and women's gloves; and Messrs. Prince, Webb, Foxcroft, Checkley, Welsteed, and Gee, who were the pall-bearers, had black glazed gloves and weeds hanging down; and the deacons and moulings had black glazed gloves, and weeds in their hats. The funeral was of a Thursday, Dec. 15, 1743; it was a very large funeral; there were 160 men of the Church and Congregation went before the corpse, and Dr. Colman rid in a shay before the corpse. On the Sabbath following Dr. Sewall preached at our meeting, A.M., a funeral sermon from 1 Thessa. iv. 14, and Dr. Colman a funeral sermon from John xi. 35." — Colonel John Phillips, *MS. Diary.* — Ed.]

[2] "'It was a pleasant day,' saith Father Gannett on the fly-leaf of his almanac, 'Sept. 15, 1778, when near four hundred couples and thirty-two carriages followed his remains from his house, before the south side of his meeting-house, into Fore Street, up Cross Street, through Black Horse Lane, to Corpse [*sic*] Hill.'" — *Dealings with the Dead*, i. 92.

He graduated at Yale College in 1765, the first scholar of his class. After teaching with success for a few years, he visited Boston and was invited to the pastoral office. He was a remarkable man, in the judgment of those who knew him, and would have adorned his profession.

In the New Brick Church Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton was installed in 1754, and remained in charge of the church until his death in 1777. He was the son of the minister of the Old South Church, whose name he bore, and graduated at Harvard in 1721. He was distinguished as a scholar. He was settled for twenty-six years in New York, where he had a useful ministry. His piety was fervent, like his father's. His sermons were "correct in diction and style," and at first he attracted crowds of hearers, although in his old age he did not retain his popularity. "His connection with the Society was never formally dissolved, but gradually loosened, till at length it existed merely in name." After Mr. Pemberton's death this church was incorporated with the Second Church, from which it had originally come out.

The West Church received as minister in 1747 Mr. Jonathan Mayhew, of the noted missionary family of Martha's Vineyard. He was the son of the Rev. Experience Mayhew, and was born in 1720, and graduated at Harvard College in 1744. He was a distinguished preacher and writer, and entered vigorously into the controversies of his times. Although he was a bold man, and ready to give free expression to his views, his position with regard to the person and work of Christ, and doctrines related to these, which were then earnestly discussed, cannot be precisely and satisfactorily determined. He is counted with the more liberal men of his day. He opposed the proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in its attempts to introduce bishops into the colonies, and to change their ecclesiastical condition. With the same ardor he strove to promote in the people the love of liberty, and to secure for them its full and just benefits. "Beloved for his pastoral fidelity and generous deeds, distinguished for his genius and intellectual strength, eminent in both Englands as a scholar and divine, revered as a true lover of liberty and ardent Christian patriot, this noble man died at Boston, July 19, 1766, aged forty-five years, mourned by the great and the good."

The three churches connected with the Church of England had their succession of rectors and assistants, and pursued their work and worship according to their own preferences; and they gained proselytes through the dissensions in the Congregational churches, but they were, of course, less identified with the people and their history than the churches which have been already described.

In the First Baptist Church Mr. Condy died in 1768, after a ministry there of nearly thirty years, during which he was "well esteemed among his associates." In 1765 Rev. Samuel Stillman was installed as pastor. On account of some discontent with the views of Mr. Condy, and because he had "opposed the late work of God in the land," in 1743 a Second Baptist

Church was formed, which worshipped for a time in a private house, and then in a schoolhouse, until, in 1746, it had a meeting-house in Back Street, afterward Salem Street. The Rev. Ephraim Bownd was the minister from 1743 to 1765. There were here a few followers of Robert Sandeman, who

Jonathan Mayhew[1]

[1] [There are several engravings of Mayhew, — one in Bradford's *Life of Mayhew;* another in Thornton's *Pulpit of the Revolution;* a very rude one by Paul Revere prefixed to a volume of Mayhew's sermons. Thomas Hollis caused an engraving of him to be made in 1767 by Cipriani, which has this inscription: "Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., pastor of the West Church in Boston, — an assertor of the civil and religious liberties of his country and mankind, who, overplied by public energies, died of a nervous fever, July viii., MDCCLXVI., aged XXXXV." Richard

came from Glasgow in 1764. They held their first meetings in the Masons' Hall, in private houses, and at the "Green Dragon," until they had a small wooden building at the foot of a lane leading to the mill-pond. This was burned in 1773, and after a time was replaced by a meeting-house in the rear of Middle or Hanover Street.

There were a few Methodists where now there are so many. Among the British soldiers who came in 1768 were some Methodists who, it is said, made the beginning of a society. About 1772 a small society was formed, which became extinct. While there was some preaching in the interval, it was not till 1790 that Methodism was fairly introduced into the town.

At the college the office of president became vacant by the death in 1769 of Edward Holyoke, who had filled it for thirty-two years. "He was lamented, as a man and an officer, with unaffected expressions of sorrow; for notwithstanding his advanced years, it was difficult to supply his loss. . . . His administration was at once the longest and one of the most prosperous in the annals of Harvard College." The Rev. Samuel Locke, pastor of the Sherburne church, was chosen president, and was inaugurated in March, 1770. In December, 1773, he resigned and returned to Sherburne, after an administration "disturbed by political turmoils," and leaving little which is remembered. The Rev. Samuel Langdon, of Portsmouth, entered upon the duties of the office in October, 1774, and remained in the position for nearly six years.

At the close of this period there was among ministers and people more of a spirit of inquiry, more questioning of doctrines, more breaking from accustomed methods of belief and teaching than in the years before. In 1756 there appeared in Boston an edition of Evelyn's *Humble Inquiry*, which denied the deity of Christ. It was afterwards said by some that Mr. Mayhew was concerned in introducing the book, but of this there is no proof. "An answer was prepared by President Burr of Princeton, and a sermon by Pemberton on the divinity of the Saviour appeared, with a preface bearing the signatures of Sewall, Foxcroft, and Prince, and lamenting, without naming, the recent republication, which had been 'to the great grief and offence,' they said, 'of many amongst us.'" The discussion continued, with assertion and protest, with question and answer. There were the signs of a change. But it was not till 1785 that Unitarianism, as it was at length called, became a "substantial reality" in Boston, by the action of the Society worshipping in King's Chapel, which, in consequence of the doctrinal change

Jennys, Jr., painted and engraved a portrait, which was published by Nathaniel Hurd, before 1768. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1866, p. 210.) A crayon portrait by Copley was unfortunately destroyed in the Boston fire, November, 1872. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1873, p. 370. A. T. Perkins, *List of Copley Pictures*, p. 84.) A portrait said to be of Mayhew was given in 1874 to the Congregational Library by Mr. Ralph Dunning of Georgetown, D. C. *An Eclogue sacred to the Memory of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew*, printed by Fleet, 1766, is thought to have been written by Joseph Green. A life of Mayhew, by Alden Bradford, was published in Boston in 1838. Quincy takes his measure in his *Harvard University*, ii. 66 — ED.]

of its own minister, adopted a modified form of the English liturgy in place of the original, excluding all acknowledgment of the Trinity. In 1787 the wardens and the congregation ordained the minister, Rev. James Freeman, in "a solemn and appropriate form." He was declared "Rector, Minister, Priest, Pastor, teaching Elder, and public Teacher" of the Society. This remained for many years the only Society of any note in New England which was confessedly Unitarian.

We are thus brought to the days and events in which Massachusetts was to cease to be a province. It was not a sudden change. The training of the people prepared them for the work to which they were called. They were the sons of men and women who had bought at a heavy price the right to be free, and they were prepared to complete the purchase, though the cost was again heavy.

In the churches liberty had been nurtured. There the people had been taught the authority of conscience, the sovereignty of duty, the demands of justice and right. They had been trained in choosing their rulers, even their religious teachers, and liberty had grown within the parish lines by a force which could not be resisted. They were loyal to rightful government, but they claimed the right to say what government was rightful. Not courting independence, they were determined upon liberty. By the very constitution of their churches they were predestined to be free. During the period we have been reviewing, as in the years before, the ministers had borne an active part in shaping the thoughts and executing the will of the people. In the very early days of the Colony the "Election Sermon" was established by appointment of the Governor and Assistants. By the charter of 1691 the last Wednesday of May was established as "Election-day;" and a little later the artillery election-day was established. "On these occasions," writes the contemporary historian of the Revolution, "political subjects are deemed very proper; but it is expected that they be treated in a decent, serious, and instructive manner." The sermons which dignified these days had a wide circulation among those most likely to be influenced by them. "Thus, by their labors in the pulpit, and by furnishing the prints with occasional essays, the ministers have forwarded and strengthened, and that not a little, the opposition to the exercise of that parliamentary claim of right to bind the colonies in all cases whatever." The first Provincial Congress, in 1774, acknowledged gratefully "the public obligation to the ministry as friends of civil and religious liberty, and invoked their aid" in the attempt to restore harmony between Great Britain and these colonies. "We cannot but place great hopes in an order of men who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause." The ministers were ready to do more. In 1750 Jonathan Mayhew had preached on the Lord's day after the 30th of January "concerning unlimited submission and non-resistance to the higher powers. . . . Let us all learn to be free and to be loyal; let us not profess ourselves vassals to the lawless pleasure of any man on earth; but let us remember, at the same

time, government is sacred, and not to be trifled with." This was the spirit of the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts. The Rev. Joseph Howe, of the New South Church, wrote in August, 1774: "The Bostonians acquire courage every day. How can it be otherwise, when all the continent are pitying and supporting them, and above all when we have that God to go to who heard our fathers when they cried unto Him, and who, we trust, will hear us also, their immediate descendants?" At the public Thanksgiving, appointed by Congress in 1774, the Rev. William Gordon maddened the king's friends and encouraged the patriots with his bold words: "But should the country be wasted for a few years, and a number of its inhabitants be destroyed, ere the wished-for salvation is granted, how soon, after having secured its liberties, will it regain its former prosperity; yea, become far more glorious, wealthy, and populous than ever?" At the annual convention of Congregational ministers, held by special invitation of the Provincial Congress at Watertown, June 1, 1775, they sent to the Congress a letter, in which they said: "Deeply impressed with sympathy for the distresses of our much-injured and oppressed country, we are not a little relieved in beholding the representatives of the people, chosen by their free and unbiassed suffrages, now met to concert measures for their relief and defence, in whose wisdom and integrity, under the smiles of Divine Providence, we cannot but express our entire confidence." They also expressed their readiness to serve by rotation as chaplains to the army. The preachers preached loyalty and liberty. The people heard and heeded. When loyalty came to mean liberty, and allegiance was to be transferred to the government of the people, loyalty was still taught, and the people still gave heed. There were no more patriotic assemblies than those which were gathered under the roofs of the meeting-houses. There were no more stanch friends of the people, no more steadfast assertors of their right to life and liberty, than the men whom the people had called to be their leaders into the kingdom of heaven. The spirit of the ministers and the churches, forwarding the toils and sacrifices which made a nation out of colonies, makes it fitting that with the uprising for freedom and independence we bring to a close the story of the religious temper and movements of the Provincial Period.

NOTE. — The writer has a small manuscript book which has on the inside of the front cover, "Joseph Baxter, His Book, Anno 1689," and "Benjamin Colman, His Book." It contains reports of sermons preached at "Chambridge," chiefly by Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, 1690–92.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS IN BOSTON. — THE LIFE OF PETER FANEUIL. — THE GIFT OF FANEUIL HALL TO THE TOWN.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH.

Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

THE Edict of Nantes was designed to give security to Protestantism in France, and to put an end to the religious wars which had long distracted the kingdom. It was signed by Henry IV. on the 15th of April, 1598, — a day universally recognized as one of the great landmarks in French history. By its provisions the French Protestants were to have liberty to go or to reside wherever they chose within the kingdom, without being compelled to do any act which should violate their consciences. All the colleges, schools, and hospitals were opened to them; and they could found schools and colleges of their own, and publish religious books in the cities where their worship was authorized. They could be admitted to all offices and employments, without subjecting themselves before admission to any ceremonies or oaths contrary to their consciences. In every city and town they could have a place of burial. No child could be taken from his parents to be brought up in another religion. Parents could provide by will for the education of their children. Protestant ministers were exempted from service in the watch or the guards, and from some other liabilities. Disinheritance on account of religion was made unlawful.[1] Such was in substance the supreme law of the kingdom down to the revocation of the Edict by Louis XIV., on the 17th of October, 1685,[2] — an act which, it has been justly said, inflicted a deeper wound on France than all the combined disasters of the closing years of his reign.[3] But even before that time means had been found to evade its provisions and to restrict the benefits which it was designed to secure to the Protestants. So early as 1662, some of the inhabitants of Rochelle, disheartened by long-continued oppression, turned their thoughts to Massachusetts, with the view of seeking more peaceful homes on this side of the Atlantic; and in the records of the General Court at the session in October of that year is the following entry: —

[1] Martin, *Histoire de France*, x. 423, 424.

[2] Ibid., xiv. 47.

[3] Poirson, *Histoire de Henri IV.*, ii. 522, 523.

"In answer to the petition of John Touton, of Rochelle, in France, doctor chirurgeon, in behalf of himself and others, that himself and other Protestants, inhabitants of Rochelle, who, for their religion sake, are outed and expelled from their habitations and dwellings, etc., might have liberty to come hither, here to inhabit, etc., as in said petition on file appears, the Court judgeth it meet to grant this petition."[1]

Touton himself accordingly came over, and was at Rehoboth in 1675; but it is not known whether any one accompanied him.[2] His name is not in the list of freemen, either in Massachusetts or in Plymouth.

On the revocation of the Edict there was a great flight of Protestants from France, — industrious and useful citizens, who could be ill-spared from their own land, and who carried a new element of strength wherever they went. Beside those who sought refuge in England, Ireland, and Holland, considerable numbers came to America. Among them were not a few whose descendants have filled a conspicuous place in our history; and it is a noteworthy circumstance that three of the nine Presidents of the Old Congress were of Huguenot descent, — Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, John Jay, of New York, afterward Chief-Justice of the United States, and Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey.[3] The first considerable company which came to Massachusetts arrived in the summer of 1686, and immediately applied to the inter-charter Government for permission to settle here. Under date of July 12, the Council Record recites: —

"Upon application of the French Protestants (lately arrived from St. Christopher's) to the President for admission to reside and dwell in this his Majesty's Dominion, and to bring in their effects and concerns here, — Ordered, that upon the taking the Oath of Allegiance before the President and under his hand and seal of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion, they be allowed to reside and dwell in his Majesty's said Dominion, and to proceed from hence and return hither as freely as any other of his Majesty's subjects; and this to be an order for all such French Protestants that shall or may come into this his Majesty's Territory and Dominion."[4]

These immigrants appear to have arrived in a very destitute condition; and a few weeks later — August 5 —the Council took measures for the relief of the suffering French. A brief was ordered to be "drawn up and printed, and read in all meeting-houses, to supply the necessities of the French lately arrived here in great distress." This brief recites that —

"There are lately arrived fifteen French families, with a religious Protestant minister, who are in all — men, women, and children —more than fourscore souls, and are such as fled from France for religion's sake; and by their long passage at sea their doctor and twelve men are dead, and by other inconveniences the living are reduced to great sickness and poverty, and therefore objects of a true Christian charity. Also, fifty persons—men, women, and children — which were by the cruelty of the Spaniards driven off from Elutheria (an island of the Bohemiahs), naked and in distress, as also many

[1] *Mass. Col. Records*, vol. iv., part ii., p. 67.
[2] Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 315.
[3] 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 36.
[4] *MS. copy of the Council Records* (in the office of the Secretary of State), p. 52.

other poor French Protestants, are daily expected (as letters inform), who will bring further distress and charge with them. The President and Council have intreated Captain Elisha Hutchinson and Captain Samuel Sewall to receive and distribute the same among them, according to the direction of the President and Council from time to time for their respective necessities, and to whom such as are betrusted in the several towns are desired to return what shall be collected; and the ministers in the several towns are desired to publish this order, and to put forward the people in their charity."[1]

In the early part of September a vessel arrived at Salem with some of these unfortunate persons; and on the 27th of that month the Council —

"Ordered, that the money lately gathered at Salem by way of contribution for the relief of the poor, distressed French Protestants be returned thither for the necessary support of the French lately arrived there, and to be distributed according to discretion."[2]

Who the minister was with the company from St. Christopher's is not known; and we are equally ignorant as to the date when a French church was first organized in Boston. From letters preserved among the Mather Papers in the Prince Library, and from other sources, it appears that a minister by the name of Laurent Vandenbosch was here in the early part of 1686, before the arrival of this company; but it is not known when he came nor how long he remained. While here he made himself obnoxious by joining persons in marriage contrary to law and custom, and by some other irregular acts. Subsequently he went to New York, where he became minister of a Huguenot church on Staten Island. In New York he managed to get into trouble again, and was dismissed from his church; and he finally went to Maryland.[3] He was apparently followed as minister of the Boston church by David de Bonrepos, who is mentioned as "our minister" in the *Report of a French Protestant Refugee in Boston* sent to Geneva about the end of 1687, or the beginning of 1688.[4] At that time the number of French here was very small. "Here in Boston," says the Refugee, writing in November, 1687, "there are not more than twenty French families, and

[1] *MS. copy of the Council Records*, p. 67.

[2] Ibid., pp. 79, 80. See also Bentley's *Description of Salem*, *in* 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 264, 265, and Felt's *Annals of Salem*, ii. 242, 404, where it is stated that the amount of the contribution in Salem was £26.

[3] *Mather Papers*, vi. 6, 20; 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 98; *Andros Tracts*, ii. 36, 37; Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 364; *Magazine of American History*, i. 94.

[4] Snow (*History of Boston*, p. 200) mentions the manuscript notes, by Cotton Mather, of two sermons preached in Boston Sept. 12 and Oct. 7, 1686, by the Rev. Mr. Laurie; now in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and says it is apparent from their tenor that Mr. Laurie was one of the Huguenot refugees. A part of one of the leaves containing these notes is torn off; but there is not a word about the Huguenots in the part now remaining, and there is scarcely a doubt that Snow was mistaken in his inference, and that "Mr. Laurie" was the Rev. Gilbert Laurie, of whom Savage says (*Genealogical Dictionary*, iii. 59) that he was in "Boston, 1686; went to preach that year, in absence of Moody, at Portsmouth; was probably a Scotchman, and may be presumed to have gone home in 1689." He was probably the "Mr. Lowry" who is mentioned in a letter of Jacob Jesson, dated London, June 12, 1686, as a young man of good reputation, who was about to sail for New England. (See *Mather Papers*, vi. 17.) Both sermons appear to have been preached in the Second Church.

they are every day diminishing on account of departing for the country to buy or hire land, and to strive to make some settlement. They are expected this spring from all quarters. Two young men have lately arrived from Carolina, who give some news of that colony."[1] De Bonrepos is believed to have remained here about two years; and in 1689 he became minister of the church at New Rochelle, near New York.[2]

Nothing is now known about the history of the church for the next seven or eight years, or whether it had any settled ministers; but it is not probable that the members were left wholly without pastoral care during this period.[3] At length, in 1696, the Rev. Pierre Daillé was called to take charge of the church. He was then about forty-eight years of age, and had been in America since 1683, having been minister of a French church in New York, and at the same time engaged in missionary work in that neighborhood.[4] He was a man of ability, of exemplary character, and of agreeable manners, and he soon won the confidence and respect of the community. Previously to his coming to Boston he had been one of Increase Mather's correspondents; and such were his relations with his brother ministers that when Cotton Mather's wife died in November, 1713, he was selected as one of the pall-bearers.[5] His ministry here extended over nearly twenty years, till his death May 20, 1715.[6] He was married

[1] *Report of a French Protestant Refugee in Boston*, 1687. Translated from the French by E. T. Fisher (Brooklyn, N. Y. 1868), pp. 34, 35. A considerable number of the early immigrants settled at Oxford, about fifty miles southwest from Boston, where they remained until 1696, when the settlement was broken up by an Indian massacre. An account of this community by the Rev. Dr. Holmes is in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii; and their history has recently formed the subject of a monograph by Mr. George F. Daniels, entitled *The Huguenots in the Nipmuck Country*. Anthony Sigourney and some others who were afterward at Boston were among the settlers at Oxford. [See also *Historical Collections*, by Holmes Ammidown, 1874. There is in Suffolk Deeds, xiv, 212, a list of persons naturalized Jan. 5, 1688, entered "at the desire of Gabriel Bernon" July 20, 1688, and this Bernon's name is on the list, which is printed in Agnew's *Protestant Exiles*, London, 1871, i. 46. See *Sewall Papers*, ii. 262. — Ed.]

[2] Information furnished to the writer by the Rev. Charles W. Baird, D. D., of Rye, N. Y., who has been engaged for several years in collecting materials for a History of the Huguenot Emigration to America.

[3] In a petition of the inhabitants of Oxford to the General Court, in 1699, it is stated that their former minister, the Rev. Daniel Bondet, left Oxford almost two years before the settlement was broken up by the Indians; and in a letter from Mr. Bondet to Lord Cornbury, written in 1702, he says that he remained in Massachusetts two years after leaving Oxford. See Daniels, *Huguenots in the Nipmuck Country*, pp. 88–90 120–122; *Documentary History of New York*, iii. 929–931. As Oxford was abandoned in the summer of 1696, Bondet must have left there in 1694; and it is not improbable that he had charge of the Boston church during these two years. This supposition derives some support from a letter from Bondet to Increase Mather, written in January, 1697–98, in which he desires that his person and labors should be recalled to the memory of the Boston ministers. *Huguenots in the Nipmuck Country*, pp. 118, 119. [Drake, *Town of Roxbury*, 172, says that the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, of Roxbury, who had acquired the language at Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, sometimes preached to them in their own tongue. — Ed.]

[4] Notice of Rev. Pierre Daillé in the *American Magazine of History*, i. 92, 93, 96.

[5] 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 407.

[6] This is the date given in the notice of his death in the *Boston News-Letter* of May 23, 1715. "On Friday morning last, the 20th current, Dyed here the Reverend Mr. Peter Daillé, Pastor of the French Congregation, aged about 66 years. He was a person of great Piety, Charity, affable and courteous Behaviour, and of exemplary Life and Conversation, much Lamented, especially by his Flock; and was Decently Interred on the Lord's Day Evening, the 22d Instant." But on his grave-stone the date is given May 21st. See

three times, but no children are mentioned in his will which was executed just one month before his death.[1] In it he directed, "that there be no wine at my funeral, and that none of my wife's relations have mourning clothes" furnished them except gloves. Gloves and scarves were to be given to all the ministers of the town, and to the Rev. Mr. Walter of Roxbury. His French and Latin books were left to the church as a foundation for a library; and the church was also to have the income of one hundred pounds for the benefit of the minister, and ten pounds toward the cost of building a meeting-house. Five pounds were to be given to Old Mr. John Rawlings, the French schoolmaster.[2] His widow was to receive three hundred and fifty pounds and his negro Kuffy; and a brother who lived in Holland was named as residuary legatee. These testamentary provisions show how deep an interest Daillé took in the welfare of his church. He was buried, like many of his congregation, in the Granary Burial-ground.[3]

In January, 1704–5, during his pastorate, the congregation bought of James Mears, hatter, an irregularly shaped lot of land on the School-House Lane, now School Street, "to erect and build a church upon for the use of the French Congregation in Boston, aforesaid, to meet therein for the worship and service of Almighty God, according to the way and manner of the Reformed Churches of France." The sum paid for it was "one hundred and ten pounds current silver money of New England," and the lot, which was about midway between the present site of the Parker House and Washington Street, measured forty-three and one-half feet on the Lane, thirty-six feet on the side toward what is now Washington Street, thirty-five and one-half feet on the rear line, and eighty-eight and one-half feet on the side toward Tremont Street.[4] A few weeks afterward — on the 29th of January — the selectmen of the town passed the following order: —

Shurtleff's *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*, p. 224. [Rev. William Cooper's interleaved almanac (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1876, p. 435) says: "May 20, Dyed Mr. Peter Daille, pastor of y^e^ Congregation of French Refugees in this place; aged ab^t^ 70." Sewall records, "Apr. 14, I visit Mr. Peter Dallié, who seems to be in a languishing dying condition; has kept house about eight weeks." *Sewall Papers*, iii. 45. There are some Latin letters of Daillé, addressed to Increase Mather, in the Prince Library. *Prince Catalogue*, p. 148. — Ed.]

[1] The will is recorded with Suffolk Wills, lib. 18, fol. 234. The inventory is not in the Probate Records; but according to Sargent (*Dealings with the Dead*, ii. 497) the whole valuation of the estate was two hundred and seventy-four pounds and ten shillings sterling.

[2] This was probably the person mentioned in a letter from Joshua Moody to Increase Mather, written, as Prince supposed, in March, 1683–84, while Moody was a prisoner in Portsmouth: "If one Mr. John Rawlings brings this himself, and you be at leisure to admit any discourse with him, you will find him serious and pious. He hath been a Ruling Elder of the French Church in South-Hampton. He is often with us, and you may hear from him more fully how matters are here. He is sober and credible." (4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 363.) If he was the person named by Savage as having a son born in Boston in 1686 (*Geneal. Dict.*, iii. 509), he must have been one of the earliest of the French settlers here, and he may have had the oversight of the church when it was without a minister.

[3] [See Shurtleff, *Desc. of Boston*, 223. — Ed.]

[4] The deed to John Tartarien, Francis Bredon, and Jean Dupuis, Elders of the French Church, for themselves and the other members of the congregation, is recorded in Suffolk Deeds, lib. 22, fol. 102. Mears wrote his name "Meeares."

"Whereas the Congregation of French Protestants have for some years past had their public meetings for the worship of God in the Free School-house in Boston, and that they for some months past have met in another convenient room, while the said school-house was taken down and a more commodious one built in the room thereof, the which house being now finished, it is voted that the said French congregation have the liberty to meet in said new school-house for the worship of God as formerly they did in the old."[1]

Apparently this was not in accordance with the wishes of the congregation; and the next week the selectmen made the following record: —

"The petition of John Portree, Francis Breedon, and John Dupee, Elders of the French Congregation, their petition for license to erect with timber a building for a meeting-house of thirty-five foot long and thirty foot wide, on a piece of land of theirs, situate between the land of Mr. Samuel Haugh and the land of Mr. Joseph Malam, butting on the School-House Lane, in Boston. And having consulted with the major part of the justices of the said town, being present, who declare their opinion that it is not convenient to grant the same, since they have the offer of the free liberty to meet in the new school-house, that being sufficient for a far greater number of persons than doth belong to their congregation, the premises being considered, the said selectmen do disallow the said petition."[2]

Probably the cause of this refusal was the unwillingness of the selectmen and the justices to consent to the erection of a wooden building in that neighborhood. But whatever may have been the reasons for their action, it prevented the erection of a meeting-house for ten or eleven years. Finally, shortly after the death of Mr. Daillé, a small brick meeting-house was built on the land, which continued to be occupied by the congregation until its dissolution about the year 1748. At that time the number of male communicants and subscribers had been reduced to about seven.[3] Accordingly, by a deed, dated May 7, 1748, Stephen Boutineau, the surviving elder, Andrew LeMercier, the minister, and others, proprietors, assigned all their right and interest in it to the trustees of a new Congregational Church, for "the sum of three thousand pounds in good bills of public credit on the province aforesaid, of the old tenor," for the sole use of a Protestant Church forever.[4] Subsequently, the building passed into the hands of the Catholics; and, according to the Rev. Dr. Holmes, "Mass was performed in it for the first time Nov. 2, 1788, by a Romish priest."[5]

[1] *MS. Minutes of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston* (in the office of the City Clerk), p. 95.

[2] Ibid., pp. 95, 96.

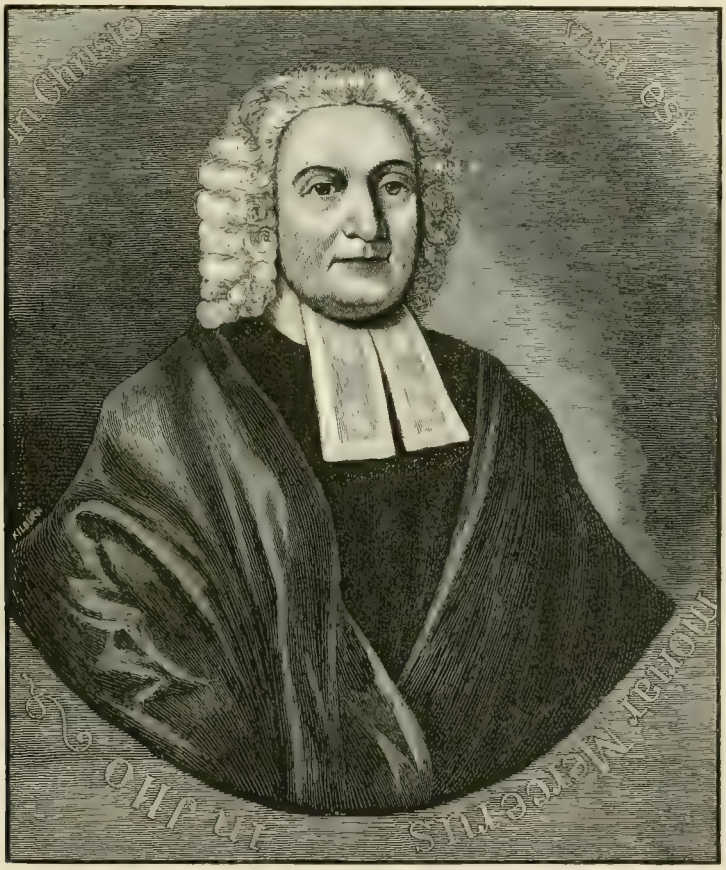
[3] Petition of Mr. LeMercier to the Governor and General Court, printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xiii. 319. In their answer to the petition the proprietors say, "He has driven all our young people to other churches." (Ibid., p. 321.) These documents are in "A Brief Memoir of Rev. Andrew LeMercier," which fills a little more than nine pages of that magazine.

[4] The deed is recorded with Suffolk Deeds, lib. 76, fol. 128.

[5] 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ii 64. [The folio French Bible given by Queen Anne to the Church is now preserved in the Library of the Divinity School at Cambridge; or one which bears this inscription: "This volume was presented to the Library of Divinity Hall, A. D. 1831, by the widow of the late Samuel Cobb of Boston. He bought it at the sale of the books of Mather Byles, and understood it to be the copy formerly used in the pulpit of the French Protestant Church in School Street. JOHN G. PALFREY."

It is known that this Bible was at one time in the possession of Dr. Byles. — ED.]

The last minister of the French congregation was Andrew LeMercier, who came over to Massachusetts in 1715, in accordance with an arrangement made in London with Andrew Faneuil in behalf of the church, under which he was to have an annual salary of one hundred pounds, New England currency. When he came to Boston he was twenty-three or twenty-



Andrew Le Mercier[1]

four years of age; and he continued in the ministry for about thirty-two years. He left at his death a considerable number of manuscript sermons, one of which — a third sermon on the Second Epistle of Peter, preached

[1] [This cut follows a photograph from a portrait preserved in the Essex Institute at Salem. Dr. Wheatland, the librarian, knows nothing of its history. It can be inferred from an article by "Sigma" (L. M. Sargent) in the *Boston Transcript*, Jan. 28, 1851, copied in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1859, p. 323, that this portrait belonged to a friend of LeMercier, Hon. Thomas Cushing, who died in 1788; and passing to Colonel Thomas Cushing, of Salem, was finally transferred to the Essex Institute. — Ed.]

May 30, 1719 — is preserved in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[1] It is beautifully written, with careful erasures and interlineations, but is singularly hard, dry, and uninteresting. If his ordinary preaching did not improve in the next twenty-five years, no one need wonder that the young people of his congregation went to hear other and more attractive preachers. In 1732 he published, in English, *The Church History of Geneva, in five Books, with a Political and Geographical Account of that Republic*, in a volume of upward of three hundred pages; and the next year this was followed by a *Treatise against Detraction, in ten Sections*, in a somewhat larger volume. The *Church History* is dedicated to "the pastors of the churches of Christ in New England," in words which show that he was on very friendly terms with his brother ministers, and the volume was apparently written to gratify their curiosity. "I have hardly ever been in any learned company here," he writes, "but that I have been asked several questions concerning the Church and Academy of Geneva." Of many of the things which he relates, he says, he was an eye-witness; but, with the exception of a few references to persons whom he had known in Geneva, the volume contains nothing of an autobiographical character.[2] The other volume is dedicated to the elders, deacons, and heads of families of his own congregation; and in the dedication he says: —

"You have not despised my youth when I first came among you; you have since excused my Infirmities; and as I did the same in respect to yours it has pleased our Saviour the Head of his Church to favor us with an uninterrupted Peace and Union for the almost eighteen Years that I have preached the Word of Salvation to you. By that blessed Peace our Flock, tho' exceeding small, hath subsisted, and even is enlarged by the addition of some who were once the Opposers of our Doctrine, I mean Roman Catholics, several of whom have been converted by the preaching of God's Word; and also by the addition of some Protestants of other Nations."

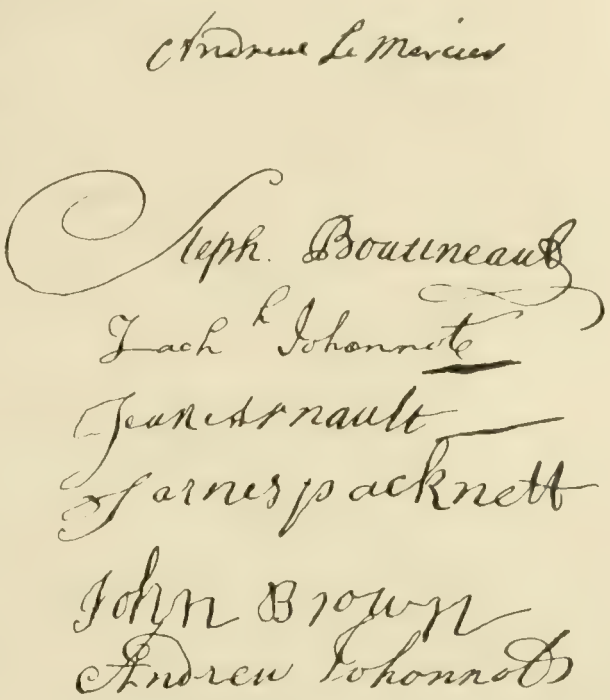
In a prefatory note he excuses himself for some defects in the style, on the ground that the treatise was written in French, and afterward translated very closely into English; but it does not appear from the internal evidence that the treatise was a reproduction of his old sermons.

At the time of the sale of the meeting-house he claimed the ownership of the house and land, on the ground that he had suffered greatly by the depreciation of the currency, and that in consequence of the dissolution of the society he would be obliged to go into business for his own maintenance. He accordingly agreed to sell the estate to Edward Jackson, and then petitioned the Governor and General Court for the passage of an act confirming the title. The Court thereupon ordered a notice to be served on Stephen Boutineau, Jean Arnault, John Brown, Zachariah and Andrew Johonnot, and

[1] *Miscellaneous Papers*, ii. 130, in the Cabinet.

[2] Copies of this work are in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and a copy of the *Treatise against Detraction* is in the Prince Library. Both works are in the Boston Athenæum. [There are in the *Pepperrell Papers*, i. 19, 50, etc., some letters of LeMercier addressed to Pepperrell, relative to the appointment of a son of LeMercier as an interpreter in the Louisburg expedition in 1745. — Ed.]

James Paquinet, to show cause, if any they had, why the petition should not be granted. This order elicited from the gentlemen named a very energetic remonstrance, in which they say: —



AUTOGRAPHS OF THE PETITIONER AND REMONSTRANTS.

"We think it a presumption of his and an imposition on your Excellency and Honors to bring such weak reasons in order to drive us off from our church. He says he had but £100 per annum when he first settled, and we have promised him no more, although we do give him considerable more, and may appear by his receipts sufficient to maintain his family in a handsome manner and purchase a considerable estate, as he was in exceeding low circumstances when he came to settle with us. As for depreciating of the money, which he mentions, some have raised from forty shillings to ten pounds, and Andrew Faneuil, Esq., and James Bowdoin, Esq., have left him, one £170 per year, the other £20 per year. Johonnot and Sigourney have left £100 by will. We have given him, from time to time, about £100 of the poor's money. But if he had so much reason to complain, as he has, according to his bargain, and agreeable to our discipline and church platform, all his remedy is, if he complains, and is not relieved, he shall have liberty to go back for England, we paying his passage, or provide himself somewhere else. When he came to us, there was a list of £100 subscribed, each of them for himself severally. We are not answerable for the death of any of our people; he has driven all our young people to other churches; notwithstanding we wish him well, and design, if we sell our church to give him out of it about £1,650 old tenor. But for him to sell our church, that we with our own money have built and purchased, and so to turn us out of our church, will be a precedent never before heard of, and, if allowed of, will be of a dangerous consequence." [1]

So far as it is known, the General Court took no further action in the matter; but as Mr. LeMercier joined in the deed of the elder and proprietors, a few months afterward, he was probably satisfied with the sum

[1] The petition and answer and the order of notice are in the Massachusetts Archives (xii. 522–527), and are printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xiii. 319–322.

which they proposed to give him. He outlived his church fifteen or sixteen years, and during a part at least of this time he was a resident of Dorchester, where he had purchased an estate so early as 1722, and where he was living when he made his will in 1761.[1] His death occurred, after a long sickness, March 31, 1764; and three days afterward he was buried from the house of Deacon Wait, in Queen Street, Boston.

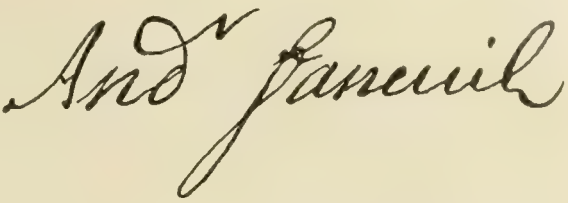
Mr. LeMercier was of an enterprising character, and engaged in some business operations; but they were not probably very lucrative. In 1738 he appears to have obtained from the Governor of Nova Scotia a grant of Sable Island, on which he had built a house for shipwrecked mariners, besides sending to the island cattle and provisions for their relief. The cattle and goods, however, were stolen at different times; and in January, 1743–44, he inserted an advertisement in the *Boston Evening Post*, offering a reward of forty pounds, old tenor, for the discovery of the robbers. Three years later a similar advertisement, signed by Andrew LeMercier, Henry Atkins, and Thomas Hancock, "owners of the said island," was published in the *News-Letter*, setting forth that the measures hitherto taken to prevent the killing of the live stock and stealing from the island had had little or no effect, and declaring that "we will for the future cause the English laws to be put in execution against such offenders; and that they may be prosecuted, we do hereby promise to give the sum of one hundred pounds, old tenor, to any person or persons that will discover and make known unto us any of the said mischievous persons, so that they may be brought to public justice in Old or New England." Subsequently, in February, 1753, he offered the island for sale, declaring in his advertisement that "The advantages which do accrue or may accrue from the improvement of that place are so great that I would not easily part with it if I was so skilful in navigation and shipping as it is necessary. That ignorance of mine induces me (not any defect in the island itself) to part with it. If any person desires to purchase it, and to know further about it, they may see at my house a map and plan of it." When he parted with the island has not been ascertained; but it is not included in the inventory of his estate.[2]

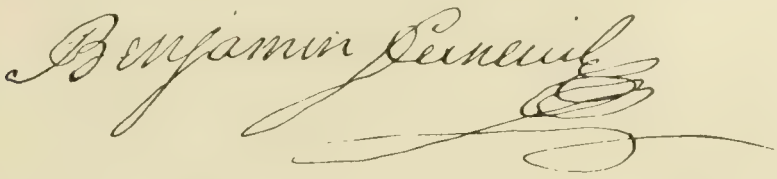
As a separate part of the community the French Protestants left very slight traces on our annals. Many of them were so obscure that their names even have not been preserved; others were here for only a short time before they sought a permanent home elsewhere; and nearly all in a few generations intermarried with Anglo-American families, and became part of the English population. Among these the most conspicuous were Baudoin or Bowdoin, Sigourney, Johonnot, Dupuis or Dupee, and Faneuil. Gabriel Bernon, whose name is identified with the history of

[1] A codicil was added at Boston a few weeks before his death. The will and codicil are recorded with Suffolk Wills, lib. 64, fol. 274.

[2] The inventory is recorded immediately after his will. It includes a warehouse on the Long Wharf in Boston and a share in the wharf, and land at Stoughton, Wrentham, and Attleborough. The real estate was appraised at £200; the personal property consisted of household effects and wearing apparel; and the whole amount of the inventory was £232 18*s.* 6*d.*

the unfortunate settlement at Oxford, removed to Rhode Island so early as 1698. The families of Boutineau, Arnault, Breedon, Paquinet, LeMercier, and others are extinct or are represented only in the female line. One name, however, will always be held in peculiar honor here, though it has been long extinct. Andrew Faneuil, the first of the name who is associated with the history of Boston, escaped to Holland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and there married.[1] Exactly when he came to Massachusetts is not known; but his name is in the Boston tax list for 1691.[2] He was an enterprising merchant, an owner of real estate wisely located, a public-spirited citizen; and at his death he left a large property, nearly the whole





of which he bequeathed to his nephew, Peter Faneuil, the eldest son of a brother who had settled in the Narragansett country.[3]

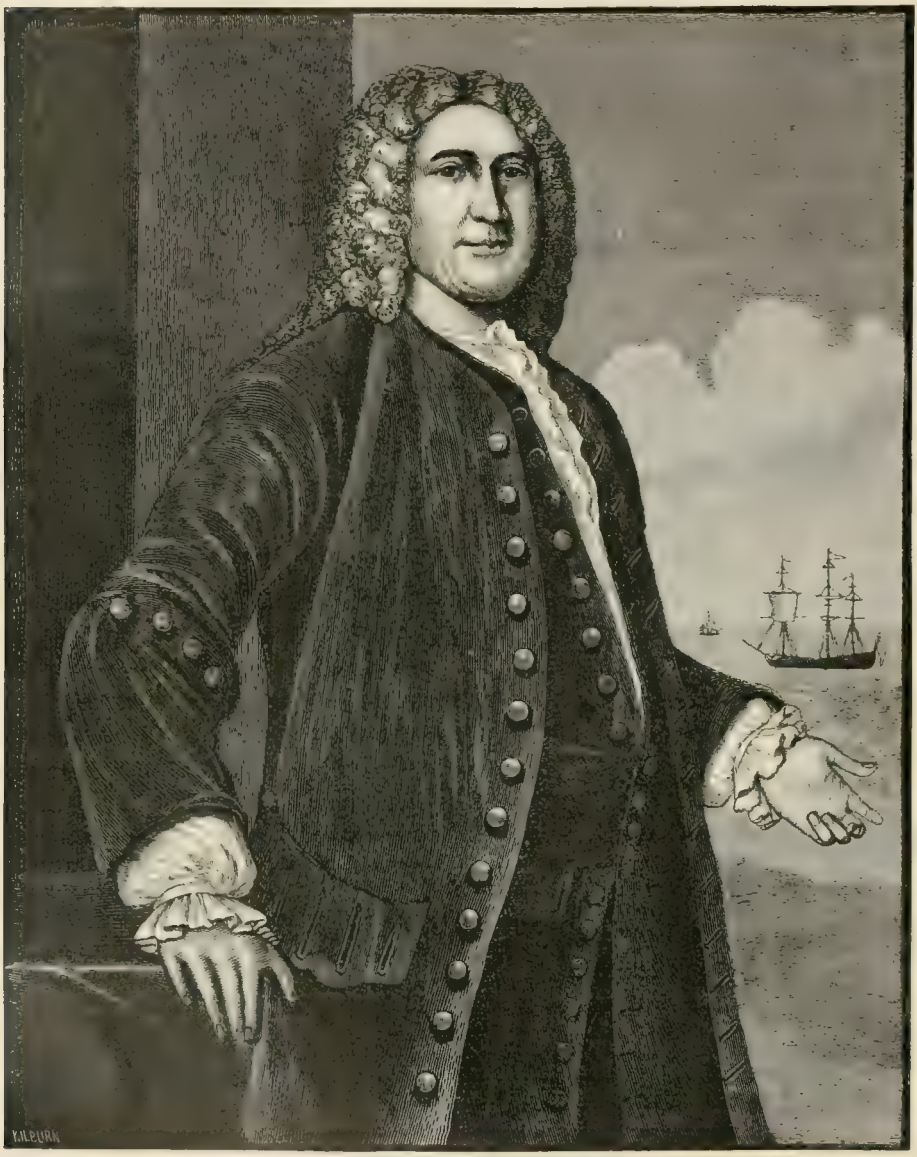
Peter Faneuil was born at New Rochelle, in New York, on the 20th of June, 1700, and was the oldest of eleven children. Of his early years nothing is known; his father died when he was eighteen; and subsequently

[1] Sargent, *Dealings with the Dead*, ii. 506.

[2] *First Report of the Record Commissioners*, p 154. [The names of Benjamin, John, and Andrew Fuñell, are in a list headed, "Boston, Feb. 1, 1691. List of persons of the French nation admitted into the Colony by the Governor and Councill," printed in *Sewall Papers*, i, 293. — Ed.]

[3] The house built by Andrew Faneuil for his own residence was afterward the residence of Peter Faneuil and of Lieut.-Governor William Phillips, whose father bought it in 1791. After the Revolution the estate, which at that time was owned by one of the Vassall family, was confiscated; and in December, 1783, it was sold by the Commonwealth to Isaiah Doane. In 1805 Mr. Phillips purchased the adjoining estate. Faneuil's house was on Tremont Street, opposite the King's Chapel Burial-ground. The lot formed the south part of Governor Bellingham's estate on the slope of the hill. "The deep court-yard," says Miss Quincy in her memoir of her mother, "ornamented by flowers and shrubs, was divided into an upper and lower platform by a high glacis, surmounted by a richly wrought iron railing, decorated with gilt balls. The edifice was of brick, painted white; and over the entrance-door was a semi-circular balcony. The hall and apartments were spacious, and elegantly furnished. The terraces, which rose from the paved court behind the house, were supported by massy walls of hewn granite, and were ascended by flights of steps of the same material." — *Memoir of the Life of Eliza S. M. Quincy*, p. 88. [There is a paper in the *Mass. Archives*, volume marked "Trade," i. 255, which speaks of the house on this lot as a "Stone House." It is a statement, sworn to by Andrew Faneuil Dec. 13, 1711, which seems to have been occasioned by some difference between Faneuil and George Cabot, the contractor; and by it it would appear that the timber was furnished by Richard Draper and John Wentworth, the lime by Edward Richards, the cedar posts by Stephen Willis, and the window glass by James "Baudovin," or Bowdoin. Andrew Faneuil's warehouses were on Butler Square, out of State Street, and Peter Faneuil a little later had others on State Street, just below Chatham Street. — Ed.]

he came to Boston, where he made himself so acceptable to his uncle, who died in February, 1737–38, that the latter appointed him his executor and



PETER FANEUIL.[1]

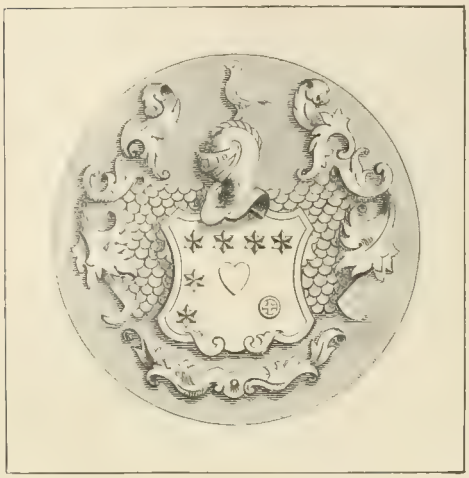
residuary legatee. Previously to that time he had been actively engaged in business, and had acquired some property; but the bulk of his for-

[1] [This cut follows a photograph taken from a portrait which came into the possession of the Historical Society in 1835. *Proceedings*, ii. 19, 289. The large picture in Faneuil Hall is copied from this painting. — ED.]

tune came from his uncle. "Last Monday the Corpse of Andrew Faneuil, Esquire, whose death we mentioned in our last, was honorably interred here," says the *Boston News-Letter* of February 23, "above 1,100 persons of all Ranks, besides the Mourners, following the Corpse; also a vast number of Spectators were gathered together on the Occasion, at which time the half-minute guns from on board several vessels were discharged. And 'tis supposed that as this Gentleman's Fortune was the greatest of any among us, so his funeral was as generous and expensive as any that has been known here." The nephew did not long enjoy this ample wealth. He died in about five years, after a short illness, — Feb. 3, 1742–43, — leaving no will; so that his whole property went to his brother, who had been disinherited by Andrew Faneuil, and to his four sisters. Peter Faneuil was a shrewd, careful, and energetic business man, fond of display, and fond of good living.[1] Two or three weeks after his uncle's death he wrote to one of his correspondents in London: "Send me, by the very first opportunity for this place, five pipes of your very best Madeira wine, of an amber color, of the same sort which you sent to our good friend DeLancey, of New York." And he adds: "As this wine is for the use of my house, I hope you will be careful that I have the best. I am not over fond of the strongest sort." About the same time he wrote to his New York correspondent: "Send me by the first conveyance the pipe of wine, having none good to drink." A fortnight later he renewed the order, directing his correspondent to send "by the first good opportunity the best pipe of wine that you can purchase." And a month afterward, when he had received it, he wrote: "The wine I hope will prove good; comes in very good time, there being none good in town." In another letter he wrote for "the latest, best book of the several sorts of cookery, which pray let be of the largest character, for the benefit of the maid's reading." A fortnight after his uncle's death he wrote to London: "Be so good as to send me a handsome chariot with two sets of harness, with the arms, as enclosed, on the same, in the handsomest manner that you shall judge proper, but at the same time nothing gaudy." Along with these requests are specific instructions for the management of his business, and sharp demands for the payment of any debts due to him. One illustration of this characteristic is all that need be given. In 1738–39, about a year after Andrew Faneuil's death, he wrote to one of his correspondents, a merchant at

[1] One of his letter-books is in the Library of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, and copious extracts from it are printed by Sargent in his *Dealings with the Dead*. The citations from Faneuil's letters in this chapter are taken from that work; but they have been verified by the originals. Beside the letter-book the Library of the Genealogical Society contains also one of Faneuil's day-books and one of his ledgers. For the opportunity to consult them I am indebted to the courtesy of the librarian, Mr. John Ward Dean. In the original distribution of the topics for this volume, the chapter on the Huguenots in Boston was assigned to Mr. Dean; but he was compelled by an unfortunate trouble with his eyes to relinquish the undertaking before he had done anything except to note down the printed sources of information. His list of authorities was readily placed at my disposal. I desire also to acknowledge the receipt of several valuable communications from Mrs. Mary de W. Freeland, of Oxford, a descendant from Andrew Sigourney, who has given much attention to the genealogy of the Huguenot families.

Barbadoes: "I have been very surprised, that, ever since the death of Captain Allen, you have not advised me of the sale of a horse belonging to my deceased uncle, left in your hands by him, which I am informed you sold for a very good price; and I am now to request the favor you would send me the net proceeds, with a fair and just account for the same, in sweetmeats and citron water: your compliance with which will stop me from giving some of my friends the trouble of calling you to an account there. I shall be glad to know if Captain Allen did not leave a silver watch and some fish, belonging to a servant of mine, with some person of your island, and with who. I expect your speedy answer." This energetic demand for an account of sales and a payment of the proceeds produced the desired effect, though the West India merchant very naturally complained of the tone of Faneuil's letter. A little more than two months afterward the latter acknowledged the receipt of the account of sales and a box of sweetmeats; and in answer to his correspondent's complaints of the "unhandsome style" of the previous letter, he added: "I must own it was not in so soft terms as I sometimes make use of; but at that juncture I really thought the state of the case required it, not having heard anything to be depended upon concerning the horse in dispute, either if he was dead, sold, or run away; upon either of which, I presumed the common complaisance, if not honor, among merchants might have entitled either my uncle in his lifetime, or myself after his decease, to some advice at least. I had indeed transiently heard here you had kept him, which in some measure prest my writing you on that head." Only one other letter need be mentioned, as characteristic of a social condition which ceased to have a legal existence in Massachusetts one hundred years ago. In a letter written in February, 1738–39, now in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and printed in the *Proceedings* of that Society for August, 1864, he directs his correspondent to purchase from the proceeds of a sale of fish, "for me, for the use of my house, as likely a straight negro lad as possibly you can, about the age of from 12 to 15 years; and if to be done, one that has had the small-pox, who being for my own service, I must request the favor you would let him be one of as tractable a disposition as you can find, which I leave to your prudent care and management; desiring, after you have pur-

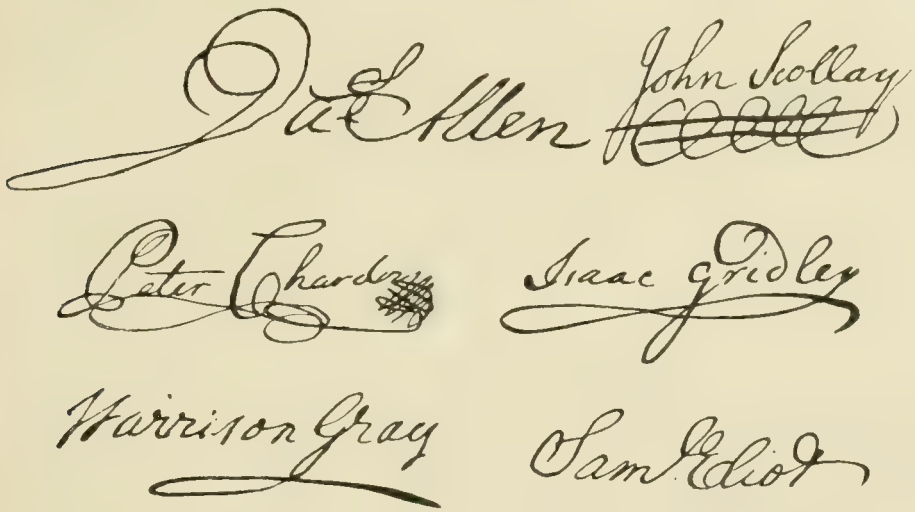


FANEUIL ARMS.[1]

[1] [This sketch of the arms follows a cut in the *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 121. — Ed.]

chased him, you would send him to me by the first good opportunity, recommending him to a particular care from the captain."[1]

But Faneuil was not merely a shrewd and enterprising merchant, busy in adding to what was in those days a large fortune, and busy in spending the income for his own personal gratification: he was also, as many of the successful Boston merchants have been in every generation, a public-spirited citizen; and he recognized that the community of which he was a part had claims on him to be acknowledged in some way. He acknowledged those claims in a way which has forever identified his name with the history of Boston, of Massachusetts, and of the whole country. This was by the gift of Faneuil Hall to the town. At the time of its erection there were no market-houses in the town, — three which had been built a few years before having been abandoned, and one of them torn down. From causes which it is now difficult to understand, the inhabitants were divided into two parties very nearly equal in numbers, one in favor of public markets and the other opposed to their existence. In this state of the public mind Faneuil came forward and offered to build a market at his own cost. Accordingly, a petition was sent to the selectmen by James Allen, Thomas Palmer, Edward Hutchinson, Samuel Eliot, Isaac Gridley, Harrison Gray, Peter



Chardon, John Scollay, John Osborn, and three hundred and thirty-four others, setting forth that Peter Faneuil, Esq., "hath been generously pleased to offer, at his own cost and charge, to erect and build a noble and complete structure or edifice to be improved for a market for the sole use, benefit, and advantage of the town, provided that the town of Boston would pass a vote for that purpose, and lay the same under such proper regulations as shall be thought necessary, and constantly support it for the said use," and asking that a town-meeting should be called for the purpose of considering

[1] [A heliotype of this letter is given herewith. — Ed.]

the offer.[1] The meeting was held on the 14th of July, 1740; and so large was the attendance that it was found necessary to adjourn from the town house to the Brattle Street Meeting-house. Very little progress was made in the forenoon, beyond thanking Mr. Faneuil for his offer; and the meeting was then adjourned to the afternoon. At that time much discussion took place; and a motion that each man should write his name on the back of his vote was rejected. Special precautions, however, were adopted to prevent any persons from voting who were not legally qualified. The voting was to be by papers, on which *yea* or *nay* was to be written. The result was that 367 votes were cast in favor of accepting the gift, and 360 against its acceptance.[2]

Subsequently Faneuil altered his plans and erected a much larger and more costly structure than he intended at first to build; and it was not finished for upward of two years. It was of brick, two stories in height, and measured one hundred feet in length by forty feet in width. Besides the market there were several rooms for the town officers and a hall which would contain one thousand persons. Early in September the building was completed and delivered to the selectmen; and at a town-meeting held in the town house on the 13th of September a vote was unanimously passed, accepting "this most generous and noble benefaction for the uses and intentions they are designed for," and appointing a committee, consisting of the moderator of the meeting, the selectmen, the representatives to the General Court, and six other gentlemen, "to wait upon Peter Faneuil, Esq., and in the name of the town to render him their most hearty thanks for so bountiful a gift, with their prayers that this and other expressions of his bounty and charity may be abundantly recompensed with the Divine blessing." It was further voted on motion of Thomas Hutchinson, afterward the governor and refugee, "That in testimony of the town's gratitude to the said Peter Faneuil, Esq., and to perpetuate his memory, the hall over the market-place be named Faneuil Hall, and at all times hereafter be called and known by that name." After the transaction of some other business the meeting was adjourned to meet on the following Friday in Faneuil Hall.[3]

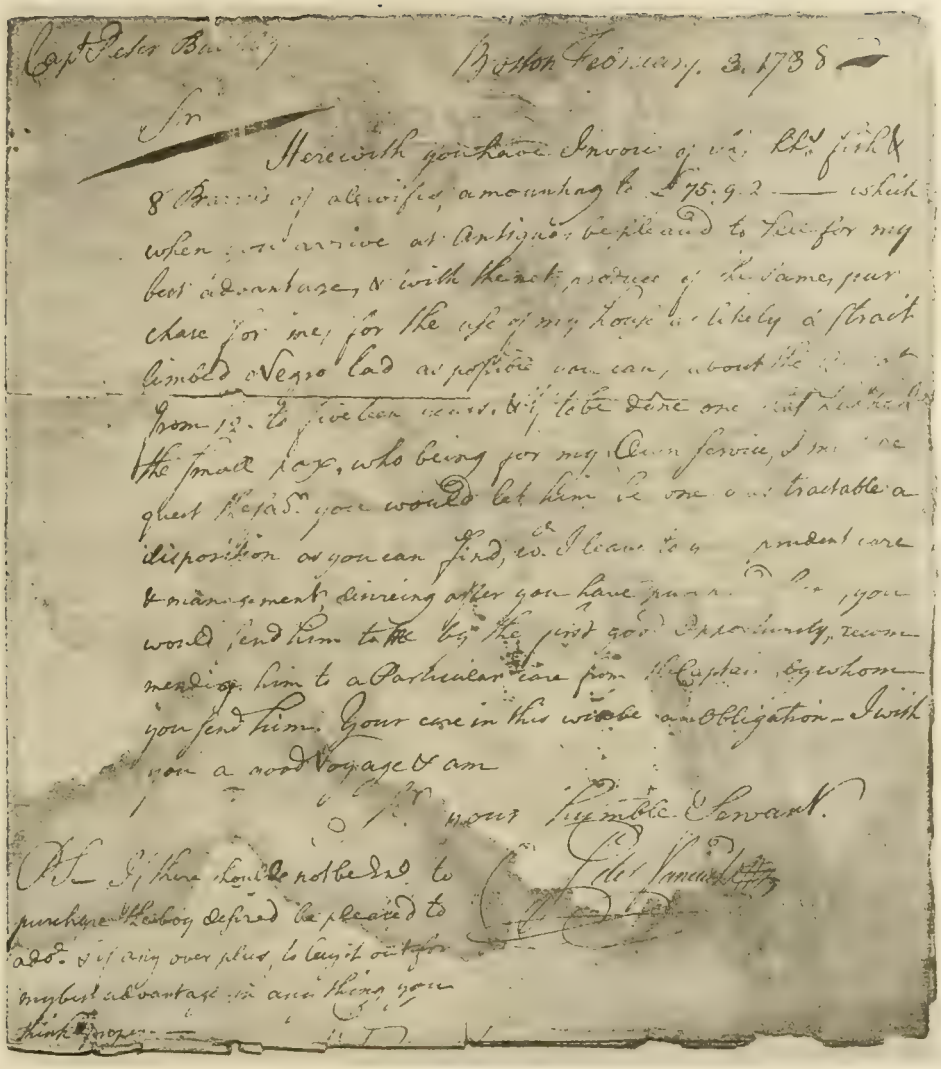
Faneuil did not live many months after the completion of his hall; and it was remarked at the time that the first annual town-meeting held within its walls — March 14, 1742–43 — was the occasion for the delivery of a eulogy on him. This was given by John Lovell, master of the Latin School, who was afterward, like Hutchinson and like more than one of Faneuil's nephews and near relatives, a refugee.[4] It was the first of the long series of funeral

[1] The warrant issued by the selectmen of Boston directing the constables to notify this meeting is printed in the *New England Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxx. 368. [The petition is preserved in the City Clerk's office, *Original Papers*, ii. 63, and is signed July 2, 1740. Some of the signatures are given in the text. — Ed.]

[2] *MS. Records of the Town of Boston*, iii. 422–426.

[3] Ibid., iii. 499–501.

[4] In the appendix to the *Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen* (Fourth Edition, pp. 544–546) is a letter, dated London, March 9, 1777, from Benjamin Faneuil, Jr., to his aunt, Mrs. Ann Jones, Peter Faneuil's sister, — who was then at Halifax, having missed her passage to England. Another of Peter Faneuil's sisters married James Boutineau, who was also a refugee. Boutineau's



Capt Peter Baudoin

Boston February. 3. 1738

Sir

Herewith you have Invoice of viz. Hhd. fish & 8 Barrels of alewifes, amounting to £75.9.2 which when you arrive at Antigua be pleased to dispose for my best advantage, & with the neat produce of the same, purchase for me for the use of my house a likely straight limbed Negro lad as possible can be, about the age from 12. to fifteen years, & if to be had one that can talk the English tongue, who being for my own service, I would be glad that you would let him be one of a tractable disposition as you can find, & I leave to your prudent care & management directing after you have purchased, you would send him to Boston by the first good opportunity, recommending him to a particular care from the Captain by whom you send him. Your care in this will be an Obligation. I wish you a good Voyage & am

Sir

Your humble Servant.

Peter Faneuil

P.S. If there should not be Hhd. to purchase the Negro, desired be pleased to add & if any over plus, to lay it out for my best advantage in any thing you think proper.

A Letter by Peter Faneuil.

orations delivered in Faneuil Hall, and gave so much satisfaction to the hearers that it was spread at length on the town records.[1] One or two extracts may be read even now with interest. After referring to Faneuil's acts of private charity, which were said to be "so secret and unbounded, that none but they who were the objects of it can compute the sums which he annually distributed among them," Mr. Lovell added: —

"But these private charities were not the only effects of his public spirit, which, not contented with distributing his benefactions to private families, extended them to the whole community. Let this stately edifice which bears his name witness for him what sums he expended in public munificence. This building, erected by him at an immense charge, for the convenience and ornament of the town, is incomparably the greatest benefaction ever yet known to our Western shore. Yet this effect of his bounty, however great, is but the first fruits of his generosity, a pledge of what his heart, always devising liberal things, would have done for us had his life been spared. It is an unspeakable loss to the town that he was taken away in the midst of his days, and in so sudden a manner as to prevent his making provision for what his generous heart might design. For I am well assured, from those who were acquainted with his purposes, that he had many more blessings in store for us, had Heaven prolonged his days."

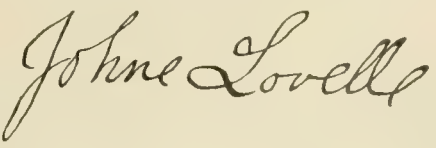
Near the end of his address, which was quite short, the orator exclaimed:

"What now remains, but my ardent wishes (in which I know you will all concur with me) that this Hall may be ever sacred to the interests of Truth, of Justice, of Loyalty, of Honor, of Liberty! May no private views or party broils ever enter within these walls; but may the same public spirit that glowed in the breast of the generous Founder influence all your debates, that society may reap the benefits of them! May Liberty always spread its joyful wings over this place! — Liberty, that opens men's hearts to beneficence, and gives the relish to those who enjoy the effects of it! And may Loyalty to a king, under whom we enjoy this liberty, ever remain our character! — a character always justly due to this land, and of which our enemies have in vain attempted to rob us."

The loyalty of the town had already been shown by hanging the portrait of George II. within the new hall. The town's love of liberty was abundantly exhibited before Mr. Lovell sailed away to Halifax with the British fleet thirty-three years afterward. Long before that time the hall was almost entirely destroyed by fire.

son-in-law, John Robinson, a commissioner of the customs in 1772, made the aggravated assault on James Otis, from the effects of which Otis never recovered. (See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, i. 241–243.)

[1] It is printed in Snow's *History of Boston*, pp. 235–237. [It was also printed at the time,— *A Funeral Oration Deliver'd At the opening of the Annual Meeting of the Town, March* 14, 1742, *in Faneuil Hall, in Boston: Occasioned by the Death of the Founder, Peter Faneuil, Esq.* Green, Bushell, and Allen, 1743, pp. 14. See *Brinley Catalogue*, Nos. 1653–54. Lovell's autograph, here given, is taken from a bill which he rendered the province of Massachusetts Bay, Jan. 11, 1748, "To translating Governour of Canada's letter to Gov. Shirley, 13 pages in French, £1 10*s.* 0*d.*; two other papers, 6*s.*, total, £1 16*s.* 0*d.*," preserved in the *Mass. Archives*.— Ed.]



This unfortunate event occurred on the 13th of January, 1761. About half-past nine o'clock in the evening of that day a fire broke out in one of the shops in Dock Square belonging to the town, says the *News-Letter* of the 15th, and after destroying that and the adjoining buildings crossed the street to "that stately edifice, Faneuil Hall Market, the whole of which was soon consumed, excepting the brick walls which are left standing." "The loss of Faneuil Hall Market must be great to this town," the paper adds, "as it was a noble building, esteemed one of the best pieces of workmanship here, and an ornament to the town." Fortunately, however, "the records, papers, etc., with such other things as could be removed, were mostly saved." A few weeks afterward, at a town-meeting held on the 9th of March, it was voted not to repair or rebuild the hall.[1] But the next day a committee was appointed to consider and report on the whole subject at an adjourned meeting.[2] On the 23d of March this committee reported in favor of rebuilding the hall, covering it with a slated roof, putting in stone window-frames, and using as little wood-work as possible about the ornaments; and on the recommendation of the committee it was voted: "That the selectmen be and hereby are desired and empowered to prefer a petition to the General Court, at their next session, praying that the Honorable Court would by an Act empower some suitable person to raise by way of lottery such a sum of money as may be sufficient for the aforesaid purpose."[3] The petition was granted, and the net profits arising from the lottery were applied to the rebuilding of the hall,[4] which was again occupied for a town-meeting March 14, 1764. It was in this second hall that the town-meetings of our Revolutionary period were held whenever the attendance was not so large as to require an adjournment to the Old South. At length it was found necessary to enlarge the hall to double its original size. This was done in 1805 by putting on a third story, and rebuilding one of the side walls about forty feet back from the original line.[5] It is this third hall which has so often re-echoed to the eloquence of Webster and Everett, of Choate and Sumner, and so many others.

Faneuil Hall is a permanent memorial of the Huguenots in Boston, and with the exception of a few crumbling grave-stones it is the only visible monument of their residence here. They were few in number, and were speedily absorbed in the community around them; but it is impossible not to recognize the services which descendants of these Huguenot refugees, or individuals connected with them by marriage, have rendered to

[1] *MS. Records of the Town of Boston*, iv. 467.

[2] Ibid., pp. 476, 477.

[3] Ibid., p. 478.

[4] [The town contracted with Onesiphorus Tileston and others to rebuild the hall, and they agreed to wait for their pay until the money could be raised by the lottery. The year following the completion of the hall the contractors, setting forth that the lottery yielded the money slowly, and that they had received but a part of their dues, petitioned that some more expeditious mode of payment be adopted. The report of the committee, of which Royall Tyler was chairman, is on file at the City Hall; and it does not allow that the contractors have any legal claims for prompter payment, but in the final settlement the delay might be considered.—Ed.]

[5] [The view of the Hall in Snow's *Boston*, 247, indicates the marks of enlargement of the structure at this time. — Ed.]

this community. Not a few of the names most conspicuous for honorable service in our Revolutionary period or in later years are borne by families which count among their ancestors one or more of these fugitives for con-

THE SECOND FANEUIL HALL.[1]

science' sake. Bowdoin, Sigourney, Brimmer, Johonnot, Revere, Chardon, — such are some of the names which at once suggest a Huguenot ancestry.[2]

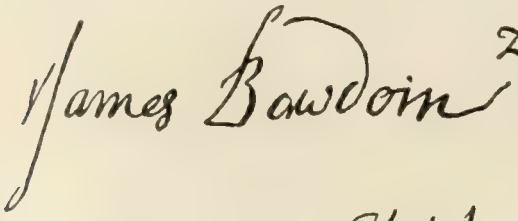
Chas. C. Smith

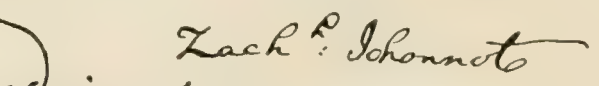
[1] [There are no views extant of the original building, unless the minute delineations in Price's View and in his map of Boston will pass for such. Of this second structure our cut follows a picture in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, March, 1789, which is reproduced in the *Mass. Hist. Soc Proc.*, i. 38, and in the *Evacuation Memorial of the City of Boston*, 1876. Drake's *Boston*, 611, gives a cut from it. There is also a view in *Harper's Monthly*, 1877, p. 827 —Ed.]

[2] [The Bowdoins are descended from Pierre Baudouin, of whom there is an account in R. C. Winthrop's *Address on Governor James Bowdoin*. See also *Andros Tracts*, iii. 79. A genealogy of the family is printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1856. Mr. William H. Whitmore, the compiler of it, afterwards enlarged it in connection with an *Account of the Temple Family*, 1856; and this also appeared in an unauthorized reprint in New York in 1871. The arms on the Bowdoin tomb in the Granary Burial-ground are figured in the *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 135. Durrie,

Pierre Baudouin

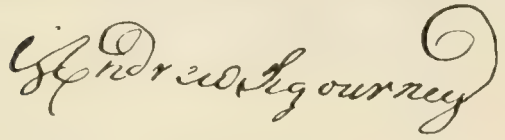
Index to American Genealogies, gives various references. The eldest son of Pierre, James Bowdoin, settled in Boston, and is the ancestor of a well-known family. The Virginia Bowdoins are sprung from John, another son of Pierre. *Mass. Archives*, lxiii. 210, 224. *Sewall Papers*, ii. 413. On the Mascarene family, of which there were formerly members in Boston, with connections in Nova Scotia, there are notes in the *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 125, and in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ix. 239, and x. 153. André Sejourné, a distiller, from Rochelle, who came to Boston in 1686, was the ancestor of the Sigourneys, of which family a *Genealogy*, by H. H. W. Sigourney was printed in 1857. Durrie gives special references. Accompanying Sejourné came his nephew, Daniel Johonnot, the progenitor of a considerable stock (Zachariah

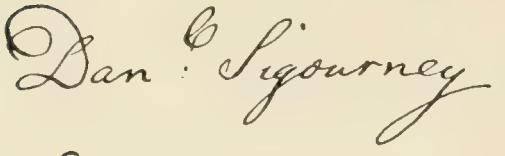


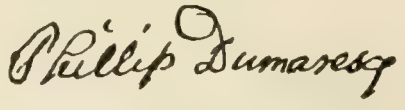


was his son), of which an account will be found in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1852, and April, 1853. Se-

journé and Johonnot were of the Oxford settlement originally. Stephen Boutineau was one of those who came over with Bowdoin in 1687, whose daughter he married in 1708. He died in 1761. *Register*, July, 1854, p. 247. The Huguenot circle in Boston received an important accession when Philip Dumaresq settled in Boston and married, 1716, Susan, daughter of Captain Henri Ferry. This Philip, who is styled a mariner, died in 1744; his son Edward married a







daughter of Stephen Boutineau; another son, Philip, became a royalist. See an account of the family in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1863, p. 318. John Adams's diary (*Works*, ii. 39, 43) records his impressions of the last of the Chardons, young Peter Chardon, whom Adams looked upon in 1758 as among the young men in Boston "on the directest road to superiority," but who did not live long enough to fulfil his promise, and died a few years later. — ED.]

CHAPTER VIII.

FRANKLIN, THE BOSTON BOY.

BY GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN — the pre-eminent statesman, diplomatist, and philosopher of the Revolution — was born in Boston on the 6th of January, Old Style (the 17th of January, New Style), 1706. The exact place of his birth has long been a matter of antiquarian controversy. Franklin himself is said to have told Mrs. Hannah Crocker that he first saw the light at the "Sign of the Blue Ball," on the corner of Hanover and Union streets. It seems, nevertheless, to be fully proved that he was really born on Milk Street, nearly opposite the Old South Church, in a house on the site now occupied by the *Boston Post* newspaper. According to the records of the city archives, Franklin's father occupied a modest wooden house on this site from the time of his arrival from England in 1685, until 1712, when Benjamin was six years of age. In the latter year the elder Franklin bought and removed to the house on Hanover Street, called the "Blue Ball;" and Benjamin's earliest recollections were no doubt connected with this residence. The house on Milk Street remained standing until December, 1810, when it was destroyed by fire. Its appearance at the period of Franklin's birth is thus minutely described: —

"Its front upon the street was rudely clapboarded, and the sides and rear were protected from the inclemencies of a New England climate by large rough shingles. In height the house was about three stories; in front, the second story and attic projected somewhat into the street, over the principal story on the ground floor. On the lower floor of the main house there was one room only. This, which probably served the Franklins as a parlor and sitting-room, and also for the family eating-room, was about twenty feet square, and had two windows on the street; and it had also one on the passage way, so as to give the inmates a good view of Washington Street. In the centre of the southerly side of the room was one of those noted large fire-places, situated in a most capacious chimney; on the left of this was a spacious closet. On the ground floor, connected with the sitting-room through the entry, was the kitchen. The second story originally contained but one chamber, and in this the windows,

door, fire-place, and closet were similar in number and position to those in the parlor beneath it. The attic was also, originally, one unplastered room, and had a window in front on the street, and two common attic windows, one on each side of the roof, near the back part of it." [1]

It was to this rather humble abode that Josiah Franklin, the silk-dyer, brought his wife and his three children from their home in Banbury, England, in or about the year 1685. Like the Pilgrims of an earlier date, he had left his native land with a company of friends, in order to enjoy, on the new soil, the unrestricted exercise of his religion. He belonged to a family who had long been zealous Protestants, and who had, at times, suffered persecution on that account.[2] Four children were born

Benjamen Son of Josiah. Franklin & Abiah his Wife born 6 Jan'y 1705

ENTRY OF FRANKLIN'S BIRTH ON THE TOWN RECORDS.

Jan. 6. | Benjamin, of Josiah & Abiah Franklin

ENTRY OF FRANKLIN'S BAPTISM ON THE RECORDS OF THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH.

[1] [Shurtleff, *Desc. of Boston*, p. 620. — Ed.]

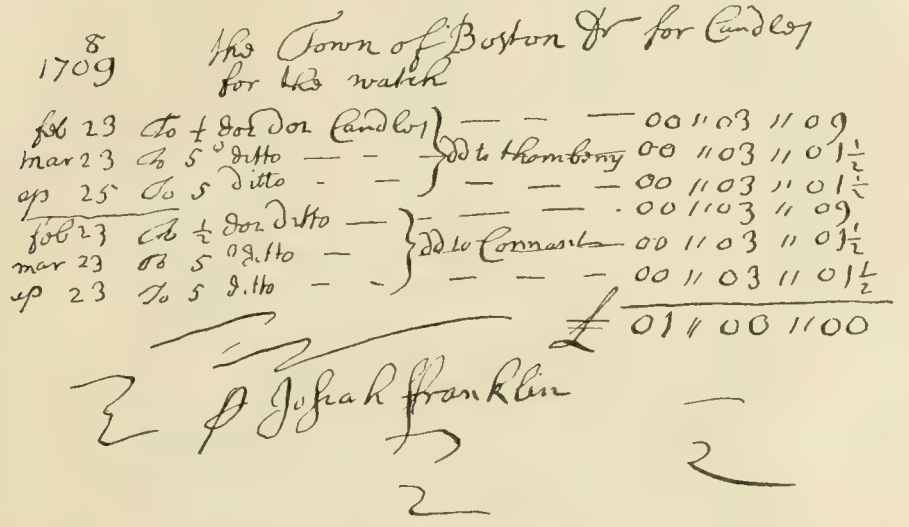
[2] [There is a paper on the English Franklins in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1857; and in the *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 97, the arms borne by Benjamin and other members of the family. A Franklin pedigree is given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1857. See also Bache's *Genealogy of Franklin*; Bridgman's *Granary Burial Ground*, p. 323; Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*; Sparks's *Life of Franklin*, i. app. A table of Benjamin Franklin's descendants is given in the *Register*, Oct. 1854. A letter of Josiah Franklin, the father, which formerly belonged to the Brantz-Mayer Collection, and is now in the Boston Public Library, throws some light on the family history. From a memorandum with it, it is said to have been addressed to Captain Benjamin Franklin, Blenheim, England. It is as follows: —

Boston Jan^{y} 11 1742/4

"Sir, — By what intelligence I have received from my son at Philadelphia, and what intelligence I have had by a gentleman that comes pretty often to dinner here, I am pretty much inclined to think that you are my brother's grandson that I lived with 11 years.

"I know of no advantage, neither do I propose any, to myself or you, by scraping acquaintance with you; but as father's children seemed to have a more than common affection one for another, and I having the same affection as formerly, I shall rejoice to hear of the welfare of my brother's family, and I hope it will not be ungrateful to you, if we are related, to favor me with a few lines as opportunity presents, which may be best performed by the way of Philadelphia, directing to Benjamin Franklin, postmaster. You was so kind as to send me a letter, but it was mislaid at my son's, so that I never had it. If you are the person, as I suppose, related to me, your grandfather's name was John, and his eldest [child] was Thomas [named] after his grandfather Thomas. Now my father's will was for his eldest [ ]; the land was to go to the male heirs. Now my eldest brother had no son, so that of course it went to my brother John, that I lived with, and he had a son named Thomas, which I suppose was your father, which I could get no certain account of after he lost his father. My brother John lived in Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and purchased a house by the mill. My father lived at Ecton, four miles from Northampton. Now I understand by the gentleman above mentioned that you sold land to the value of £500 sterling, which I suppose is about the value of what my father was possessed of, which became yours by your great-grandfather's will. I understand you also practise

to Josiah Franklin by his first wife after his arrival in America. After her death he married Abiah, daughter of Peter Folger,[1] one of the early settlers of New England; and by her Franklin had ten more children. His entire family, then, comprised seventeen sons and daughters. Of these Benjamin



A BILL OF FRANKLIN'S FATHER.[2]

was the youngest son, and the fifteenth child. "I remember," he says, "thirteen children sitting at one time at his table." Quite as noteworthy is the fact that Benjamin was "the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back." On the very day of his birth Benjamin was carried,

surveying, which my eldest brother practised also, so that his instruments for art might fall to your portion also. Thus, sir, I have given you my conjecture, and if you 'll send me an answer I shall count myself obliged to you; and with my hearty respects to you is all at present from your humble servant,

Josiah Franklin

"*P.S.* — If you are the gentleman I suppose you to be, then it 's like you can give an account of your father's sister, as well as of your father, for it 's so long since I came away that I have lost the knowledge of all our relations, having been in Boston 60 years last October. Whoever it be, I cannot expect to hold correspondence with you but a short time, being this New Year's day 86 years of age; but I have 3 sons which it 's possible may be glad of the same friendship I desire, and I believe would be glad if they can do you any service. They are John Franklin, tallow chandler at Boston; Peet Franklin, at Newport, master of a vessel; and Benja. Franklin, at Philadelphia, which you know.

"Rec[d] Nov. y[e] 15, 1744."

John Franklin, the brother of Benjamin, was postmaster of Boston at the time of his death, Feb. 5, 1756. The Franklins had originally belonged to Ecton, in Northamptonshire. An old record-book of the small tithes of the parish, 1640 to 1700, fell into the hands of Thomas Carlyle, who noticing the mention here and there of Franklin's ancestors (who were blacksmiths), sent it to Mr. Everett, who, in 1857, deposited it in the Historical Society's Cabinet. Everett's *Speeches*, iii. 482. — ED.]

John Franklin

[1] [For the Folgers see Savage's *Geneal. Dict.*, ii. 177; Sparks's *Life of Franklin*, i. 452; and *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xvi. 269. — ED.]

[2] [This is facsimiled from the original paper in the collection of Mellen Chamberlain. — ED.]

in the bleak January weather, across the street to the Old South Church, and there solemnly baptized. At the risk of the frail little body, his parents were resolved that at least the infant soul should be safe. Of his first seven years we have no further record than this of his baptism. Boston was then a town of some nine thousand inhabitants, and we can only imagine young Benjamin, in his early childhood, running loose in the vacant spaces near his home (now compactly covered by stone and brick blocks), going on errands, doing chores for his hard-worked father, and sleeping in the unplastered attic with the other children. Josiah

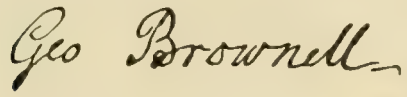
FRANKLIN'S BIRTHPLACE.[1]

Franklin, sturdy and industrious, yet had a hard struggle of it with the world; his trade, now changed to that of a tallow chandler, scarcely kept pace with the needs of his growing family of fifteen sons and daughters. One after another, as they grew up, Benjamin's elder brothers were apprenticed to different trades; himself the pious Josiah designed, "as the tithe of his sons," for the church. Benjamin's brief education began when he was eight years old, at the grammar school. He had early shown a decided taste and inclination for study; and his father at first thought of sending

[1] [The story of this house is told at length in Shurtleff's *Desc. of Boston*, ch. li. — ED.]

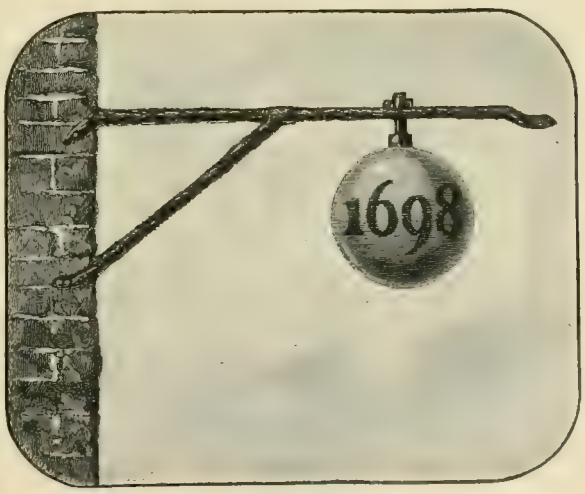
him to college. The boy had not attended school a year, however, when Josiah Franklin, despairing of being able to afford him a liberal education, withdrew him from the grammar school and sent him to another school, in order that he might learn writing and arithmetic, and so become fitted for helping the father in his business. Benjamin's preceptor was Mr. George Brownell,[1] who used "mild, encouraging methods," and soon taught his scholar writing, but could not teach him arithmetic. He who above all Americans of his time was afterwards noted for his mechanical genius could not, as a boy, master the simplest rudiments of mathematics. He was soon withdrawn from school to assist his father in his business; being employed to cut wick for the candles, and to fill the dipping mould. These occupations were very repugnant to Benjamin, who, living near the sea,[2] became eager to engage as a sailor; but to this his father would not consent. He continued in the paternal shop two years. Meanwhile, he had grown to be a lusty and pleasure-loving lad, and in his recreations was "generally a leader among the boys," heading boating expeditions, excelling in swimming, and being foremost in the many escapades in which he and his companions indulged. He was also fond of reading, and the little money which came into his hands from time to time was saved up and laid out in books. Among his earliest purchases was that of Bunyan's works; and he found in his father's scant library, and perused with delight,

[1] [I judge him to be the same whose signature I find attached to a petition in 1734 for



ringing the "Orange Street bell" at stated hours, — a paper on file in the City Clerk's office. *Original Papers*, ii. — ED.]

[2] [Josiah Franklin, when Benjamin was still young, had moved his abode to what was then the southeast corner of Hanover and Union streets,—a site which, in the process of widening the thoroughfare, is now covered by the pavement of Union Street. Here he hung out a Blue Ball as the sign of his business, a relic which is still preserved. Drake, *Landmarks*, p. 146. Shurtleff has traced the history of this estate in his *Desc. of Boston*, ch. lii. See also Plan B, No. 87, in the Introduction to the present volume. The house, which was destroyed in widening Union Street in 1858, represented but very little of the original structure occupied by Josiah Franklin. Edward Everett, *Mount Vernon Papers*, ch. iii. Franklin, the father, still seems to have retained his connection with the Old South Church after he had removed to the North End, and Sewall records, in 1717, his opinion of him as a fit person to "set the tune" there on Sundays, "the return of the gallery, where Mr. Franklin sat, being a place very convenient for it." *Sewall Papers*, iii. 171. — ED.]



THE BLUE BALL.

such authors as Plutarch, De Foe, and Cotton Mather. During the years of his boyhood he heard, with deep interest, the preaching both of Increase and of Cotton Mather; and recalled in old age, with much satisfaction, having seen and listened to those famous divines.

After a very brief service with his cousin, Samuel Franklin, in the cutler's trade, Benjamin, at twelve years of age, was apprenticed to his brother James, a printer. This occupation was not only far more in consonance with his tastes, but opened to him opportunities for acquaintance and study which he seized with avidity. He had access to more books; and, his day's work done, he was wont to read such as he was able to borrow until far into the small hours of the night. A friendly tradesman, Matthew Adams, who had a good library for those days, perceiving Benjamin's literary thirst, gave him free access to his shelves, — a privilege of which he availed himself to the fullest extent. And now the printer's apprentice was seized with a longing to deliver himself of his own thoughts and fancies. He began to imagine himself an embryo poet, and forthwith took to writing ballads, "in the Grub-Street ballad style," which, having been printed by his brother, he took under his arm and hawked about the streets. His two earliest productions of this sort were "The Lighthouse Tragedy," founded on the story of a recent accident,[1] and the "Capture of Blackbeard the Pirate."

The true Yankee spirit of thrift, economy, and perseverance in making one's own way now speedily developed itself in Franklin, and was a marked trait of his character thenceforth through his long and busy life. Meanwhile, he pursued his self-imposed studies with a stern energy which enabled him to absorb various knowledge with great rapidity. He studied the *Spectator* in order to form his style; and the influence of Addison's essays may be observed in all Franklin's own writings. He became interested in a large variety of questions; discussed with his friend Collins the propriety of educating women; adopted the practice of a vegetable diet after reading a book on that subject, thereby avoiding half the expense of his board, saving time, and deriving, as he imagined, "greater clearness of head and quicker apprehension." He taught himself arithmetic, which now he found himself able to master, read Locke on the *Understanding*, the *Art of Right Thinking*, and Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and made himself familiar with the rules of grammar, rhetoric, and logic.[2]

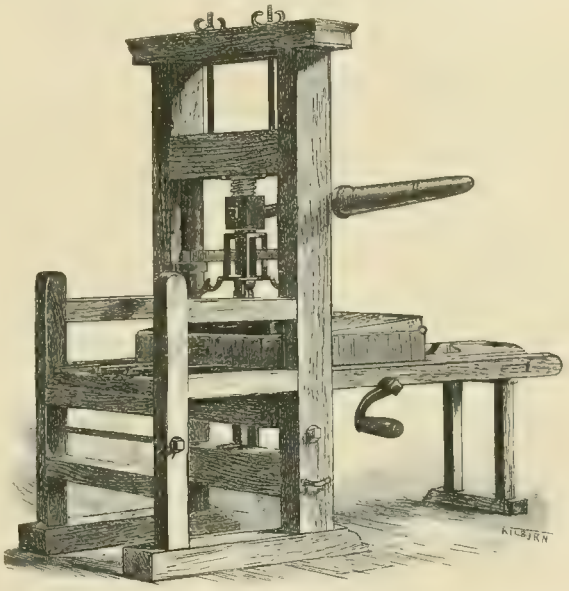
It was when Benjamin Franklin was fourteen years of age that his brother James, in whose printing establishment he was employed, started the *New England Courant*, the fourth newspaper which was printed in

[1] [George Worthylake was the first keeper of Boston Light. Coming up to town, Monday, Nov. 3, 1718, with his wife and daughter, the three were drowned, and they were buried on Copp's Hill, where a gravestone still commemorates them. This event was the subject of Franklin's ballad — Ed.]

[2] [Parton, *Life and Times of Franklin*, i. 60, has a chapter on Benjamin's reading of Shaftsbury, Collins, and other writers, calculated to unsettle his inherited religious views, which is not unsuggestive of the too free-thinking which very much disturbed Increase Mather at this time. — Ed.]

America.[1] In this project the youthful ballad-writer and philosopher became at once deeply interested. His own task was to carry the paper through the Boston streets and to distribute it to the subscribers. But his literary inspirations did not permit him to be content with this; and we soon find him slipping anonymous articles under the door of his brother's shop, and awaiting with breathless anxiety to see if they would be inserted in the *Courant*. A thrilling sense of triumph filled his heart when he saw them actually in print, which was heightened when he heard his effusions lavishly praised by his brother's "writing friends." At last he divulged the secret of their authorship, and soon found that he was "a little more considered." But James Franklin, a man of jealous and tyrannical disposition, took Benjamin's proceeding in high dudgeon. He had never treated him well, and he now lorded it over him more than ever, and vented his anger by frequent beatings. The high-spirited boy refused to be broken in by his brother's cruelty, and was meditating an escape

[1] [See Mr. D. A. Goddard's chapter on "The Press and Literature," and a full account of it in Parton's *Life and Times of Franklin*, p. 72, as the "first sensation newspaper." The printing office was on Court Street, corner of Franklin Avenue, where at present is the building of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. The press at which Franklin worked in this office was taken to Newport when James Franklin moved to that town and established, first, the *Rhode Island Gazette*, and, twenty years later, the *Newport Mercury*. This press is said to have been built in London about 1650, and was known as a "Ramage Press." It was brought to Boston in 1717, as Benjamin relates in his *Autobiography*. Previous to the British occupation of Newport in the Revolution, the press was buried in a garden; but it did not escape their search, and the royalists printed a paper upon it during their stay. In 1859 the proprietors of the *Mercury* (which was revived in 1780 after the British had evacuated the town) sold it to John B. Murray, Esq., of New York, who had already, in 1841, secured in London the press which Franklin worked at in that city in 1725, and which is now in the Patent Office in Washington. Lossing, *Field-book of the Revolution*, ii. 409. In 1864 Mr. Murray presented the Boston press, through the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association of this city. Mention is made of another press, at which Franklin is said to have worked, in the *Franklin Statue Memorial*, p. 170; and in the procession on the inauguration of that statue, Sept. 17, 1856, this press struck off facsimiles of the *Courant*, Feb. 4, – Feb. 11, 1723, — its eightieth number, but the first in which Benjamin Franklin is given as printer and publisher. On the car



THE RAMAGE PRESS.

carrying the press were the following lines, said to have been written by Franklin and suspended in his printing-office in Philadelphia: —

"All ye who come this curious art to see,
To handle anything must careful be;
Lest by a slight touch, ere you are aware,
You may do mischief which you can't repair.
Lo! this advice we give to every stranger:
Look on, and welcome, but to touch there's danger."

ED.]

when James Franklin was arrested and imprisoned for offending the Massachusetts Assembly in the columns of his *Courant*. At the same time he was prohibited from any longer publishing the paper. Benjamin now undertook its management. His indenture of apprenticeship was grudgingly returned to him by his brother, and for a short time he revelled proudly in the luxury of full editorship.[1] On James's release the old quarrels between the brothers were renewed; and now Benjamin resolved that he would at all hazards free himself from so arbitrary a master. But his brother's enmity prevented him from getting work in the other printing houses in Boston, for James did not scruple to go from one to the other and give the boy a character so bad that no one would take him. Unfortunately, too, their father took sides with James; and Benjamin found himself alone, and, as it seemed, with all the world against him.

Benjamin Franklin was now seventeen years old. But in experience of the world's rough ways, and in the maturity of character which such experience hastens, he was much older than most lads of that age. His character, indeed, was formed; he was a man alike in stature, in thought and feeling, in resolute self-dependence, and in the philosophical courage to face events with a bold and calm front. Although his schooling had been of the scantiest, his head was well stored with facts and fancies, and his reasoning powers were already strong and ripe. The germs of the qualities which afterward enabled him to play so great a part in events had already appeared, and were in a state of rapid development. The first seventeen years of his life, spent in Boston, were those which made the man Franklin. It was there that he imbibed the spirit of Yankee thrift and shrewdness, the stern Puritanic sense of duty, the physical and intellectual activity and vigor, which served himself and his country so well in after life. He carried with him to other and wider fields of action those elements of Yankee character which through all American history have been displayed with such conspicuous intellectual and moral effect. In no part of Franklin's career did he fail to display the results of the early influences which surrounded and moulded him in Boston.

Oppressed by his brother's tyranny and enmity, and by his father's disapproval, Franklin made up his mind to leave home and seek his fortune on another stage. Happily, he was master of the printer's trade; and with this as his capital, added to stout courage and an indomitable spirit of perseverance, and with a small sum raised by the sale of his beloved books, he deserted his home, embarked in a sloop for New York, and made his way with some difficulty to Philadelphia. His first act on reaching the city of Quakers was an act of charity; just as the last act of his long life — the protest against African slavery — was one of the largest benevolence. Almost

[1] [Benjamin's name seems to have remained on the imprint for three years at least after he left Boston, as the last number in the Historical Society's set, June 4, 1726, bears it. Everett, *Speeches*, ii. 30, where, p. 43, will be found an account of the proceedings which led to the imprisonment of James Franklin. Sparks thinks the paper bore Benjamin's name till it ceased, in 1727. See Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

penniless, hungry, shabby, and weary, he bought three penny rolls as he walked along the streets of Philadelphia, where, meeting a poor famished woman and her child, he forthwith gave them two of the rolls, contenting himself with the third. As he wandered through the strange city he saw

FRANKLIN AT TWENTY.[1]

a young lady standing in a doorway, who observed him with a contemptuous face. It was Miss Read, who was destined, years after, to become his wife.

Franklin soon obtained employment in one of the few printing houses

[1] [The history of this picture is given in a later note — Ed.]

then established in Philadelphia, and made rapid progress both in his trade and in forming a wide acquaintance in his new home. He made Miss Read's acquaintance, and began a courtship which was afterwards interrupted, to be renewed in process of time and brought to a happy conclusion. He found some congenial companions, who, like himself, were fond of discussing grave subjects; and soon had formed a little literary club, to whose entertainment the members contributed poems, essays, and lively debates. Franklin had not been long in Philadelphia when he attracted the attention of Sir William Keith, the governor of the province, who professed to take a great liking to him. This event was destined to have an important influence on Franklin's life. Keith pretended to be anxious to lend the young printer his influence and aid in establishing him in his trade on his own account, and persuaded him to return to Boston and seek his father's assistance with this view. Franklin's visit to his native town, for the first time since his abrupt departure thence, did not result as he had hoped. He was welcomed by all his family except his brother James, who still bore a grudge against him; but his father declared that he was too young to engage in business for himself, and refused to lend him any funds for that purpose.

On Franklin's return to Philadelphia Sir William Keith persuaded him to undertake a voyage to England, to purchase type and other appurtenances of his trade; at the same time offering him letters of introduction and of credit. Franklin eagerly accepted this seemingly generous proposition, and set sail for the old country in the late summer of 1724. Arriving in England, he found to his dismay that Keith had failed to confide any such letters as he had promised to the captain of the ship. Franklin, not yet nineteen, was thus thrown entirely upon his own resources in a strange land. Happily, he had his trade; and it was not long before he found employment in Palmer's printing house in London. It may well be believed that so inquisitive and observant a mind found much in the British capital to interest and amuse. He read everything that came in his way, wrote pamphlets about "Liberty and Necessity," became acquainted with many notable men (among others, Drs. Pemberton and Mandeville, and Sir Hans Sloane), attended the theatre, frequently visited modest literary clubs in the back-parlors of inns, performed swimming feats in the Thames, and made rapid progress in study of books and experience of the world. It was not until he had been eighteen months in London that an opportunity occurred for him to return home. He reached Philadelphia in October, 1726, and after a short career in mercantile business returned to his trade as a printer. The next year he entered into partnership with a fellow apprentice, named Meredith, procured new type from London, hired a shop on Market Street, and set up the memorable sign above the door, "Benjamin Franklin, Printer." About the same time he founded the "Junto," perhaps the first literary club ever established in this country, which broadened by degrees into the American Philosophical Society.

From the time when Franklin thus became the independent head of his own business, his progress towards wealth, influence, and eminence became steady and almost uniform. He bought *The Universal Instructor* from Keimer, his old employer, for a song, and forthwith made it a profitable journal, mainly by his own wise and pithy contributions to it. He began to discuss political matters, and to exercise an influence over the proceedings of the Assembly, and received, on occasion, its patronage. He added a stationery shop to his printing establishment, and devoted himself with rare zeal and zest to his occupations.[1] In 1730, after having courted and deserted another young lady, he returned to his first love, Miss Read (who had meantime been married and had become a widow), and married her. This union lasted forty-four years. Shortly after, Franklin planned and established in Philadelphia a "subscription library," which was the germ of the beneficent system of public libraries in the United States. "Reading," he says, "became fashionable; our people became better acquainted with books, and in a few years were better instructed and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries."

It was in 1732, when Franklin was twenty-six years old, that he conceived the happy idea of publishing that *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which not only brought him a large income for many years, and made his name and sayings familiar far and wide through the colonies, but procured him a lasting fame as a philosopher of worldly and thrifty wisdom. Of these he sold nearly ten thousand copies each year, and in due time had the proud satisfaction of seeing "Poor Richard's" shrewd maxims copied into European papers, republished in England, and translated into French. How busy he was in these early years of manhood may be seen from the fact that, besides personally conducting his newspaper and the almanac, managing the library, writing for the Junto, and actively interesting himself in public affairs, he studied and mastered French, Spanish, and Italian, and perfected himself in Latin.

His first long visit to Boston,[2] after his summary departure thence at the age of seventeen, was just ten years after that event; and it may be said

[1] [One of the best collections of books printed at Franklin's press is that shown in the *Brinley Catalogue*, No. 3271, *et seq.* See also Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America.* — Ed.]

[2] [It happened that in the year of this visit, 1733, the first provincial Grand Lodge of Freemasons in America was established in Boston, July 30; and it was perhaps on this visit that Franklin applied to this lodge for a charter for a lodge in Philadelphia, of which he became the first Master. The next year, 1734, he printed in Philadelphia what is one of the rarest of his imprints, *The Constitution of the Free Masons;* and the *Brinley Catalogue*, No. 3292, records a copy which has bound with it twenty-five pages of manuscript in Franklin's hand, detailing the history of the founding of this first Boston Lodge. Henry Price was the first "Provincial Grand Master of New England," Andrew Belcher being the deputy. Price was succeeded in 1736 by Robert Tomlinson, and March 6, 1744, Thomas Oxnard was installed as his successor. Goelet records his visiting the lodge in 1750, when Oxnard presided, and he speaks of its "being kept at Stone's in a very grand manner." *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1870, p. 54; 1872, p. 4. In 1749, Dec. 27, on the Feast of St. John, occurred what was perhaps the first Masonic procession in Boston streets. It occasioned a satire in verse, "Entertainment for a Winter's Evening," which draws the pictures of the prominent Masons of the day. It was ascribed to the chief Boston wit at that time, Joseph Green. — Ed.]

that he continued to visit his old home every decade thereafter for many years. On this first occasion he could return as a successful man of business, with no mean reputation, and with competence assured; and he was received at home with a degree of respect to which he had not before been considered entitled. He became reconciled to his brother James, and revisited the scenes of his early escapades and privations with rare zest. He observed that Boston had grown, and that gradually it was becoming a town of the first commercial importance.[1]

[1] [At a later day (1754) Franklin caused a stone to be placed over the grave of his parents in the Granary Burial Ground, with the following inscription: "Josiah Franklin and Abiah his wife lie here interred. They lived lovingly together in wedlock fifty-five years; and without

THE FRANKLIN MONUMENT.

an estate or any gainful employment, by constant labor and honest industry, maintained a large family comfortably, and brought up thirteen children and seven grandchildren respectably. From this instance, Reader, be encouraged to diligence in thy calling, and distrust not Providence. He was a pious and prudent man; she a discreet and virtuous woman. Their youngest son, in filial regard to their memory, places this stone. J. F., born 1655; died 1744, Æ. 89. A. F., born 1667; died 1752, Æ. 85."

This inscription had become nearly obliterated when, in 1827, a number of gentlemen caused the erection of the granite obelisk which now marks the spot, upon which the inscription is preserved, and beneath which the fragments

Franklin's official career, which was destined to continue almost without interruption to the end of his long life, began in 1736, when he was chosen clerk of the provincial assembly of Pennsylvania. In the following year he was appointed deputy postmaster of Philadelphia. His early experience of official life was not without its troubles; but by that rare tact and moderation of conduct which afterwards told so effectively in his diplomatic labors, he was able to maintain himself successfully against the opposition which he now and then encountered. Ever on the alert to bring about material improvements, and with inventive faculties constantly alive to devise such improvements, Franklin now conceived the idea of "forming a company for the extinguishing of fires;" and it was his initiative that established the first fire association in America. This was called the "Union Fire Company." Not long after this benevolent action, Whitefield, the great English preacher, arrived in Philadelphia; and Franklin, though he did not subscribe to Whitefield's creed, was very much attracted to him, and in many substantial ways rendered him great service.

Encouraged by the success of his efforts in other directions, Franklin in 1743 broached the subject of forming an academy, — a scheme which, a little later, was carried out. At the same time his thoughts, which seem to have embraced the widest range of practical subjects, was directed to the sore need of the colonies for adequate military defence. No sooner had he perceived this need than he set his wits to work to fulfil it, and the result was the formation of a volunteer militia regiment in Philadelphia, of which Franklin himself was offered, but modestly declined, the command. He organized a lottery for the purchase of a battery, and procured from the reluctant governor of New York eighteen "fine cannon," with their carriages. The next in the long list of benefits which his inventive genius bestowed upon the public was the famous "open stove, for the better warming of rooms," known to this day as the "Franklin stove," which, it is worth remarking, he gave to the world without exacting any royalty or other emolument. The academy which he had projected in 1743 became a realized fact in 1749, as the result of a voluntary subscription started by Franklin among the citizens; and in process of time this academy developed into the present University of Pennsylvania. A charter was obtained from the governor, and Franklin was one of its trustees from the beginning until his death.

In the same year, 1749, he received David Hall as a partner in his printing business; and being thereby enabled to relieve himself of its

of the original slab are buried. Franklin seems to have made a mistake in the record of his father's birth. Josiah Franklin was born at Ecton, Northamptonshire, Dec. 23, 1657, and died in Boston, Jan. 16, 1744-45. The *Boston News-Letter* thus records his death: "Boston, Jan'y 17, 1744-45. Last night died Mr. Josiah Franklin, tallow chandler and soap maker. By the force of a steady temperance he had made a constitution, none of the strongest, last with comfort to the age of eighty-seven years; and by an entire dependence on his Redeemer, and a constant course of the strictest piety and virtue, he was enabled to die, as he lived, with cheerfulness, leaving a numerous posterity the honor of being descended from a person who, thro' a long life, supported the character of an honest man." Shurtleff, *Desc. of Boston*, p. 217. — ED.]

details, he became more than ever immersed in public affairs, and in the general interests of the community of which he was now an eminent citizen. He was appointed a justice of the peace, then an office of more consideration than it now is, and about the same time was chosen to represent Philadelphia in the Assembly of the province, in which he had before sat as its clerk. Aside from these political occupations, he turned his insatiably active mind to "philosophical studies and amusements." Appointed on the commission to make a treaty with the Indians in the interior, he promptly and successfully executed it. Nor was he even now too busy to lend a hand in any charitable scheme which promised to benefit the people. He took up with ardor a project to establish a hospital, and used his influence in the Assembly to procure pecuniary aid for it. The hospital was soon built, and in effective operation. Then Franklin started a subscription to build "a new meeting-house;" and as everything he touched with his hand seemed destined to succeed, the meeting-house was soon completed and occupied. Observing that the unpaved streets were offensively muddy in wet weather and dusty in dry, he began "to write and talk about the subject;" and before long several of the Philadelphia streets were neatly paved. His attention was then called to the lighting of the thoroughfares of the town; and he not only procured the putting up of a larger number of lamps, but himself invented a form of lamp, with four flat planes instead of globes, long funnels to draw off the smoke, and crevices below to admit the air, — which turned out to be a useful improvement.

All this time Franklin had been actively engaged in managing the Philadelphia post-office, which, for the first time, he had made profitable to the home government. The death of the postmaster-general of the colonies, in 1753, left the way of promotion open, and Franklin was promptly commissioned as his successor. The new burden was acceptable to him, for he seems never to have had any fear of taking too much upon his broad shoulders. He at once started on a tour of inspection of the colonial post-offices, and for the third time made his appearance in Boston. He was now a celebrated personage, and was received by the most distinguished men of his native town with marked honor and respect. Harvard College hastened to confer upon the tallow chandler's son the then coveted distinction of Master of Arts, — a distinction already awarded to him by Yale. These academic honors had been thoroughly earned by Franklin's achievements in science. He had found time, amid all his public and charitable occupations, to pursue those investigations which had so great a charm for him, and had made discoveries which had arrested the attention of the scientific coteries of the Old World as well as of the New.

Already had he demonstrated the identity of lightning with electricity by his famous experiment with the kite in 1752, by which the greatest scientific discovery of the century was made.[1] He had effected improve-

[1] [The result of Franklin's experiments seem not to have become known in Boston till late in 1755. Mr. Prince delivered a sermon on the earthquake of Nov. 18 in that year, and he says:

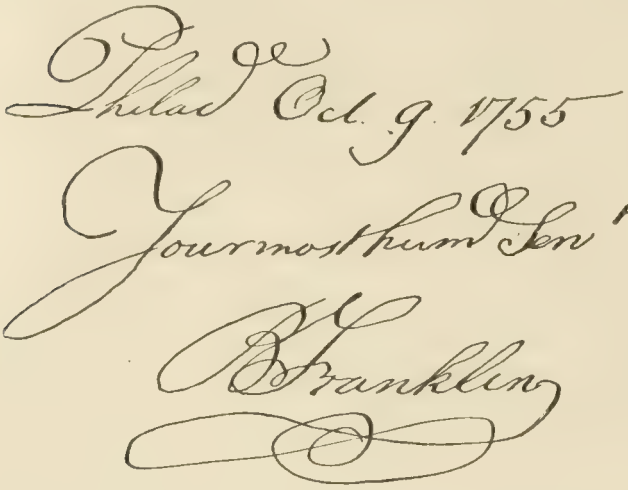
ments in printing; had invented the cognate art of stereotyping; had suggested valuable alterations in the structure of ships, in water troughs, in smoky chimneys, and in electrical machines; and had devised a musical instrument. The honors already conferred upon him by Yale and Harvard were soon supplemented by the diplomas of European universities; and he thus obtained the title of "Doctor," which he retained to the end of his life.

He was interrupted in his scientific researches to take part in one of the most important assemblages which had ever met on this continent, — an assemblage which was really the germ of the Continental Congress which declared our Independence. This was the Colonial Congress. It gathered at Albany in 1754, to provide a better defence against the French and Indians. Franklin was sent thither as a delegate from Pennsylvania. His mind was already alive to the selfish and despotic rule of the Pennsylvania proprietaries, and to the growing pretensions of the British Parliament. An ardent patriot, he was as yet zealously loyal to the crown; but from the first he resisted the claim of Parliament to tax the colonies. He therefore seized the opportunity afforded by the Albany Congress to propose a plan of union among the colonies, for the general purpose of self-defence. It was the first suggestion looking towards a common bond; the first real step towards American Independence. The time was not yet ripe, however, for the actual adoption of his scheme.

Franklin's next public appearance was as a military organizer; and in this capacity he displayed the same wonderful practical resources, the same fertility in expedients, which characterized him in all his acts, public and private. He organized supplies of wagons and provisions for Braddock's army; advised Braddock himself as to his expedition; and warned him against the very fate which he soon after encountered. He drew up and carried through the Assembly a measure for establishing a volunteer militia, and soon after raised a body of five hundred and sixty men, took command of them himself, and marched off to the defence of the north-western frontier of the colony. There he built forts, and was proceeding to deal vigorously with the Indians, when a letter from the Governor recalled him to Philadelphia. On returning thither, he found that his militia scheme had been put into prompt and successful operation. He was at once chosen colonel of the first regiment. But his military career was brief; there was more important work for his ready brain and his ever-present tact than that of fighting savages. How good a soldier was spoiled when Franklin withdrew from the military to enter upon the diplomatic service of his colony we shall never know; it is certain that a great diplomatist would have been lost to us had he not given up his so briefly-worn epaulets.

"Since my composing of the foregoing discourse the sagacious Mr. Franklin, born and brought up in Boston, but now living in Philadelphia, has greatly surprised and obliged the world with his discoveries of the electrical substance, as one great and main instrument of lightning and thunder." — Ed.]

The dissensions between the Colonial Assembly and the hereditary proprietaries had risen to such a point of bitterness that the Assembly was driven to seek the interference of King George II. in their favor. They resolved to send an agent to London with this object in view, and their choice promptly fell upon Franklin.



Not only was this new task thoroughly congenial to him, but it enabled him to revisit the Old World, to commune with the scientific spirits of other lands, and to enjoy the fame which had long spread beyond his own continent. He had probably little idea when he arrived in London, in July, 1757, that his residence in England would continue eighteen years; but it was not until 1775, on the very eve of the outbreak of the Revolution, that he resumed his residence in his own country, though he meanwhile made a visit to his home in 1762. He entered at once into the negotiations for which he had been sent abroad. Before long, he added the duties of agent for Georgia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts to those of agent for Pennsylvania. His advent attracted much attention in England, where both his scientific reputation and the importance of his mission made him a man of mark. He was soon brought into relations with Lords Granville, Shelburne, and Chatham, and other English statesmen; while men of learning and literary note welcomed him to a cordial hospitality and most congenial companionship. Among these Lord Kames and David Hume became his cherished friends and correspondents.

Against the tyranny of the proprietaries, however, Franklin effected little. He found both the Ministers and Parliament averse to interference between these hereditary rulers and the subjects of the King. But his residence in London, his earnest and eloquent representations of the condition of the colonies, his protestations against the Stamp Act and similar measures, and the weight given to his agency by his learned and distinguished personal character, had at least the effect of opening the eyes of many Englishmen to the real state of affairs, and of strengthening the enlightened party which, under Lord Chatham's courageous lead, sturdily opposed the arbitrary course of the Grenville Cabinet. From the first, Franklin took the impregnable ground that the colonies owed their allegiance to the King, and not to Parliament; that Parliament had no right to

levy internal taxes; that the right of representation was indissolubly bound to the liability to taxation; and that the colonies rightly resisted the imposition of the Stamp Act and like laws by the British government, the prohibition of the right to make paper money, the withdrawal of the safeguard of trial by jury, and the refusal to receive their petitions.

In 1766 occurred Franklin's memorable examination at the bar of the House of Commons, "respecting the state of affairs in America." The public mind in England had become thoroughly alarmed at the signs of strenuous resistance in the colonies. A searching investigation had become necessary, and the new prime minister, the Marquis of Rockingham, who was disposed to be friendly with America, at once saw the utility of producing the evidence of the shrewd and thoroughly informed agent of Pennsylvania. Franklin appeared upon a full and deeply interested House, armed only with a few notes, in which he had set down the various statistical statements which he intended to make. One hundred and seventy-four searching interrogations were put to him, some by ministers, some by leaders of the opposition, some by private members of the Commons. His responses were marvellous for their promptness, fulness, shrewdness, presence of mind, and wit. He presented in much detail a clear and exhaustive view of the condition of the colonies, pointed out boldly the injustices of which they complained, gave exact information respecting the American population, trade, resources, and finances; boldly told the Commoners of England that the Americans would never pay the stamp duty, "unless compelled by force of arms;" that their temper towards Britain was "very much altered;" and that the enforcement of the Stamp Act would result in "a total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to England." "What used to be the pride of the Americans?" asked a friendly member. "To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain," was Franklin's reply. "What is now their pride?" "To wear their old clothes over again, until they can make new ones."

Franklin's testimony undoubtedly had a direct and powerful influence on the repeal of the Stamp Act,[1] which was effected about a month after, and on which event he "sent his wife a new dress." But the repeal by no means swept away the difficulties and disputes between the mother country and her colonies. A measure to quarter soldiers in the private towns of the colonists, passed soon after by Parliament, revived the ebbing discontent of Franklin's countrymen. But Franklin does not seem yet to have given over all hope of an abiding reconciliation. There is no doubt that at this time he shuddered at the prospect of revolt, and would have infinitely preferred to retain the connection with Great Britain, if it could be established on a just basis. He continued his indefatigable negotiations, now with the hostile Lord Hillsborough, now with the more friendly Dartmouth, Shelburne, Howe, and Chatham. At the same time he was busy strength-

[1] [An interesting series of tracts on the Stamp Act, with Franklin's manuscript annotations, is noted in the *Brinley Catalogue*, No. 3218. — ED.]

ening the cause of the colonies by the production of evidence in favor of their demands. Having procured a number of letters written by Governor Hutchinson, Lieut.-Governor Oliver, and other Massachusetts men who were hostile to the colonial cause, in which they outrageously misrepresented alike the condition, the feelings, and the character of the New England people, he promptly forwarded them to the Massachusetts Assembly, through which body they were published to the world. A petition to the King was at once adopted, begging him to remove the traducers of the Commonwealth from their offices. Thereupon Franklin was summoned before the Privy Council, sharply questioned as to his share in the publication of the letters, and subjected to a most violent and slanderous attack by Sir Alexander Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, which Franklin bore with erect body and unmoved countenance. The same night he was dismissed from his office as postmaster-general of the colonies.

Not long before this event Franklin had made his first visit to Paris, where he was destined afterwards to reside in a diplomatic capacity. There he was received with most cordial welcome by the men of science, and was treated with marked attention by Louis XV. and his court. He was not slow to perceive that the leading French statesmen were eagerly watching the growing quarrel between Britain and her transatlantic colonies, and were hoping for an opportunity to fan the flame.

Franklin left the shores of England early in 1775, in despair at last of arranging just terms of settlement between the King and his American subjects, and looking towards the future with gloomy forebodings; and reached his native shores to hear that, a fortnight before, the battles of Lexington and Concord had been fought. Almost immediately after his arrival in Philadelphia he was chosen a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, then sitting in that city. His great fame, his age (for he was now nearly seventy), his patriotic and positive character, enabled him to take at once a leading position in that body. His counsels were still for moderation, and he advocated, even at that last moment, an "humble" petition to the King to relieve the wrongs under which the colonies suffered. But it is evident that he did not count upon its favorable reception. He wrote to Dr. Priestley that he concluded that England had lost her colonies forever, though "we have as yet resolved on only defensive measures."

Those defensive measures, however, were of the most vigorous; and Franklin's strong hand is clearly discernible in them. Besides his labors in the Congress, he was a member of the Committee of Public Safety, appointed by the Pennsylvania Assembly to put the province in a state of defence. He arrived promptly at the meetings of this committee every morning at six, and went into the Congress at nine. This old man, afflicted by the gout, with many private affairs pressing upon him, was indefatigable in his public labors. In the spring of 1776 he went as a commissioner to Canada, to prevail on that province to join the rest of the colonies in their attitude of resistance; and on his return he opened personal negotiations

with his old friend Lord Howe, who had come to America in command of the British fleet, in the feeble hope of yet effecting a reconciliation.

Franklin's appointment as a member of the illustrious committee of five to draught a Declaration of Independence put an end to these and all other negotiations for peace on his part. Sternly putting aside the scruples which had long made him reluctant to break with the mother country, he entered heart and soul into the heroic scheme of separation and resistance to the end. With Jefferson, John Adams, Robert R. Livingston, and Roger Sherman, he supplied the great principles and formulated the thrilling sentences which were to summon the young "Hercules in his cradle," the nascent nation, to utmost effort in behalf of liberty. There is no doubt that many of Franklin's own suggestions were embodied in this imperishable instrument. Traces of opinions long held and announced by him may be found between its lines; his sage advice was certainly listened to and treasured up by Jefferson before he put his pen to paper to write the document. The noblest and most conspicuous scene in which Franklin was ever an actor was that in the Congress of Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, 1776, when he and his four colleagues stood up and presented the Declaration to be adopted and signed. It is worth noting that of this committee of five, three — Adams, Franklin, and Roger Sherman — were natives of Massachusetts, and self-made men.

But the necessities of the colonies, now becoming more urgent every day, did not permit Franklin to remain at home as an actor in the drama of revolution. Much as his counsel and co-operation were needed in the Congress, his skill as a diplomatist, and the weight which his name had abroad, made it of paramount importance that he should serve his country beyond the ocean. He pleaded his age and infirmities, not so much as an excuse for remaining at home, but as reasons why he could not hope to be of use in other lands. But his reluctance was overruled, and in October, 1776, he set out for France as the American envoy to that country. The avowed purpose of his mission was to engage the material aid of the French king on behalf of the struggling colonies, — and it was now well known that such aid was likely to be forthcoming. Franklin's reception at Paris partook of the nature of an ovation. He was received as a most distinguished personage, and the attentions which were lavished upon him might have made the ambassadors of great empires jealous. With him, as fellow envoys, were Silas Deane and Arthur Lee; but his were the brains and the activities which were relied on to effect the object in view. He took up his residence in a charming abode at Passy, one of the pleasantest of Parisian suburbs, and lost no time in putting himself in confidential relations with the Count de Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and with Lafayette, one of America's most ardent friends. While negotiating with the French court, he busied himself in trying to effect an exchange of prisoners with the British ambassador; but Lord Stormont's insolence effectually broke off these attempts for the time. Though so busy with

public tasks, Franklin found leisure to write to Priestley about the philosopher's stone, to Mrs. Hewson about godsons and lotteries, to a friend about lightning conductors, and to Mr. Hutton about giving advice.

After a residence in France of about a year and a half, Franklin at last succeeded in negotiating a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, which was signed and exchanged on the 6th of February, 1778. The immediate result of this treaty was the substantial aid given to the patriots by French troops, and the co-operation of such men as Lafayette and Rochambeau. It was concluded by Franklin amid many obstacles. Not the least of these was the bitter jealousy of his colleague, Arthur Lee, who conceived himself ignored by Franklin, and who more than once seriously embarrassed the negotiations. The emissaries of England, too, were ceaselessly active to prevent the consummation of the alliance; and there were timid spirits at the French court who deprecated the open espousal of the American cause. It was only by infinite patience and tact, by a cool head, unfaltering activity, and the full use of his ample intellectual and social resources that Franklin effected this great diplomatic achievement. The arrival in France of John Adams, who was sent abroad by the Congress to negotiate peace with Great Britain, added to Franklin's embarrassments; for Adams soon became involved in a quarrel with Vergennes, which threatened at one moment to make a breach in the friendly relations of the allies.

The independence of the colonies having been acknowledged by France, Franklin was duly commissioned as minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Louis XVI. His appearance in the splendid circle of Versailles, in a plain but rich velvet suit, with his long hair unpowdered and without a queue; his reception by the haughty Marie Antoinette and her attendant beauties; the genial welcome accorded to him by the easy-going king, who respected him as much for his scientific attainments as in his official character, — this memorable scene has often been described. It was the first public official recognition of a new nation. It was the first greeting of the powers of the Old World to the young and rising power of the New.

It is interesting to read Franklin's description of himself at this period of his life. Writing to Mrs. Thompson shortly before the conclusion of the treaty, he says: "Figure me in your mind as jolly as formerly, and as strong and hearty, only a few years older; very plainly dressed, wearing my thin gray straight hair, that peeps out under my only *coiffure*, a fine fur cap, which comes down my forehead almost to my spectacles. Think how this must appear among the powdered heads of Paris!" Not long after the treaty, the famous meeting between Franklin and Voltaire took place at the Academy of Sciences; on which occasion the two venerable philosophers embraced each other, and kissed each other on the cheek. "How charming it was," said one who witnessed this scene, "to see Solon embracing Sophocles!"

Franklin's next great service to his country was his negotiation and conclusion of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United

States, in conjunction with John Adams, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, and Henry Laurens. The negotiation began, informally, with friendly letters which passed between Franklin and his English friend, David Hartley, in 1778. This correspondence continued without important results for several years. In it, Franklin formulated in the clearest and fullest manner the just terms upon which his country was resolved to insist. In 1781, being seventy-five years of age, and tortured with the gout, he begged to be relieved of his functions at the French court; but to this the Congress would not listen. On the contrary, he was appointed one of the commissioners to make peace with England. Events were hastened by the surrender of Cornwallis; but it was not until the mid-summer of 1782 that the basis of a treaty was agreed upon. Franklin has left a minute and exhaustive journal of the negotiations, resulting in definite articles, which were agreed to in November, 1782. The treaty was not finally signed, however, until September, 1783, and was not duly ratified by the British king until April, 1784.

Once more Franklin asked to be relieved, and to be permitted to return home; but it was not until the spring of 1785 that Thomas Jefferson was commissioned as his successor. On the 12th of July in that year Franklin took a final leave of Paris and France, and reached Philadelphia in the following September.

At the age of seventy-nine, and with a record of political services which in value and in length of period were greater than those of any living American, Franklin ardently longed to rest from his labors, and to enjoy amid relatives and friends, and with his philosophical studies, a well-earned repose. Nothing was further from his desire or expectation than to resume office of any sort. But his fellow-citizens would not yet permit him to rest. Almost immediately after his arrival he was chosen President (or, as we should now say, Governor) of Pennsylvania, by a vote in the Assembly of seventy-six to one. In this post, in which his great administrative ability showed itself unimpaired by age and labor, he was continued for three years, the limit of the period for which any person was eligible to hold it. He was chosen to represent Pennsylvania in the Convention to frame the constitution of the United States; and in that body no man's influence was greater or more thoroughly impressed upon the instrument which it finally adopted. One of his first acts was to move that the Convention be opened daily with prayer. He advocated the popular, or democratic, suggestions and amendments; and while, at the conclusion of the labors of the Convention, he declared that he did not entirely approve of the new constitution, he yet, in a speech full of sententious pith and vigor, urged every member to sign it and every State to adopt it.

The last public act of Benjamin Franklin was worthy of his broad, benevolent, and far-seeing spirit. In 1787, three years before his death, he founded a society for the abolition of African slavery, of which he was chosen the first president; and early in the very year of his death, 1790, a petition, drawn by his still skilful hand, for the abolition of the slave-trade

and the emancipation of slaves, was presented to the Congress of the United States. The fierce opposition aroused by this petition called forth from Franklin the last production of his pen, — a newspaper satire, "in defence of the enslavement of Christians." Says Theodore Parker, "It was one of

FRANKLIN STATUE.[1]

[1] [This statue, the work of Richard S. Greenough, now stands in front of the City Hall in School Street. It was erected in 1856, and dedicated on the 17th of September in that year, when the Hon. R. C. Winthrop delivered a memorial oration, which in 1857 was printed in a *Memorial of the Inauguration of the Statue of Franklin.* This volume contains a steel engraving of the statue, which is eight feet high, standing upon a verd-antique pedestal which rests

the most witty, brilliant, and ingenious things that came from his mind." This satire was written within less than a month of his death.

Although Franklin retained, almost to his last day, his clear and vigorous mental faculties, his cheerful disposition, and his keen interest in the welfare alike of his friends and of the world at large, he had for some years suffered with varying severity from the gout; to which, for eight years, had been added the tortures of the stone. These distempers wore out his otherwise stalwart and well-preserved constitution. Early in April, 1799, he was seized with a fever, having for some months already been most of the time confined to his bed. On the 17th of April, at eleven at night, he quietly passed out of earthly existence.

In spite of the troubled career which he had led as a boy in his native town, Franklin never lost his affection for Boston, and often referred to his early experience there as the discipline that formed his sturdy, shrewd, and enterprising character. He made it a point, in after years, to visit Boston every ten years; and this habit he kept up, without omission, for no less than forty years. In a letter written from Passy, in 1784, to Samuel Mather, a son of Cotton Mather, he says: "I long much to see again my native place, and to lay my bones there. I left it in 1723; I visited it in 1733, 1743, 1753, and 1763. In 1773 I was in England; in 1775 I had a sight of it, but could not enter, it being in possession of the enemy. I did hope

upon a base of granite. It also gives, p. 109, a representation of the monumental urn which was erected in 1793 to his memory in the elliptical enclosure which formerly made the centre of Franklin Street. The first suggestion of the statue was in a lecture on "Archimedes and Franklin," delivered by Mr. Winthrop in 1853, and which may be found in his *Addresses and Speeches*, 1852–1867, p. 138. The memorial volume already referred to contains an ample "history of the statue."

There are in the Public Library two original portraits of Franklin. One of them, by Duplessis (well known by engravings), was bought in Paris by Mr. Edward Brooks of Boston, and by him given to the Library in 1858. (Another likeness by Duplessis, — a pastel, — drawn in 1783, is engraved in Bigelow's edition of the *Autobiography*.) The other, painted by Greuze, was presented in 1872 by Gardner Brewer, Esq., and its history is told in a paper by the late Charles Sumner in the twentieth *Annual Report* of the Library, p. 86. It was painted for Oswald, who negotiated with Franklin the provisional articles of peace of Nov. 30, 1782. There is also a picture in the Boston Art Museum closely resembling the Duplessis of the Public Library, for which the claim is made that it was painted by Greuze. President Jefferson once owned it, and said it was painted for the Abbé Verri. It descended to the late Joseph Coolidge, Esq., and passed from him to the Athenæum. The picture of Franklin at twenty, painted in London, and which is engraved in both Sparks's and Parton's Lives of Franklin, was given by him to John Franklin of Newport, who married the grandmother of the wife of Thomas W. Sumner, Esq., of Brookline; and passed from this gentleman to Dr. John C. Warren, who had a special interest in the fame of Franklin, as he was the first, as a Boston scholar, to receive a medal, provided for by Franklin in his will. It was bequeathed by Dr. Warren to Harvard College, and now hangs in Memorial Hall. The portrait in the hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences is a copy, by Ordway, from Mr. Healy's copy of the portrait in the Louvre. (*Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1858, copied in the *Crayon*, New York, 1858, p. 330.) Within a year a very considerable collection of books and tracts on Franklin (one hundred and thirty-five in all), together with eighty-seven varieties of portraits and other engravings, have been given to the Public Library by Dr. Samuel A. Green; and to this collection some important additions have been made by William S. Appleton, Esq. (*Report of Mellen Chamberlain*, Librarian of the Public Library, 1880, p. 17.) A photograph from a portrait by Gainsborough is preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society's gallery, *Proceedings*, January, 1869, p. 412. One of the earliest engravings of him issued in Boston is that in the *Boston Magazine*, 1784 — Ed.]

to have been there in 1783, but could not obtain my demission from this employment here; and now I fear I never shall have that happiness." To John Lathrop he wrote from Philadelphia, four years later: "It would certainly be a very great pleasure to me if I could once again visit my native town, and walk over the grounds I used to frequent when a boy, and where I enjoyed many of the innocent pleasures of youth, which would be so brought to my remembrance; and where I might find some of my old acquaintance to converse with." He feared, however, lest he should find but few of his old friends living. "But," he adds, "I enjoy the company and conversation of its inhabitants when any of them are so good as to visit me; for, besides their general good sense which I value, the Boston manner, turn of phrase, and even tone of voice and accent in pronunciation, all please and seem to refresh and revive me."

In his will he says: "I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools established there. I have therefore considered these schools in my will." He left one hundred pounds sterling to the Boston public schools, the interest on which should be spent in silver medals, to be awarded to the best scholars; and ever since the "Franklin medal" has been a favorite object of ambition to the Boston school-boys, more than four thousand of whom have received it.[1]

In the opening of this chapter, Franklin was characterized as a pre-eminent philosopher, diplomatist, and statesman. This estimate seems to be abundantly proved, even by the rapid array of the salient facts of his life which has now been presented. Franklin was unquestionably great as a philosopher, especially great because his philosophy was above all inventive, practical, various, and fruitful in definite ends and palpable improvements. The American name which ranks nearest to his in the roll of science is that of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford; but no one will urge that name into rivalry with the name of Franklin. His practical inventions, the principal of which have been enumerated, show a breadth, an originality, a many-sidedness, a quickness of scientific perception, to which, combined, Rumford could make no claim; and many of those inventions have not since been improved upon. "Franklin," well says Theodore Parker, "had a great understanding, a moderate imagination, and a great reason." The same patience and simplicity of genius which he brought to scientific discovery, he also applied with equally unequivocal success to the difficult art of government. He thought upon and arrived at solutions of every problem of this art. His mind, ever practical as well as ceaselessly searching and absorptive, penetrated cause and worked out effect in commerce and trade, in systems of agriculture and finance, in political economy and the structure of politics, in the relations of men to their rulers, and the relations of gov-

[1] [See Mr. Everett's address before the Association of the Franklin Medalists, in *Speeches*, iv. 108. Franklin also provided in his will for a fund, the income of which should be loaned to young Boston mechanics; but the history of the fund has not shown that its provisions have been of much practical use. Samuel F. McCleary, Esq., the city clerk, published an historical sketch of this fund in 1866. — Ed.]

ernments to liberty. He proposed a union of the colonies; he based the Revolution on eternal principles of feasible and practicable freedom; he gave concrete form to great theories in the Constitution; even in the ethics of politics he was the most practical and reasonable of reformers.

This same practical, inventive, and keenly perceptive faculty, which was his most distinguishing trait, entered also into that multitude of benevolent schemes in which he engaged with all the ardor of love, even when his time was full to the last hour with public duties. He sought out the material and intellectual needs of the people; and so acute, rather than profound, was the scientific side of his mind, that remedies suggested themselves and schemes developed in his brain forthwith, and were put into immediate operation. His benevolences, too, were broad and catholic in their scope. They knew no distinction of creed or race or party. They were for all men. They were singularly adapted for universal use and improvement. His love of mankind was not of the impulsive, spasmodic, rhetorical sort. We never find him indulging in dreams of communistic states; he shrinks from revolution, and only adopts it when all just means to avert it have become exhausted. He is always equitable, and usually conservative, in his political propositions; looking to that which is feasible rather than to the attainment of perfection of form and principles in an imperfect world. Of all Americans, Franklin was the very genius of common-sense. His aphorisms have always the essence of this trait; his consummate tact in diplomacy was the outcome of it. He disdained to entertain prejudices; dealt gently with his enemies, as if they might one day become his friends; was, on almost every public occasion of which we read of him, in perfect control of his temper and his emotions.

Franklin's benevolent traits were supplemented by excellent judgment, a very cheerful and hopeful temperament, and a nature affectionate, simple, sincere, and straightforward. His devotion to those whom he loved is seen throughout the volumes of his published correspondence. He delighted, amid the most perplexing duties of statesmanship, to commune with those held dear in his heart. In his moral nature Franklin betrayed, in his early years, lamentable weaknesses, for which he felt keen remorse later in life, speaking often of his youthful "errata" with self-compassionate regret. His conscience awoke long before he had reached middle life; and although his mind never seems to have been sensitively delicate on the subject of morals, the period of his public life was unstained by any blot upon his personal purity. At least, when Franklin perceived the error of his ways he frankly avowed it, and made the whole world his confessional. While cautious and abounding in tact, he was not secretive; above all, not secretive in self-judgment, nor sparing in self-condemnation. His harmless vanity, even, was not seldom the subject of his own badinage. He seems never to have been anxious for office, or for public honors; but when they came he was evidently proud of and delighted with them. He had a still nobler pride in well administering them. In making his will he recited in full his

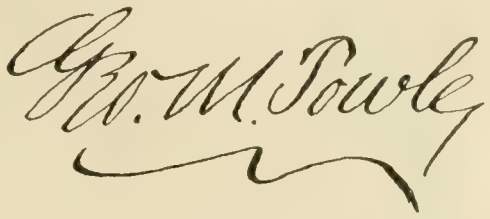
titles as envoy and as President of Pennsylvania. Franklin seems to have always been singularly free from the passions of envy and of resentment. He rarely retorted sharply to the attacks of his warmest enemies; his hatreds were political hatreds, and did not embitter his heart.

As a writer, Franklin stands, in many qualities, at the head of the Americans of the eighteenth century. His letters are models of a clear, frank, easy, and interesting literary style. They abound in quaint, shrewd maxims and pleasant homilies on conduct; and in narrative are full of piquancy of humor and acuteness of observation. They are in very simple, straightforward, vigorous English. They are almost quite unadorned, however, by any effort of imagination and fancy. He never approaches poetry of thought or expression. He seems almost devoid of imaginative ardor. He rarely read the poets, indeed, and amid all the range of his self-acquired learning we do not find that he had any enthusiastic admiration for English poesy. If he loved Nature, it was in a serene and equable spirit, rather in thankfulness for its comforts than in love of its beauties. Neither in his writings, nor in such few specimens of his oratory as are still extant, do we find any attempts at flights of rhetoric, nor any indulgence in the dangerous rhetorical arts of simile and trope. He is ever bent, alike as a writer and as an actor on the world's stage, upon that which is practical, tangible, material, attainable. When we consider Franklin's writings on public subjects and for the public eye, we marvel at their directness, their force, their supreme fitness to achieve what it was in his mind to achieve. "At twenty years of age," says Theodore Parker, "he wrote as well as Addison or Goldsmith." He had, with infinite pains and patience, drilled himself into the skilful and rapid use of the purest and most forcible vernacular. His command of language became easy and complete. His sentences were full of the most virile solidity and strength. They abounded in the utmost fertility of suggestion, the utmost substantiality of reasoning. He could handle the driest topic with such mastery as made it universally interesting. Beneath this carefully-trained style there was the substance of the most sensible, the most well-considered, the most broadly-conceived and developed argument. In many things Franklin anticipated, in his political writings, the enlightened action of later generations. He proposed the abolition of privateering, and the immunity of peaceful trade in time of war, — principles of international comity which are only just now beginning to be fully recognized. He suggested in his writings many of the bases upon which our political fabric now practically rests. Very rarely was it that he ever projected any scheme, political, scientific, or economical, which was visionary or impracticable. His writings are intrinsically sound and strong, and may be read with as much profit now as they were read in his own time.

Franklin, therefore, was emphatically a man of his own era, and of his own country; he lived in complete and most sympathetic harmony with both; he conferred on both a variety of great services, the results of which

are still enjoyed in politics, in literature, and in science. No Revolutionary patriot laid broader the foundations of his fame, or accumulated more overwhelming titles to the remembrance of mankind. When he died, Europe vied with America in rendering him every honor which tears, eloquence, and poesy could bestow upon his memory; and perhaps among all the tributes paid to him none interpreted with more expressive brevity the universal feeling than the couplet of the French poet, who hailed him —

> "Legislator of one world! Benefactor of two!
> All mankind owes you a debt of gratitude!"



Editorial Note. — The basis of all lives of Franklin is his *Autobiography* and other writings. In the ten volumes which constitute Franklin's *Works*, as edited by Sparks, we follow his career and take his measure at first hand. The *Autobiography* has had a curious history, which Dr. Samuel A. Green has traced in a little monograph. Mr. Everett, in an address on "The Boyhood and Youth of Franklin," which he delivered in Boston in 1829 (*Orations and Speeches*, ii. 1), adverts to the fact that for many years the text of this *Autobiography*, as ordinarily printed, was an English translation (of which there were two) from a French version, and the French have been more or less accustomed to even a third re-translation back into their own language. At all events, there are five distinct French renderings of Franklin's text. The original memoir — and it is our principal reliance for Franklin's Boston career — was not printed as written by him till 1818, and even then carelessly, omitting some concluding pages, which were first added by the Hon. John Bigelow in his edition of it, perfected with an introduction and notes, and issued in Philadelphia in 1868. Since then Mr. Bigelow has published (1874) a more extensive *Life of Franklin, Written by Himself*, which is a sequence of extracts from his autobiography, letters, and public writings, so arranged as to tell the story of his life in his own words. In his third volume Mr. Bigelow gives a bibliography. The story of Franklin's life has been told, continuing the *Autobiography*, by Sparks, — the most important, — by Epes Sargent, by H. H. Weld, and by others; but no Life of considerable extent had been written, in which the *Autobiography* as well as the rest of his writings was used as material, till James Parton produced his *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin*, in 1864, a book which continues to be popular. Of the many essays and addresses upon Franklin, beside those mentioned in previous notes, it is only necessary here to refer among American contributions to the sharp characterizations by Theodore Parker in his *Historic Americans*, and the agreeable portraiture by Henry T. Tuckerman in his *Biographical Essays*. The English estimates of Franklin have not as a rule been favorable; and the dislike of him which sprung up during the political controversies of the Revolution has had more or less to do with shaping subsequent judgments. Lord Jeffrey, for instance, in his *Essays*, holds that Franklin's success generally arose from the circumstances of the moment; and a review of Parton's book in the *London Quarterly Review* gives a low estimate of him. The reader of Lord Brougham's *Statesmen of George the Third*, however, will remember that observer's very eulogistic account; and of late Thomas Hughes, in the *Contemporary Review*, 1879, has done good service in bringing Franklin before the English people in a more favorable light. The French have always been his eulogists, — as witness the laudations of Condorcet, Cabanis, Mignet, and later of Laboulaye, in his *Mémoires de Benjamin Franklin, Écrits par lui-même, Traduits de l'Anglais et Annotés*, which appeared in Paris in 1866. "No one," says this author, "ever started from a lower point than the poor apprentice of Boston. No one ever raised himself higher by his own unaided forces than the inventor of the

lightning-rod. No one has rendered greater service to his country than the diplomatist who signed the treaty of 1783, and assured the independence of the United States. Better than the biographies of Plutarch this life, so long and so well filled, is a source of perpetual instruction to all men. Every one can there find counsel and example." In quoting this, Mr. Bigelow adds: "In my judgment there never was a time in the history of our country when the lessons of humility, economy, industry, toleration, charity, and patriotism, which are made so captivating in this *Autobiography*, could be studied with more profit by the rising generations of Americans than now. All the qualities, moral and intellectual, that are requisite for a successful encounter with portentous responsibilities were singularly united in the character of Franklin; and nothing in our literature is so well calculated to reproduce them as his own deliberate record of the manner in which he laid the foundation at once of his own and his country's greatness."

CHAPTER IX.

THE MATHER FAMILY, AND ITS INFLUENCE.

BY THE REV. HENRY M. DEXTER, D.D.,
Editor of "The Congregationalist."

THE period during which the famous Mather family, in four generations, was actively engaged in that work which is here to be hinted and estimated, lacked but two months of one hundred and fifty years. Richard landed in Boston on Monday, Aug. 17–27, 1635, at the age of thirty-nine; his great-grandson Samuel breathed his last in the same town on Monday, June 27, 1785, at the age of seventy-nine. There were eleven of this lineage trained for the sacred office in these four generations, three of whom — two Samuels and one Nathaniel — exercised their ministry in England; while one — another Nathaniel — died here, on the threshold of the pulpit; and seven — Richard, Eleazer, Increase, two Samuels, Cotton, and Warham — together expended about two hundred and fifty years (or an average of more than thirty-five years each) of ministerial labor upon New England, besides publishing more than five hundred different works. The four of these six who, as being chief in influence, come now particularly under review, lived and died within the present limits of Boston. Who were these men, and whence came they?

A half-mile north of the half-way point of the railway between Liverpool and Manchester, England, lies the rural chapelry of Lowton, included in Winwick parish. There, in the last decade of the sixteenth century, was living, in circumstances reduced "by some unhappy mortgages," Thomas, son of John Mather, with a wife named Margaret, representatives of a yeoman family reputed of long residence. To them, in 1596, was born a son whom they called Richard, and for whom, as he began to grow up a likely and clever boy, they strongly desired advantage of special culture. They sent him, therefore, at a still tender age, to the Winwick grammar school, — he walking the southerly four miles, with the return four, daily in summer-time, and they straining their narrow means to board him on the ground during the inclement months. Here, under a rather hard and discouraging master, he studied, often despondingly, until his fifteenth year,

when, to his surprise, that master commended him to be teacher of a school just founded at Toxteth Park, adjoining Liverpool, on the northern bank of the Mersey. Here, falling under the influence of the family of one Mr. Edward Aspinwall, he was led, at eighteen, to a new purpose of life, which could hardly be much longer content even with that good success in teaching now crowning his diligent labors. As soon as he could well manage it, therefore, he matriculated at Brasenose, Oxford. But when he was scarcely more than twenty-two, the people where he had taught so importuned him to come back to them and be their minister, that, leaving the university without a degree, he preached his first sermon at Toxteth Park late in 1618. The Bishop of Chester (Thomas Morton) ordained him, and, as the story goes, was so impressed with the sweet and serious earnestness of his manner as privately to request a special interest in his prayers, for the reason suggested by the Apostle James (v. 16). In September, 1624, he married a godly and prudent maid from Bury, thirty miles to the north-east,—Katharine, daughter of Edmond Holt,—the fruit of the marriage in fifteen years being Samuel, Timothy, Nathaniel, and Joseph. Richard Mather became fully saturated with the earnestness of the Puritan spirit, and, overflowing the bounds of his parish with his labors, used to go eight or ten miles once a fortnight to Prescot to lecture there. Complaint was made of his Non-conformity, ending in a suspension, by friendly intercession at that time made brief; but in the following year the Visitors of the new Archbishop of York renewed the ban. It was at this second trial that, in answer to Mather's frank confession that he had preached fifteen years and had never worn a surplice, the famous declaration was made: "What!" —the visitor swearing as he spoke—"preach fifteen years and never wear a surpless! It had been better for him that he had gotten seven bastards." [1]

Scenting calamity in the air at home, and able to entertain no reasonable hope of further free speech there, his thoughts, and soon his plans, turned toward New England; and, strengthened in his growing convictions by letters from John Cotton and Thomas Hooker, travelling in (needful) disguise to Bristol, he embarked for New England, May 23–June 2, 1635; where he and his (storm-tossed) landed, August 17–27 following. Plymouth, Dorchester, and Roxbury at once sought his pulpit service. In doubt of duty, counselling with judicious ministerial friends, he fell in with their advice to "set upon that great work of gathering a church" in Dorchester; "the church which was first planted in that place being removed with the Reverend Mr. Warham to Conecticot." [2] This was done Aug. 23–Sept. 2, 1636, "when a Church was constituted in Dorchester according to the Order of the Gospel, by Confession and Profession of Faith, and Mr. Mather was chosen Teacher of that Church." [3] Here he labored near three-and-thirty years, until his death (April 22–May 2, 1669), at the age of seventy-three,—

[1] *Life and Death of Mr. Richard Mather* (ed. 1850), p. 56. [2] Ibid., p. 74. [3] Ibid., p. 75.

a hard student,[1] with much wise thought on church government and other questions, then living ones, which his pen largely aided to shape consistently into the New England way; a muscular Christian,[2] with "a voice loud and big, and uttered with a deliberate vehemency;"[3] abundant, zealous, and powerful in the pulpit; a practical man, with an excellent gift of bringing abstract principles and other high things down within the range of humble capacity; and therefore discreet, and much sought in counsel,— being, in fact, seized with his mortal illness when presiding over that ecclesiastical body in Boston by the aid of whose result, through much tribulation, the Old South Church was formed. It is quite possible, in the misty distance through which — looking over the heads of his more renowned offspring — we have been wont to observe him, that Richard Mather has scarcely been comprehended by our time as the man he was. His contemporary, old Mr. John Bishop, of Stamford, styled him[4] —

> "—— Doctus, Prudens, Pius, Impiger, atque peritus
> In Sacris, nec non promptus ad omne Bonum."

And it may be doubted if old Mr. John Bishop went in this so far beyond the exactness of the truth as the encomiastic courtliness of the epitaphic verse of the seventeenth century was apt to go.

Of his six sons four followed the profession of their father, chief of whom was the youngest, after the quaint fashion of that day named in recognition "of the great *Increase* of every sort which God favored the country with about the time of his nativity."[5] Entering Harvard at twelve, but on account of his weakly constitution becoming for a time a private pupil of John Norton, he took his first degree in 1656, at seventeen; his Latin oration being in such "Ramæan strains," that President Chauncy would have set him down had not Jonathan Mitchel cried out:[6] "Pergat, quaeso, nam doctissime disputat." On his nineteenth birthday he preached his first sermon "at a village belonging to Dorchester," and twelve days after sailed for the old country; took his M.A. at Trinity College, Dublin, where his eldest brother was minister; preached to the church of the famous John Howe (then chaplain to the Lord Protector) at great Torrington, and further at Guernsey, Gloucester, and Weymouth, declining a living of £400 a year because he could not conform; and, the times growing steadily more unfavorable for Dissenters, in 1661, when scarcely more than twenty-two, came home by way of Newfoundland. For three years here he held himself aloof from permanent engagement, desiring to return to England; but at last, — out of "as many [offered] places as there are

[1] "Incertum est utrum Doctior an Melior." — *Epitaph.*

[2] "There being few men of so great strength of body as he." — *Life*, etc., p. 86.

[3] *Magnalia*, iii. 127.

[4] Ibid., p. 131.

[5] *Memoirs*, etc. (1725), p. 2. [Increase was born in Dorchester, June 21, 1639, the youngest of the family. His mother died in 1655, and Richard Mather married in 1656, for his second wife, Sarah, widow of John Cotton. — ED.]

[6] *Parentator*, as cited by Sibley, i. 412.

signs for the sun in the Zodiac,"[1] — he was ordained, May 27–June 6, 1664, pastor of the Second (usually then called the North) Church of Boston; a relation only severed by his death at the advanced age of eighty-five.[2] In 1622 he married Maria, daughter of John Cotton, who bore him three sons and seven daughters. The first child was named after his maternal grandfather, and became the famous man of the family.

A student, whose habit it was to spend sixteen hours a day in his library; for well-nigh sixty years the acceptable and honored pastor of one of the two most important churches in New England; as a preacher clear, attractive, practical, and forcible, — sometimes rising to "such a Tonitruous Cogency that the Heavens would be struck with an Awe, like what would be Produced on the Fall of Thunderbolts;"[3] as a general Christian laborer so popular, that even in his old age "the Churches would not permit an Ordination to be carried on without him, so long as he was able to Travel in a Coach unto them;"[4] for seventeen years of this pastorate also President of Harvard College, until displaced in the first throes of that theological convulsion which was to shake New England; over all its laymen as well as its ministers the choice of the Massachusetts Colony for its special agent to England when in 1688 there was danger of the subversion of its liberties, and serving four years in that capacity with distinguished ability; finding time and strength with all these multifarious labors to issue publications, which — the small with the great — Mr. Sibley estimates to number one hundred and sixty; and, at the end of all, honored "with a greater Funeral than had ever been seen for any Divine in these (and some Travellers at it said, in any other) parts of the World,"[5] — Increase Mather was, questionless, the greatest, though not the most noted, of his name.

Cotton Mather seems to have inherited his father's and grandfather's precocity, graduating at Cambridge in 1678, when less than fifteen years and six months old, with the prediction which President Oakes, referring to his two eminent grandfathers, had the bad taste to utter in his presence in the Commencement oration, that, in the lad, "Cottonus atque Matherus tam re quam nomine coalescant et reviviscant."[6] Teaching for a time, and by diligent labor overcoming an impediment of speech which had threatened to disqualify him for the family profession, after acting as his father's assistant for more than two years, he was ordained, May 13–23, 1685, to the (joint) pastorate, — a position vacated only by his death (Feb. 13–24, 1728), at sixty-five, after a service of nearly three-and-forty years.

Few private Christians can ever have been more conscientiously assiduous in the culture of personal holiness, — Cotton Mather in a single year recording his observance of more than sixty days of fasting and prayer, and twenty

[1] *Parentator*, as cited by Sibley, i. 414.

[2] [He died Aug. 23, 1723. His will is printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg*, 1851, p. 445. — Ed.]

[3] *Parentator*, as cited by Sibley, p. 433.

[4] Ibid., p 431.

[5] Ibid., p. 432.

[6] *Life*, etc. (1729), p. 5.

nights of vigil; while habitually inspecting his every utterance and thought in the jealous purpose that each be acceptable to God and useful to men. Few divines can ever have been more unwearied in preaching, his Diary making it clear that in one (apparently average) twelvemonth he delivered more than seventy public discourses, with nearly half as many private ones; while it is made obvious, by that frank and minute record of his every-day employments, that it was his custom to make the preparation of his sermons an elaborate and serious business. Few pastors can ever have excelled him in fidelity. In the one or two afternoons of each week assigned to that duty, systematically visiting his people from house to house, with exhortation and prayer;[1] putting into their hands, in their homes, religious reading;[2] making it matter of conscience never to allow even the most casual interview to end without some special spiritual appeal; and often spending whole days on his knees with the list of their names before him, begging God to inspire him to give to each a portion in due season. Few philanthropists can ever have been more eager to make others happier and better than he, whose dying exhortation to his son, asking for some motto which might be treasured as a guide of life, was: "Remember that one word, *Fructuosus;*"[3] whose private journal[4] bears almost daily witness to his solicitude lest he should somehow fail to do all that it was possible for him to do to meliorate the general lot; who originated more than twenty societies for various departments of Christian beneficence; who undertook to Christianize the negroes,[5] himself for a time bearing the entire cost of a school for their instruction; and who, in the face of an abusive and virulent popular opposition, led by the medical profession, — an opposition unscrupulous enough even to attempt his life,[6] — successfully introduced and

[1] "21 April, 1716. Visit, visit, visit, — more frequently, more fruitfully. Redeem Thursday afternoons for my own part of the town." — *MS. Diary, s. d.* "25 June, 1716. Draw up a more complete catalogue of *Enquiries* to be made, and of *Directions* to be given, and of *Counsels* to be insisted on, where I make my pastoral visits in y^e^ flock." — *Ibid.*

[2] "13 Feb. 1715–16. I would, as soon as I can, get furnished with my *Echos of Devotion* (which is not yet published), that I may lodge y^e^ Book in all y^e^ families where I come." — *Diary.* "He has given away above a *Thousand* [books thus to his people] in a year." — *Life*, etc., p. 38.

[3] *Life*, etc., p. 156.

[4] Take such entries as the following, selected from many others (Feb. 18–May 5, 1716), within a few weeks of each other: "Relieve, rebuke, and exhort a poor man clothed with rags at y^e^ North End." "A miserable man in prison — I must clothe and help him." "The expired Charity School I would get revived." "A poor gentleman in prison for debt must be relieved." "Several old men in want to be looked after." "An aged handmaid of the Lord in poverty to be provided for." "I will take a poor Fatherless child to lodge and feed in my Family, and watch opportunities to do him further kindnesses." "A miserable woman that wants to be relieved on many accounts, and also to have passage to London paid for — I must bear expenses for her." "A poor depraved youth in my neighborhood must be looked after." "An orphan — I will take him, and feed him and lodge him in my own family." — *MS. Diary.* [As already noted in the Introduction to Vol. I., considerable portions of his Diary are preserved in the libraries of the American Antiquarian Society and of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was his custom to make the entries for each year of his life in a separate little quarto book. One of these is in the Congregational Library, marked: "The LIV year of my life. 12^d^ XII^m.^ 1715–16." — Ed.]

[5] "6 Aug., 1716. I would send for the *Negroes* of y^e^ Flock, would form a religious society, and entertain them at my house, with suitable admonitions of Piety." — *MS. Diary.*

[6] W. B. O. Peabody, *Life*, etc. (Sparks's *Am. Biog.*), p. 324.

defended inoculation as a protection against the sweeping and terrible ravages of the small-pox. Few who have ever attempted authorship can have left behind them so long a catalogue of printed books, which the public seemed always ready to absorb, — the list of his published works, given by his son, rising to the amazing number of *three hundred and eighty-two*,[1] many of which, it is true, were simply sermons, but several were elaborate volumes, and one a folio of eight hundred pages; while beyond these, to his great grief,[2] the work which he esteemed the chief labor of his life, his *Biblia Americana*, in six folio volumes, remains in manuscript to this day.[3] Few scholars of his century could have enjoyed so wide an intercourse by letters with the great men of the Old World, or gained so high repute among them, — he at one time being in correspondence with more than fifty learned Europeans;[4] receiving in his forty-seventh year from the University of Glasgow the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and being made a Fellow of the Royal Society, — both in those days, for a remote colonist, being remarkable distinctions.

Clearly he had capacities, acquirements, opportunities; and these with his achievements made it easy and natural for the *New England Weekly Journal* (Feb. 26, 1728), in its notice of his funeral, to say: —

"He was, perhaps, the principal Ornament of this Country, and the greatest Scholar that ever was bred in it. But, besides his unusual learning, his exalted Piety and extensive Charity, his entertaining Wit, and singular Goodness of temper recommended him to all that were Judges of real and distinguished merit."

But while all this was honestly and honorably true, it is also true that Cotton Mather had serious defects of character. His vast reading was indigested and unassimilated to that degree, especially in connection with his vicious theory of composition, habitually to hinder the best usefulness of his employment of it.[5] Not by nature gifted with conspicuous common-sense, that studious seclusion in whose plodding industries lay imbedded the roots of his amazing literary fertility, by withdrawing him from large and unpro-

[1] His son (*Life*, etc., p. 178) gives the total as "three hundred and eighty-*three*;" but he sets down only three hundred and eighty-two titles, and elsewhere (Ibid., p. 67) he gives that as the true number.

[2] See (*MS. Diary*, Oct. 14, 1716) his reference to the "strange Frowns of Heaven," which "defeated" its publication.

[3] [In the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. A MS. Autobiography by Cotton Mather was sold in the library of the late Rev. Dr. William Jenks of Boston, and is now in the possession of Judge Mark Skinner, of Chicago. — Ed.]

[4] *Life*, etc., p. 80.

[5] One of his latest critics, not wholly able to divest himself of that tendency to berate poor Mather which has been the fashion of the literati of the past generation, still on the whole speaks so aptly of his style as to justify reference: "The mind of Cotton Mather was so possessed by the books he had read, that his most common thought had to force its way into utterance through dense hedges and jungles of quotation. Not only every sentence, but nearly every clause, pivots itself on some learned allusion; and by inveterate habit he had come to consider all subjects, not directly, but in their reflections and echoes in books. It is quite evident, too, that, just as the poet often shapes his idea to his rhymes, and is helped to an idea by his rhymes, so Mather's mind acquired the knack of steering his thought so as to take in his quotation, from which in turn, perhaps, he reaped another thought." — M. C. Tyler, *History of American Literature*, ii. 88.

fessional intercourse with men as they were, still further tended to dissociate him from that close sympathy with practical life which is essential to the largest sagacity. It must be conceded that he was ambitious; nor can it be denied that he was self-opinioned, not infrequently to the verge of vanity. His Diary, in the touching frankness of its frequent bewailings of sudden sharpness of speech, reveals his penitent consciousness of the fact that he had an irritable temper.[1] His want of good taste sometimes jarred even with the not specially prudish standards of his time.[2] Nor, had he been attracted to such endeavor, with his peculiarities of nature and training, would he have found it easy to rise above the spirit of his age in certain matters concerning which the world is wiser since. He accordingly believed in special judgments as induced by special transgressions[3] and suggested by special misfortunes, and in ghosts;[4] and he shared with most of the devout and learned men of his generation that lamentable misjudgment and infatuation out of which sprang the witchcraft delusion. It is to be noted, however, by him who would thoroughly understand Cotton Mather, that his chief misfortune lay in the fact that he outlived that state of society to which he was germane. He was the belated Diornis, or Dodo, of an incongenial geological period. In the epoch of his father or his grandfather he would have understood his generation, and been congruously comprehended by it. But the day in New England when the minister was mightier than the magistrate, when the sharp Calvinism of the Westminster Confession was hardly stanch enough to embody the theology of the multitude, and a profane oath was about as rare as an elephant, had gone by forever. He was unhappy, he scarcely knew why, from some vague consciousness that the old solid ground was ever more and more slipping away from under his feet; and that he was thus unhappy made him unpopular; and that he was unpopular made him still more unhappy; until, to measure to him that same measure of classic quotation which he was so fond of meting to others, he more than justified Ovid's apt observation,[5] —

> "Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos;
> Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris."

[1] [Instances can be pointed out in which he was not sufficiently considerate of others who crossed his path or distrusted his influence. — Ed.]

[2] "Isa. xxxiii. 17, was preached from by Mr. Cotton Mather,—'Thine eyes shall see the King,' etc; whoes Sermon was somewhat disgusted for some expressions, — as 'Sweet-sented hands of Christ,' 'Lord High Treasurer of Æthiopia,' 'Ribband of Humility,' etc., — which was sorry for because of the excellency and seasonableness of the subject, and otherwise well-handled." *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, i. 119.

[3] This tendency of those days finds illustration in an entry in Sewall's Diary: "23 Oct., 1701. Mr. Increase Mather said at Mr. Wilkins's, 'If I am a Servant of Jesus Christ, some great Judgment will fall on Captain Sewall, or his family.'" — *Ibid.*, ii. 45.

[4] Cotton Mather wrote in his Diary thus: "15 Nov., 1716. There has lately been in the Town an apparition of a Dead person. It is a thing so well attested that there can be no Room to doubt of it. It may be a service to Sundry, and serve many good purposes, for me to obtain a full Relation of y^e^ matter, and have y^e^ persons concerned therein to make oath unto it before a magistrate." — *MS. Diary, s. d.*

[5] *Tristia*, i. El. ix. 5

Samuel was Cotton Mather's fourth son, born of the second of his three wives, and the only one who lived to middle age. He graduated at Harvard College in 1723, before he was seventeen; and, June 21–July 2, 1732, four years after his father's death, was ordained (colleague pastor with Rev. Joshua Gee) over the Boston Church, to which his family had been in the habit of administering. In less than ten years difficulties arose which culminated in a scarcely peaceful separation and the erection of a new meeting-house, where, with a diminishing following, he labored until his death, in 1785. He was a man of considerable learning, of good repute, except as talked against in the church quarrel, but of unattractive utterance; received the degree of Doctor in Theology from his college in 1773, and was the author of fifteen or twenty treatises, chief among which are a jejune memoir of his father,[1] and *An Apology for the Liberties of the Churches of New England*, which deserves remembrance. Neither of his three sons studied for the ministry, with him this remarkable series coming to an end, the least being also the last; so that one might amend the epitaph said to have been composed for his great-grandfather, to make it read: —

> Under this stone lies Richard Mather,
> Who had a son greater than his father,
> And eke a grandson more famous than either,
> But the next generation failed — rather.

It were easy to criticise the tastes, judgments, ways, and works of such a family according to the standards of our times. But to struggle back into the atmosphere which they breathed, to strain the eye to see life and duty as seen by them and by those who surrounded and acted upon them, to know them as they were, and — discrediting alike the fulsome eulogies of many of their contemporaries, and the bigoted animosities of some of their modern critics — to judge them as they deserve, and thus justly estimate their influence upon the religion, the literature, and the general civilization of the country and the world, is so difficult as to be well-nigh impossible.

The first glance suggests that there was something in the agglomerated kinship of such a sequence of intellectual laborers which must have been felt as an appreciable force by the colonial mind. The close succession of four generations of men of note in the pulpit, and with the pen, is in itself remarkable, if not unique. President Dwight, with his two well-known sons, Lyman Beecher and his famous children, and the Winthrop family in secular life remind one of it. The Edwardses — Timothy, Jonathan, with the younger president of the same name, — and the Storrs family, now culminating in the third Richard Salter, come nearer to it. Among civilians the Adamses — of whom the fourth noted generation is extant with cheering vigor — strongly resemble it. But the case has never been wholly paralleled on this side of the sea.

[1] [It is to be regretted that this *Memoir* furnishes little of the information which one might hope to find in it. — Ed.]

We must remember further that, as ministers, this Mather family mainly lived in times vastly more favorable than the present to professional influence. The pastor, though — for cause — he sometimes changed his place, was yet settled for life, and, if fairly faithful, usually went on year after year sending wider and deeper the roots of his secret strength through the soil of the parish, and extending broader those boughs from which dropped fruits for the hunger, and leaves for the healing, of his hearers. It was safe for him to begin the exposition of a book of Holy Scripture in the reasonable expectation that he might dwell among his own people long enough to go steadily through it by course. It was his inestimable advantage as a sermonizer, that, having neither magazines, newspapers, nor lyceum, or other public lectures or addresses during the week, to feed, divert, or distract them, his congregation brought themselves to him on Sunday, with whatsoever hunger for intellectual and spiritual nourishment their minds were capable of, unsatisfied and eager. And if there were any of his town or congregation who approximated his own culture sufficiently to be conditioned for any counter judgment of much weight, they were few and far between; while the great multitude looked up to him as an oracle in the wisdom of this world, as well as the authorized expounder of all truth, having especially to do with that which is to come. It was by no means unusual for the pastor to draw the deeds and write the last wills of his people; while in multitudes of cases, to cite the testimony of a most approved witness,[1] the practice of medicine was united with the parochial duties of the ministers of religion. With such surroundings and under such training, it could not be difficult for ministerial self-complacency to shade into arrogance, or for the Congregational pastor to become — so extremely as well as odiously to phrase it — the pope of his village. Moreover, the "Elders" were, in the early days of New England, taken into express partnership with the civil power, in a manner greatly to exalt the sway which they would otherwise have had; and which on the one hand made it easy for them to realize, and easier on the other hand for them to attempt, great things in the way of public influence. For a period of years after the adoption of the law of 1631 limiting citizenship to members of the churches, "in Massachusetts, a meeting of the whole body of freemen in a General Court was the same as a convention of members of all the churches."[2] Surely, then, it was the most natural of all things that no public act of consequence should be decided on without the good favor of the Elders; the more that some of them — like Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, who drew up the "Body of Liberties" — in reality were regarded as pre-eminently capable of wise counsel in civil things.

The Mathers made full proof of their ministry, and availed of all these advantages. Richard's hand was always ready to help in laying the good foundations of the colony; while his diligence for his own special charge was unremitted. In witness whereof we read that[3] —

[1] Dr. James Thacher, *American Medical Biography*, i. 14.

[2] J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England*, ii. 39.

[3] *Life*, etc., p. 89.

"In his Publick Ministry in Dorchester he went over the Book of Genesis to chap. xxxviii.; Psalm xvi.; The whole Book of the Prophet Zechariah; Matthew's Gospel, to chap. xviii.; 1 Epistle to Thess. chap. v.; and the whole Second Epistle of Peter, — his notes wheron he reviewed and transcribed for the press, not many years before his decease. Also he was much exercised in answering many practical Cases of Conscience, and in Polemical, especially Disciplinary, Discourses."

Of Increase it was said that he "never preached a sermon but what was worthy of the Press," — always writing his discourses in quarto books, and then committing them to memory. Mighty by the obvious concentration of all the noblest forces of his life upon his spiritual calling, as Dr. Colman said of him in his commemorative discourse,[1] "a most excellent preacher he was, using great plainness of speech, with much light and heat, force and power;" "very happy in his methods;" "master of all the learning of past ages;" "distinct and perspicuous,"—his was "a soul-searching ministry," and "awful and reverend" in its "public addresses to God." Surely — not denying that he sometimes leaned toward over-assertion, and otherwise missed perfection — he seems fairly to have earned the title which Eliot gave him, with the testimony thereto adjoined:[2] "He was the Father of the New England clergy, and his name and character were held in veneration, not only by those who knew him, but by succeeding generations."

His son Cotton would sometimes "rise" from the regular Sabbath services and the weekly lecture "to the number of eleven successive days of preaching;" and, prayerfully pressing "a glorious Christ," he built up and maintained his hold upon the largest congregation in New England, with nearly or quite four hundred church members.[3] This, with six other churches by his side. Nor must it be forgotten that, when he was fifty, the "New North" became a necessity because of the crowded state of the attendance upon his meeting-house. Grant that his son Samuel was "not a powerful, captivating preacher,"[4] there is enough and more than enough in the century and a quarter of the combined ministerial labors of the three eminent men who went before him to embalm the name with honor in the pulpit records of the New World.

Authorship in a new country is apt to be a most important means of usefulness, and in this, as has already been suggested, the Mathers were preeminent. Richard, by his *Answer of the Elders*, his *Answer to Herle*, his *Reply to Rutherford*, and his *Defence* of the Synod of 1662, proved himself a dense, pithy, and pertinent composer and an effective disputant. Increase, while the great mass of his publications were intended by him to be, and were accepted by his generation as being, helpful incentives to the Christian life and stimulants to the advancement of the Church in her divine mission of love, did service also to our colonial annals in his *Brief History of the*

[1] *Sermon on the Death of Increase Mather.*

[2] *Biograph. Dict. N. Eng.*, p. 312.

[3] I refer here to an admirable article by Dr. Quint in the *Congregational Quarterly* for 1859, pp. 233–264, which those interested will do well to read.

[4] Dr. Daniel Dana, in *Sprague's Annals*, i. 374.

War with the Indians and his *Relation of the Troubles which have happened in New England;* struck a blow for our civil vindication in *The Revolution in New England Justified*,[1] and did his best to advantage the polity of the churches by his *Disquisition Concerning Ecclesiastical Councils*, his *First Principles of New England*, his *Order of the Gospel*, and his *Vindication of the Divine Authority of Ruling Elders in the Churches of Christ*. Cotton Mather, as an author, cultivated almost the entire field of literature. He printed great numbers of sermons. He prepared many practical religious works, such as *The A. B. C. of Religion*, *The Best Ornaments of Youth*, *A Companion for Communicants*, *Essays to do Good*, *A Monitor for Communicants*, *A Token for the Children*, etc. He sent out a book of hymns, and another of psalms of his own translating. He printed more than once on Baptism, and again and again on Early Piety. He essayed to do good in secular channels by his *Boston Ephemeris*, his *Present State of New England*, his *Serious Address to those who unnecessarily frequent the Tavern*, and his *Account of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small-Pox*. He left in manuscript a medical treatise designed to promote health and long life.[2] He sought to assist candidates for the sacred office by his admirable *Manuductio ad Ministerium*. He tried to be helpful to colonial history by his *Decennium Luctuosum*, his *Duodecennium Luctuosum*, his *Memorable Providences*,[3] etc. In the aim to broaden the field of his usefulness, he published religious treatises in French, Spanish, and Algonkin; and while his greatest literary labor was in the service of the history and practice of Congregationalism in his *Old Pathes Restored*, his *Ratio Disciplinae*, his *Eleutheria*, and pre-eminently his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, perhaps the earnestness of his soul most went out in *The Faith of the Fathers*, *A Seasonable Testimony to the Doctrines of Grace*, and *American Sentiments on the Arian Controversy*, in which he warned and protested against changes coming in seriously to modify that old Puritan theology loved and trusted by him. Wonderfully prolific as he was, the public never seemed to tire of the products of his pen, and second and third editions of his works were not uncommon. Add now to these the really valuable *Apology for the Liberties of the Churches* of his son Samuel, with the dozen other treatises of his by which he made his main impression on his contemporaries, and won his doctorate from Harvard in spite of his pulpit feebleness, and it becomes clear that no family like this ever before or since had to do with authorship in the New World, and probably never in the Old.

It has been asserted, indeed, that the *Magnalia* is rubbish, and that few of all these hundreds of treatises had any other than an ephemeral value. The remark in general applies to nearly all literature, and the particular stricture is as ill-advised as it is ill-natured, and cannot be maintained. Con-

[1] [It is held by Whitmore that Mather could have had no hand in this tract. See *Andros Tracts*, ii. 2. — Ed.]

[2] *The Angel of Bethesda*, etc., — in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

[3] [This book plainly pertains to one witchcraft case. See Mr. Poole's chapter. — Ed.]

cede any amount of carelessness and credulity to the author, and still the fact remains that were the *Magnalia* and the *Ratio Disciplinae* blotted out of existence and of memory, the first generations of New England would be but dimly known to their children.

It must not be forgotten here that an important part of the service of this distinguished family to New England was put forth in reducing to rigid system, in describing and defending, the way of the churches. When Richard Mather landed here in the summer heats of 1635, it was scarcely as yet obvious what order existed. All was inchoate, tentative, and not being as yet clear enough to be described was incapable of being defended. Mr. Cotton is usually spoken of as the father of the New England polity. But his *Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven* was not issued until 1644; and although he had printed his thin pamphlet called the *Doctrine of the Church* more than a twelvemonth previously, it seems in reality to have been Richard Mather who, three or four years before (as early as 1639), in the composing of his *Answer of the Elders*, analyzed and stated the current doctrine with so much clearness and theoretic consistency as to render his book the most important of the early *Principia* of New England Congregationalism written on the soil. He printed further on the same subject in 1644, and again in 1647; and the fact that, in 1648, of the three drafts submitted to it, on its request, by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Partridge, and himself, the Cambridge Synod "settled down substantially" upon his for the Platform, offers surely strong argument in proof that the place of first honor as an ecclesiastical organizer here of right belongs to him. I have, I venture to think, elsewhere[1] made it clear that this early Congregationalism, as being Barrowism and not Brownism, was so constituted as to be inherently inconsistent, and therefore uneasy. And as the various processes of an expanding life and an enlarging experience more and more brought into sight this connate difficulty, the Mather family distinguished itself at least for assiduity in the endeavor to adjust all variances into peace. When the Synod of 1662 propounded the expedient of the half-way covenant, the venerable Dorchester pastor joined hands with "Matchless Mitchell," of Cambridge, in defending the conclusion reached. Increase, then a young man, with a young man's impetuosity and other traits, wrote on both sides of that controversy with equal zeal; and, as the years passed on, he and his son and grandson did some of their best work in the treatises already mentioned, in which they diligently sought to clarify, rectify, and justify our Gospel Order.

It remains to refer, in the fewest words, to that more general influence as public men which was exerted over the community by these marvellous Mathers, — a department of the subject necessarily too vague for exact treatment. The Dorchester pioneer scored his mark upon his time mainly in his gown and bands and through his work as an Elder, "the Lord

[1] *The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years, as seen in its Literature*, etc., pp. 463, 695.

making him an Eminent Blessing not only to Dorchester, but to all the Churches and Plantations round about, for the space of Four-and-thirty years."[1] His son realized a more imperial mastery over his contemporaries, in the pulpit for more than half a century rëigning supreme; over the college for a third of that time he also ruled with vigor, dignity, and success. To this popularity he gradually added the repute of a man exceptionally learned, sagacious, energetic, and peerless among his fellows in the management of affairs; and throwing himself upon the people's side in the conflict with the Crown and its myrmidons, and standing before kings on the people's behalf, he gained still loftier distinction as a diplomatist. It is not, probably, too much to say that for many years he was the first subject in the colony; as Professor Tyler puts it,[2] —

"Born in America, bred in America, — a clean specimen of what America could do for itself in the way of keeping up the brave stock of its first imported citizens; a man every way capable of filling any place in public leadership made vacant by the greatest of the Fathers; probably not a whit behind the best of them in scholarship, in eloquence, in breadth of view, in knowledge of affairs, in every sort of efficiency."

To the full length and breadth of this, his father's fame and sway, Cotton Mather — although in some respects more gifted, and in some departments more learned — never succeeded. His lot fell upon different days. The old ways were in process of being changed. The ecclesiastical and civil powers no longer synonymized each other. He did his manifold utmost to stay the ebbing of the tide, but day by day could feel the acceleration of its subsidence. Still, with his big wig, his gleaming eyes, his grave yet comely face and scholarly dignity of bearing, as he walked about the streets of his native place, he had at least the port and bearing of a nobleman, if not, like his father, monarch of all he surveyed. And his manifest and controlling desire to be helpful, at whatever personal sacrifice and in whatever way, small or great, among even the deteriorating populace, made him, so long as he lived, one of the marked men of Boston, and, despite the great drawback of his obvious faults, caused his demise to be lamented as the loss and sorrow of the town and country. That he almost endured martyrdom in gallantly contending for that inoculative ante-treatment of that loathsome pest which every few years was then accustomed to decimate the community, which is now well-nigh universally conceded to be, in point of philosophy and in point of fact, one of the most useful of modern illustrations of the ancient proverb that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," is now mainly forgotten; while every graduate in a primer of history from the vast height of our "High Schools" of to-day voices a new sneer against his memory, as the "credulous" and "cruel" apostle and primate of the witchcraft mania and murders.

There can be no subject as to which the rule that a candid critic will put himself in the place of the man whom he criticises is more imperative than

[1] *Life*, etc., p. 75. [2] *History of American Literature*, ii. 69.

this. Of course it is not to be denied that Cotton Mather shared the faith of his generation in the reality of witchcraft. His nature was not gifted in the manner to make it as easy for him to be a reformer in that as in some other directions. Governor Hutchinson, who graduated from Harvard College the year before Mather died, makes it clear in his history, as many others have since done, not only that the very first lawyers of the old country believed in the reality of witchcraft as a punishable crime against God and man, but that more poor victims were put to death in a short time in a single county in England than suffered in all the colonies together.[1] Believing in the supernatural character of the alleged events, Cotton Mather acted precisely as it was natural for a great and good man, so believing in that day, to act. But he did not originate the excitement. He was no more guilty in regard to it than Richard Baxter or Sir Matthew Hale at home, or than Sir William Phips or Lieut.-Governor Stoughton or Judge Sewall, or hundreds of others, here. And it is my firm conviction that the more scrupulously diligent a student may be in investigating all related facts, and the more rigidly just in their interpretation, the more heartily he will come in the end into accord with the conclusion reached by an eminent and now venerable successor (*emeritus*) in Mather's pastoral charge:[2] —

"That he [Cotton Mather] was under the influence of any bad motives, any sanguinary feelings; that he did not verily think he was doing God service and the Devil injury; that he would not gladly have prevented the disorderly proceedings of the courts, the application of unlawful tests, and everything unmerciful in the trials, and inhuman in their issue, — the most careful examination has failed to make me believe."

Looking, then, upon this sad (but not guilty) passage in Cotton Mather's life, and accrediting him duly with the pure motive which underlay his conduct, even here I find no cause for non-concurrence with that ancient maxim which, as to other points of character and passages of life, would accord him noble praise.

—— "Aut virtus nomen inane est,
Aut decus et pretium recte petit experiens vir."

Henry Martyn Dexter

[1] *History of Massachusetts*, ii. 22, 23.

[2] Dr. Chandler Robbins, *History of the Second Church*, etc., p. 111.

CHAPTER X.

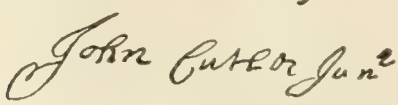
CHARLESTOWN IN THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

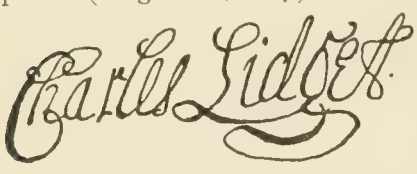
BY HENRY HERBERT EDES.

THE fall of the Colony charter; the assumption by Dudley of the Presidency of the Royal Province of New England; the arrival, administration, and overthrow of Andros, together with the remarkable career of "the evil genius of New England," — have been recounted in previous chapters. In these events the people of Charlestown were actively identified with the opposition to the new *régime;* but there were a few — and among them persons of the highest social standing — who, while they may not have approved the proceedings of Sir Edmund and his vice-regal court, were unwilling to lift hand or voice against the legally commissioned representatives of the Crown to which they had sworn allegiance; nor could they recognize the provisional government soon established by the people as legitimate until it had received the royal sanction. This feeling was manifested immediately after the adjournment of the Convention that assembled in Boston, May 22, 1689, which voted to resume the old charter, — a decision which this town ratified June 17, 1689, when it was voted that all town officers then chosen should continue in office only until the first day of the following March, "that the town might come to their former order in those matters." The Convention, by vote, further provided for the restoration to their places of all civil and military officers in power on May 12, 1686. In opposing the consummation of these acts of the Convention, Captain Laurence Hammond, — town clerk, selectman, clerk of the courts under Andros, and commander of one of the military companies, — and the Hon. Thomas Greaves[1] (H. C. 1656), — physician, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas under Sir Edmund, — were the most prominent. With them were associated Deacon John Cutler, Sr., Captain Richard Sprague, and John Cutler, Jr., besides others of less note. For their contumacy Hammond, Sprague, and Cutler were deprived of their commands

[1] He was son of Admiral Thomas Greaves, who died July 31, 1653.

in the militia, and Captain Sprague was also expelled from the General Court; but later he was repeatedly rechosen to that body. Hammond removed to Boston July 10, 1692, and died July 25, 1699. Mr. Frothingham devotes much space in his excellent *History of Charlestown* to this period, and narrates with much detail the story of Judge Greaves's protest against the holding of a Court appointed by the Hon. James Russell at Cambridge on the first Tuesday of October following the Revolution; the trouble in the military company arising from Captain Hammond's refusal to declare under which of his two commissions as captain he would continue to act,—the Colony's or Sir Edmund's; the riots between the citizens and the crews of the "Kingfisher" and the "Rose" frigate; and the people's oppression by arbitrary taxes and the exaction of fees. He also refers at length to the seizure by the royal Governor of common lands in Charlestown, which he subsequently confirmed by patent (August 10, 1687) to Colonel Charles Lidgett, who was arrested and imprisoned with Andros two years later. Sewall notes in his Diary that in May, 1687, a May-pole which had been set up in Charlestown was cut down; and he intimates that Mr. Samuel Phipps (H. C., 1671), one of the selectmen, "bid or encouraged the Watch" to commit the deed. A larger May-pole was immediately substituted, however, and a garland placed upon it. There was also trouble growing out of the action of one Joseph Phipps, who at the burial of a soldier stood with his hat on while the Episcopal clergyman read the burial service. On May 9, 1688, Andros caused "Mr. Bantam, His Majesty's Governor of the fort or blockhouse at Boston," to "carry away the great guns (from the battery in this town), viz., three Sakers, and three Cutts with a whole culverin, they being all iron guns, with a quantity of shot appertaining to them." These guns were subsequently returned, the last of them in 1696, on petition of the selectmen.[1] These and other irritating proceedings on the part of the Government aroused the people to a full appreciation of their wrongs. The Rev. Charles Morton, of whom more is to be said presently, was then the minister of this town. He was patriotic and eloquent, and he embraced the opportunity which the Friday lecture afforded to speak upon





[1] In 1730 a commission appointed by Governor Belcher to inspect the fortifications reported that the works at the Battery in Charlestown were "entirely laid waste;" and recommended that they be rebuilt. The General Court subsequently appropriated £250 for this purpose; and July 12, 1742, the town voted to receive the money. A committee of the town recommended the erection of "a breastwork and platform of one hundred and twenty-four feet front."

the measures and matters of a public nature which were then uppermost in men's minds. For his utterances on Sept. 2, 1687, containing "several seditious expressions," he was summoned before Andros and his Council, and obeyed Nov. 24, 1687.[1] Mr. Morton was bound over in £500 to appear at the next session of the Superior Court. He was tried and acquitted. This act of the Andros Government unquestionably added much to Morton's reputation, and insured him a high place in the affections of the people. Upon the rising of the Colony on April 18, 1689, when Andros "found himself in the lock-up," Captain Richard Sprague led his company of Charlestown men to Boston.[2]

During the Inter-Charter period[3] several events occurred, of which Sewall gives us some account in his Diary: —

June 8, 1685. "Asaph Eliot comes in and tells me the . . . doleful news of Mr. Shepard, of Charlestown, his being dead. . . . Was taken on Friday night; yet, being to preach and administer the Lord's Supper on Sabbath Day, forebore Physick, at least at first. . . . Charlestown was to have had a great bussle in Training on Tuesday with Horse and Foot, Captain Hammond engaging some of Boston to be there; but now 'tis like to be turned into the Funeral of their Pastor: he dying full and corpulent."

June 9. "The Reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard buried: Governor, Deputy-Governor, and magistrates there. Mr. Bulkely dined with us, and was there. Bearers, — Mr. Mather, Mr Simes, Mr. Willard, Mr. Hubbard, of Cambridge, Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, Mr. Cotton Mather: the two last preached at Charlestown the last Sabbath Day. It seems there were some verses, but none pinned on the Hearse. Scholars went before the Hearse. A pretty number of Troopers there. Captain Blackwell and Councillor Bond there."

Dec. 30. "Fast at Charlestown this day. Mr. Cotton Mather preaches forenoon; mentions the notion Mede has about America's Peopling. Mr. Moody preaches afternoon excellently."

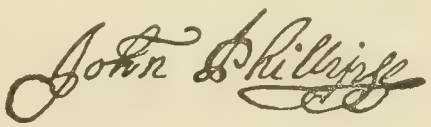
May 10, 1686. "Went to Charlestown and wished Mr. Cotton Mather joy; was married last Tuesday."[4]

[1] On the 19th of August preceding he had preached a sermon which Sewall regarded as "very seasonable," considering "the exercise that town [Charlestown] is under respecting the Common, part of which was laid out and bounded to particular persons." Cf. Palfrey, *History of New England*, iii. 497, 546, 547.

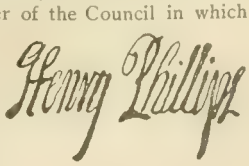
[2] Byfield tells us that on that occasion "there were twenty companies in Boston, besides a great many that appeared in Charlestown, that could not get over, — some say fifteen hundred."

[3] *The Andros Tracts*, in three volumes, published by the Prince Society, contain many facts concerning the part which citizens of Charlestown played in public affairs during this period.

[4] Cotton Mather married Abigail Phillips, daughter of Colonel John Phillips, of Charlestown; and it was to his house that Dr. Increase Mather fled in March, 1688 (see next page). Captain Henry Phillips, a wealthy merchant and prominent citizen, was the youngest son of Col. Phillips, who was Captain of the Ancient and



Honorable Artillery Company, Colonel of the Militia, Representative (1683–86), one of the Committee of Safety (1689), named in the Charter of 1691 a member of the Council in which he was continued by annual election till 1714, Treasurer of the Province, and Judge of the County Court. Colonel Phillips married as his second wife the widow of the Hon. Thomas Greaves (H. C. 1656).



Sept. 13. "Mr. Cotton Mather preaches the Election Sermon for the Artillery at Charlestown, from Ps. cxliv. i. Made a very good discourse. President and Deputy-President there. . . . The Artillery Company had like to have been broken up, — the animosity so high between Charlestown and Cambridge men about the place of training."

March 30, 1688. "I am told Mr. [Increase] Mather left his house and the Town and went to Captain Phillips's, at Charlestown."

Sept. 11. "Two-and-thirty men are pressed in Boston, and six from Charlestown, and sent away to the Eastward; and a Post despatched to acquaint the Governor at Albany."

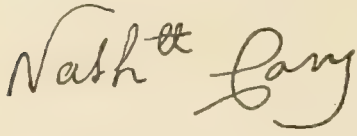
Oct. 27. "The 'Rose' Frigot comes up, and his Excellency [Andros] goes off to Charlestown and so to Dunstable: At both which firing."[1]

Oct. 14, 1690. "Fast at Roxbury. I go thither on foot. Lady Phips there; is come to town again it seems, the Small Pocks being at Charlestown."[2]

Dec. 17. "A day of Prayer is kept at the Town-house. . . . 'Tis so cold and so much Ice in Charlestown River, that neither Deputy-Governor, Treasurer, Mr. Morton, nor Charlestown Deputies could get over. Mr. [James] Russell hath the Small Pocks, which stays him."

The Diary of Captain Laurence Hammond, preserved in the cabinet of the Historical Society, also contains some items of interest relating to this period. Under date of March 9, 1687–88, he tells us the measles "prevailed exceedingly;" that the distemper began in this town "the beginning of winter," visiting almost every family, although but few died in consequence. Feb. 12, 1689–90, he records the removal of the General Court "this day" from Boston to Charlestown on account of the spreading of the small-pox in Boston. On June 25 and 26, 1694, he tells us there was a General Training at Charlestown.

When, on May 14, 1692, Phips arrived with the new charter, Sewall tells us that two Charlestown companies made a part of the escort which, on the sixteenth, guarded him and his councillors to the town house. It has been told in another chapter how the new Government entered upon its unhappy course regarding the trial of witches. A solitary victim was found in Charlestown, — Elizabeth Cary. Her husband, Nathaniel Cary, was in early life a mariner in the ship "Elizabeth," and later commanded the "Owner's Adventure." Upon retiring from the sea he was chosen into the Board of Selectmen, and subsequently represented the town in the General Court. His narrative of the arraignment, examination, and treatment of his wife, and of her escape from the prison in Cambridge to Rhode Island and New York, has been printed at length.[3] Mrs. Cary outlived her troubles, and died here Aug. 30, 1722. Her husband survived her ten years.[4]



[1] Mr. Frothingham (*History of Charlestown*, p. 236, *note*) says: "In 1687, Feb. 25, Andros visited this town, on which occasion there was a military display, — 'an extraordinary meeting of the militia,' — when the Government paid 'for beer and cider given to the drummer and soldiers' of the town."

[2] This would imply that the lady was, for a time at least, a resident of Charlestown.

[3] Cf. *History of Charlestown*, pp. 237–39; and Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, ii. 47, 48.

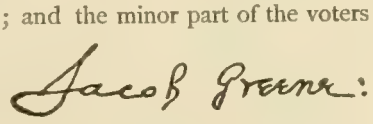
[4] Mr. Poole's chapter reveals an earlier case in Charlestown, — that of Margaret Jones, in 1648. Cf. *History of Charlestown*, pp. 116–117.

In Hammond's Diary there is a glimpse of the political contests waged two centuries ago. One entry is so full of interest that it is copied entire:

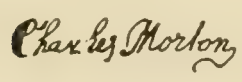
"1692, June 1. The freeholders of Charlestown met to choose assemblymen. Major Phillips chosen moderator. It was proposed by Mr. Graves to enquire who had a right in voting, and that a list of their names might be taken; but that was not approved. They were not willing to question any present.

"The manner of voting being discoursed, Mr. Graves proposed by polling, according to the way of England; but voting by papers was preferred before it. Mr. Morton, being the chief speaker, did with great vehemency (and as little prudence) inveigh against the manner of choosing parliament men in England, calling it prophane and wicked, etc.

"They carried it by a vote to choose by papers; and the minor part of the voters present chose Jacob Green, *Senior*, and Samuel Phipps; about 40 voters present voted not at all, many of whom refused to vote only because they carried it in that way. Divers freeholders we find were not warned to the meeting, so that it is judged an illegal choice."[1]



Throughout the troubles of the Inter-Charter period the pastor of the church in Charlestown was a prominent figure. The. Rev Charles Morton was born in Pendevy, Cornwall, in 1626; the eldest son of the Rev. Nicholas Morton. Bred at Wadham College, Oxford, he was settled at Blisland in his native county, whence he was ejected, in 1662, for his Puritanism. Removing to London he taught successfully in a private academy at Newington Green, where he had many pupils who afterward became distinguished, — among them Daniel Defoe, and Chief-Justice Samuel Penhallow of New Hampshire. With a view to becoming President of Harvard College Morton came to New England, arriving here in July, 1686; but, being politically obnoxious to Dudley and Andros, the plan for placing him at the head of the College miscarried. He was, however, made vice-president, — the office being created with a view to his filling it. On the fifth of November following his arrival here he was installed as pastor of the Charlestown Church; and by his objection to, and refusal of a re-ordination by the imposition of hands, "he set the example of a method which has since been known among Congregationalists in the resettlement of a minister previously ordained, as an installation." Morton's scholarship was remarkable; and in this regard he unquestionably outranked all the ministers who have ever been connected with this venerable church. He was the first clergyman in this place to solemnize marriages, which previously to 1686 were performed only by civil magistrates.[2] Morton's abilities



[1] I find no record of this meeting in the Town Records.

[2] The banns of matrimony were published by the town clerk or his deputy on Sunday, "after the blessing to the evening exercise was pronounced." In 1696–97 the town voted that publishments should be made "on Lecture Days or any other public times, and not restrained to Sabbath Days only." Publishments had to be made on three separate occasions.

and pulpit eloquence were such that his Friday lecture[1] was frequently attended by distinguished men of other places. Judge Sewall came often;[2] and he tells us that on June 8, 1688, Sir William Phips made one of the congregation. He also relates (Oct. 9, 1691) that he went to hear Mr. Baily preach the lecture at Charlestown, after which he dined with Mr. Morton in his new house; and that "My Lady Phips," the Governor's wife, was among the guests. From the Judge's Diary we also learn that it was probably owing to the opposition of Dr. Thomas Greaves (H. C. 1656) that no assistant, or colleague, to Mr. Morton was ever settled. Jan. 16, 1694–95, he writes: "Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Cook, Mr. Secretary, and S. S. went over to Charlestown and visited Mr. Morton and Mr. Graves, to see if could bring over Mr. Graves, etc., that so another minister and God's ordinances might be settled there in peace; but see little likelihood as yet." The church had, in the previous November, chosen Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton (H. C. 1691) as colleague to Mr. Morton; but he declined the call, and was afterward settled over the South Church in Boston. March 12, 1696–97, Mr. Simon Bradstreet (H. C. 1693) was chosen assistant to Mr. Morton; but he also declined the office, for reasons which do not now clearly appear. Mr. Morton died April 11, 1698, aged seventy-two. He was buried on the fourteenth, when Sewall writes: "Go to the funeral of Mr. Morton. President [of Harvard College], Mr. Allen, Willard, Brattle, Bradstreet, Wadsworth, — Bearers. Lieut.-Governor and about twelve of the Council there. Had gloves, and so had the ministers. Scholars went before the Hearse."[3]

Simon Bradstreet.

Mr. Bradstreet was again invited to the Charlestown pulpit in May, 1698; and he was ordained October 26th of the same year. He was the son of the Rev. Simon Bradstreet (H. C. 1660), of New London, Connecticut, where he was born March 7, 1671, and the grandson of Governor Simon Bradstreet. Budington calls him "a man of great learning, strong mind, and lively imagination;"[4] but towards the close of his life he was a victim of hypochondria. He was principally distinguished for his attainments in the classics; and it is related of him that when he was presented to Governor Burnet by the Lieut.-Governor, he was introduced as "a man who can

This custom seems a fitting conclusion to the difficulties under which courtship was enjoyed in those days, when a fine of £5 was liable to be incurred by such person as presumed to make a "motion of marriage" to any maid without the previous consent of her parents, or, in their absence, of the County Court! Cf. *Ante*, i. 518–19 and *note*.

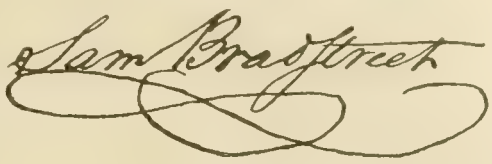
[1] In March, 1718–19, a petition was extensively signed asking to have the Lecture begin at eleven o'clock instead of twelve; and in March, 1723–24, the time was changed to half-past two in winter, and three o'clock in summer.

[2] Judge Sewall was frequently in Charlestown, being drawn hither by official duties and social attractions. In 1705 he was involved in litigation here concerning his rights in the Land of Nod; and he successfully defended himself. Cf. *History of Charlestown*, pp. 111, 112; *Sewall Papers*, ii. 62, 139, 164; *History of Woburn*, p. 540.

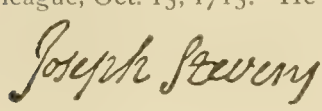
[3] The weather during the winter of 1697–98 was intensely cold. Sewall records more than one visit to Charlestown, when he crossed the river on the ice. One of these visits was to Mr. Morton: "Feb. 19. I go over the ice and visit Mr. Morton, who keeps his bed."

[4] Cf. *Sewall Papers*, i. 448–50.

whistle Greek." Mr. Bradstreet died Dec. 31, 1741. His son, the Rev. Simon Bradstreet (H. C. 1728), was the minister of Marblehead; and his son, Samuel Bradstreet, who was born Oct. 2, 1711, and married a daughter of the Hon. Richard Foster, Jr., was town treasurer in 1750 and subsequent years.



Mr. Joseph Stevens (H. C. 1703) was ordained as Mr. Bradstreet's colleague, Oct. 13, 1713. He was chosen[1] by the town upon the nomination of the church, receiving one hundred and four votes to forty-seven cast for Mr. John Webb, and eight for Mr. John Tufts, both of whom graduated at Cambridge in 1708. Mr. Stevens was a son of Joseph Stevens, of Andover, where he was born June 20, 1682. He was a tutor and Fellow of his *alma mater*. It was during Mr. Stevens's ministry that the last house of worship occupied by the church prior to the destruction of the town in 1775 was built. June 21, 1715, the town voted, unanimously, to build a new meeting-house; and that it should stand "as near the old one as can be, or where the old one now stands, with such additions of land as shall be needful for it." A committee was chosen to superintend the work, which was completed the following year, — public worship being first held in it Aug. 5, 1716. The committee appointed to build the meeting-house rendered their account May 20, 1717, by which it appears that the building cost £1,899 3*s.* 10*d.*, or £25 19*s.* 2*d.* less than the amount of the voluntary contributions of the people. The committee recommended to the town "to raile and bannister the meeting-house," which was seventy-two feet long, fifty-two feet wide, thirty-four feet high (three stories), and had two galleries and a steeple, — part of which was blown down in the winter of 1750–51. There were also battlements, about the repair of which the town had some discussion in August, 1756. Mr. Stevens died Nov. 16, 1721, aged thirty-nine, of small-pox,[2] which occasioned the death of more than one hundred persons in Charlestown during the winter of 1721–22, including nearly all

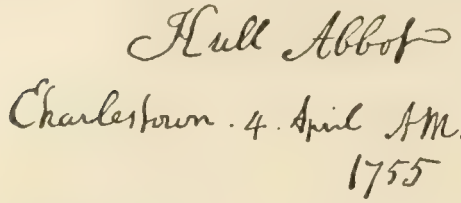


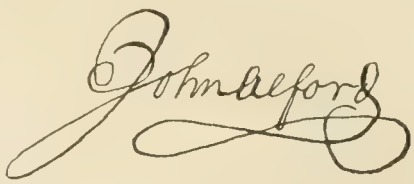
[1] His letter of acceptance is spread upon the Town Records, vi. 99.

[2] So great were the ravages of this disease at this time that at Christmas the selectmen "*Ordered*, that the Sexton do not on any account whatsoever, without order from them, toll above three bells in one day for the burial of any persons, it being represented to them a discouragement to those persons sick of the small-pox." The following spring the town passed a stringent order prohibiting the entertainment in town of any person "in order to receive the small-pox by inoculation or otherwise," under penalty of a fine. In 1764, however (April 4), it was voted to permit the inhabitants "to go into inoculation for themselves and families," beginning "next Saturday afternoon;" but the privilege was to extend only till April 25. The disease was again epidemic here in 1730, in September of which year the General Court granted £100 to the town, it having "for some months past been sorely visited with the small-pox, which has occasioned great distress." The scourge returned in 1752; but although six hundred and twenty-four persons had it, only twenty-two deaths are recorded. Great alarm prevailed; three hundred and fifty-five of the inhabitants fled to escape the disease, which was brought here in November, 1751, by a ship. It seems not to have spread rapidly till May, 1752; but from that time till the following December it baffled all efforts to control it. High fences were built across the streets near the infected houses; flags of warning were hung out; the bells

the members of Mr. Stevens's family.[1] Dr. Budington, quoting the Rev. Dr. Colman, minister of the church in Brattle Square, Boston, says that Mr. Stevens "was possessed of great personal beauty, and no less distinguished for the brilliant qualities of his mind. . . . He excelled in conversation; and the modesty of his deportment gave a singular grace to an air of superiority and dignity that was natural to him."

Feb. 5, 1723–24, Mr. Hull Abbot (H. C. 1720) was ordained as colleague[2] to Mr. Bradstreet, whose daughter Mary he married July 27, 1731. He was the eldest son of Moses Abbot, of Boston, where he was born June 15, 1702. His pastorate extended over half a century, till his death, April 19, 1774.[3] The town records mention that a committee was sent to Cambridge to inquire of the Corporation concerning the character and attainments of Mr. Abbot before he was ordained. During his ministry (June 5, 1733) the town voted to build a ministerial house, fifty feet long, eighteen or nineteen feet wide, and eighteen feet high, with gambrel roof, three stacks of chimneys, and a small room, ten feet square, for a study, at an estimated cost of £700. In 1731 a petition — which was often renewed and as often refused — was presented, praying for a lot of land in the upper part of the town upon which the petitioners might build for themselves and their neighbors another meeting-house. The Hon. John Alford was among the petitioners.[4]





were not tolled at funerals; and some burials were made in the night. Town-meetings were held in the open air, "without the Neck," for safety. Cf. *Boston Gazette* for Jan. 16, 1753.

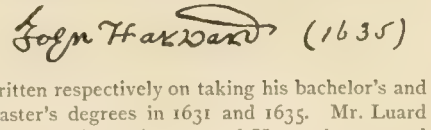
[1] Only an infant son, Benjamin, survived. His daughter became the mother of the distinguished divine, the Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster.

[2] At his election by the town, Sept. 9, 1723, he received ninety-nine votes, when Joshua Gee (H. C. 1717) had forty-three, and Theophilus Pickering (H. C. 1719) had nine. Samuel Dexter (H. C. 1720) was nominated with the preceding three persons by the church to the town; but no votes are recorded as having been cast for him.

[3] Mr. Abbot was buried with honor at the charge of the town, as his wife had been, on her decease in May, 1763. He "is said to have been the first student who received assistance from the Hollis Fund." — *Budington.*

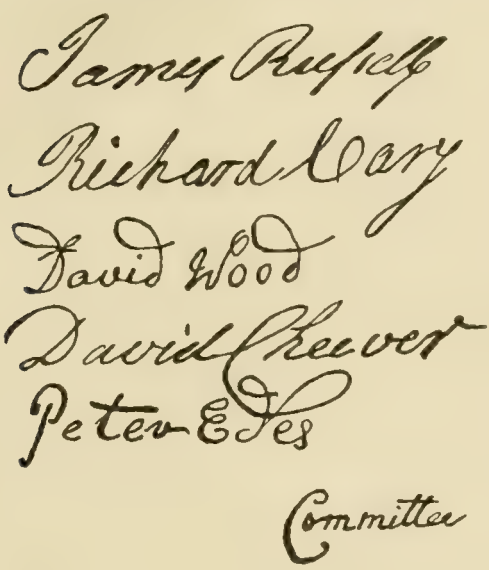
[4] The Hon. John Alford was the eldest son of Benjamin Alford, of Boston, and was baptized at the Old South Church, July 5, 1685. He was a man of large wealth; and is distinguished as the founder of the Alford Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity, at Harvard College. He died Sept. 30, 1761.

Since the account of John Harvard was printed in Vol. I., pp. 395, 396, the Rev. Henry F. Luard, Registrar of the University of Cambridge, England, has kindly furnished from his records tracings of two of Harvard's autographs,

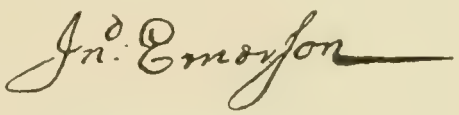


written respectively on taking his bachelor's and master's degrees in 1631 and 1635. Mr. Luard says there is no signature of Harvard preserved at Emanuel. "The date of his matriculation was so late as 7 July, 1631. His rank appears as a Pensioner, or of the second Style, to distinguish him from a Sizer, of the third, or a Gentleman Commoner, of the first; and he is called of Middlesex." No signature of his is known to be extant in this country. Cf. Winthrop, *History of N. E.* (ed. 1853), ii. 105, 106.

The Rev. Thomas Prentice (H. C. 1726), who was first settled at Arundel, Maine, was installed here as associate pastor of the church, Oct. 3, 1739. He received the unanimous vote of the town, on the second of the previous July, at a meeting called to see if the town would concur with the church in inviting Mr. Prentice to a settlement.[1] Whitefield preached here several times; and upon one occasion "with much demonstration of spirit," securing a contribution of £156 for his orphan house. In 1772,[2] 1773, and 1774 the town appointed a committee on the supply of the pulpit, consisting, in 1773, of the Hon. James Russell, Richard Cary, David Wood, David Cheever, and Peter Edes. John Codman served in the stead of Mr. Cheever in the last-named year. Mr. Prentice was born in Cambridge, Nov. 9, 1702, the son of Thomas and Mary (Batson) Prentice; and died here June 17, 1782, at the age of eighty.



The schools were well cared for, although in 1691 the town was presented to the County Court for its neglect to provide a competent teacher; but it "saved itself from a penalty by a quick bargain." This refers to the engagement made with Mr. John Emerson[3] (H. C. 1675), April 20, 1691, whose daughter Sarah married the Hon. Richard Foster, Jr., High Sheriff of Middlesex. Mr. Emerson continued in charge of the school till Nov. 13, 1699. A committee was appointed March 8, 1699–1700, to go to Cambridge or elsewhere and procure a proper person to be schoolmaster "with all expedition." May 22, 1700, Thomas Swan (H. C. 1689) was agreed with at a salary of £40, to begin "forthwith."[4] He remained about



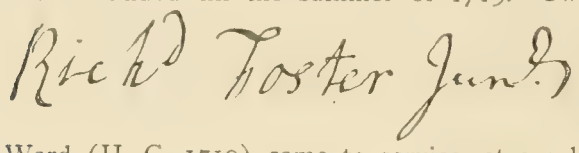
[1] The settlement of Mr. Prentice was contemplated in the winter of 1738–39; but was deferred for prudential reasons. *Vide post*, p. 322.

[2] In 1772 Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms, with Dr. Watts's Hymns, was adopted for the use of the church. During the provincial period the Scriptures were not read in the churches, except in connection with exposition.

[3] In the *Massachusetts Archives*, xi. 56 it is recorded that the Rev. John Hale, John Wise, Grindall Rawson, and John Emerson, "ministers of God's Word," were requested by the Governor and Magistrates, July 31, 1690, "to accompany the General and forces in the expedition against Canada to carry on the worship of God in that Expedition."

[4] A county school appears to have been contemplated by the General Court in 1700–1701, when this town voted to contribute £40 towards providing for it, on condition it was located in Charlestown. I find no further mention in our Records of a county school.

three years, removed to Milton, and was succeeded by Thomas Tufts (H. C. 1701), whose family has always been identified with this place. He entered upon his work "the last day of June," 1703. Peleg Wiswall (H. C. 1702) appears to have been the next schoolmaster. He was agreed with for six months, from Jan. 24, 1704–1705; and was succeeded by Samuel Burr (H. C. 1697),[1] April 24, 1706. May 21, 1712, the town voted £40 for the schoolmaster's salary, and "£5 to be raised for the payment for some poor children at such women's schools as shall be allowed of by the selectmen;[2] being for such children whose parents are not able to bring them to school." In 1713 the town voted to build a new school-house. The location first determined upon was "on the northard side of the meeting-house where the Cage now stands;" but finally the house was built, under the supervision of the selectmen, "on the hill near the old school-house." It was "30 feet long, 20 feet wide, 12 feet stud; one floor of sleepers and one floor of joice aloft." Its cost was £104 4*s.* 1*d.* On Aug. 4, 1718, Daniel Perkins (H. C. 1717) was engaged to teach the school, "from the tenth of February last past," and continued till the summer of 1719. Two years later he married a



sister of the Hon. Richard Foster, Jr., and accepted a call from the church in West Bridgewater. Robert Ward (H. C. 1719) came to service, at a salary of £60, in 1719, beginning his work on the 29th of August. He, too, entered the ministry, and resigned his office here Nov. 7, 1720, having received an invitation to the Wenham pulpit. Samuel Barrett, Jr. (H. C. 1721), who appears also to have been a minister later in life, was engaged to take the school from Dec. 1, 1720, to March 1, 1720–21, for £15. Mr. Joseph Stimpson (H. C. 1720) was invited to succeed Mr. Barrett, Feb. 6, 1720–21; and he asked to be relieved of his charge April 6, 1724. He was born here Feb. 7, 1699–1700, and became pastor of the Second Church in Malden soon after leaving Charlestown. In 1724 the town voted to buy a bell[3] for the school-house, and to build a belfry. The bell appears to have been bought for £2 10*s.* in July of that year; and May 3, 1725, the Hon. Daniel Russell is recorded as the donor of a new one to the Free School. On June 15, 1724, a town-meeting was held, at which "Mr. Seth

[1] His son of the same name had liberty granted him, Nov. 17, 1729, to improve the middle chamber of the Almshouse for a writing-school "for this winter." This building — the first almshouse — was erected in the summer of 1728, and stood in the Square, the westerly end being about "fourteen feet from the County House (lately built), and so to run easterly the above length; the front to run upon a line with the south end of said County House." It was fifty feet long, thirteen feet wide, thirteen feet stud, with eight fire rooms; and cost £251. In 1743–44 the town voted to repair it, and to enclose it "with a suitable fence to extend from the south-westerly corner of the prison fence as far as the school-house, or highway, and so on a Square;" and to convert it into a workhouse.

[2] In August, 1718, it was "ordered that no person, man or woman, shall keep any school at the upper end of the town near Reading at the town charge, without the approbation of the selectmen."

[3] A new bell for the school-house was bought in 1697–98 to replace one then in use.

Sweetser, Jr., was chosen Schoolmaster." His salary was fixed, July 6 of the same year, at £75, "to begin the seventh instant." It was gradually increased, but not sufficiently, he thought; and after repeated applications for a proper stipend, which were not granted, he gave notice, Feb. 13, 1749–50, that he should retire from his position on the sixth of the ensuing March. John Rand (H. C. 1748) was chosen to serve from March 6 till the May meeting of the town, at twenty shillings, lawful money, per week. At the May meeting in 1750 it was voted to have two schools within the Neck in future, — one for instruction in Latin, and one where writing and arithmetic should be taught. Matthew Cushing (H. C. 1739)[1] was engaged to keep the former, and Abijah Hart the latter, — each at a salary of £60. They served a year, — until the summer of 1751. The Latin School was at this time kept in the old town house, which the town voted, Aug. 6, 1750, to fit up for the purpose. But the experiment of supporting two schools failed; and at the May meeting in 1751 the town was eager to return to the old order, and to re-engage its former faithful and accomplished servant. The meeting voted to have but one school within the Neck, and that it would make no appropriation for the master's salary until a master should be chosen. Mr. Sweetser was then re-elected schoolmaster "by hand vote," and £500, old tenor, appropriated to pay him. In the afternoon Mr. Sweetser accepted the office, upon the duties of which he entered July 20, 1751. From that time until his death, on Jan. 15, 1778, Mr. Sweetser was in the service of the town as its schoolmaster, and from 1755 as its town clerk. To his watchful care we doubtless owe the preservation of the town archives from destruction in June, 1775. He was born here Feb. 5, 1703–4; graduated at Harvard College in 1722, with Judge Richard Saltonstall, Lieut.-Governor Ellery, and President Clap, of Yale College. He was universally respected for his exalted character, his great learning, and his varied and unremitting public services.[2] From Aug. 20, 1764, William Harris, the father of the Rev. Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris, taught writing and cyphering in the old town house, which was again refitted for the use of the school. As early as 1736, £25 was voted to establish a school without the Neck, for which teachers were from time to time appointed; and others were chosen to instruct the children on Mystic side and at Wood-End (Stoneham). Among these was Robert Calley,[3] who served in 1758 and subsequent years.

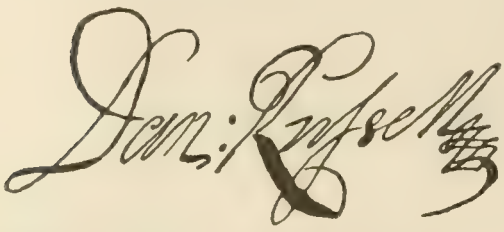
[1] Sept. 25, 1749, Mr. Cushing had permission granted to him to keep a private school for teaching "the three R's."

[2] Cf. Wyman, *Charlestown Genealogies and Estates*, p. x.

[3] His valuable Diary of Events in Charlestown — 1699–1765 — has been printed in part in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xvi. 34, 129. This abstract was made by the late Mr. Thomas Bellows Wyman.

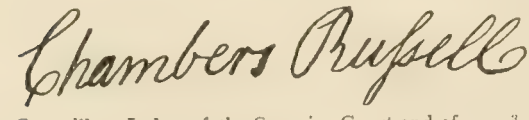
Although, during the Colonial period, dancing was frowned upon and discountenanced by the clergy as "tending to immorality," the practice of it became well established during the early years of the eighteenth century. "In 1723 a dancing-master was patronized, and even allowed to advertise an exhibition,—the 'public dancing to begin at five o'clock.'"

In 1754, at the annual March meeting, the town voted "that the old town house be improved for a spinning-school," and appropriated £50, old tenor, with which to put the building in proper repair. In May of the same year the Hon. Daniel Russell,[1] who was chairman of the committee to oversee the school, reported that the undertaking had proved so successful that there was much encouragement to proceed with it.



In 1753 one chariot, thirteen chaises, and seventy-one chairs were assessed in Charlestown for the support of a linen mill in Boston, which, for several years, was sustained by a Province Tax levied upon carriages. In 1700 (Nov. 12) Captain Nathaniel Byfield, Captain Andrew Belcher, and others had liberty granted them "to set up a furnace or kiddle [*sic*] for melting tallow in order to make candles." In 1708 (May 17) Edward Sheath had leave to set up some posts in the training-field, before his door and those of his neighbors, "to make ropes on." April 2, 1716, Dr. Thomas Greaves[2] had leave to set up a still-house[3] on his wharf. In 1754 the town instructed its representative to use his utmost endeavor to defeat the excise bill on spirituous liquors which was then pending. The bill aimed not at a restriction upon the sale of liquors, but to collect from consumers a tax upon the quantity used, which was to be ascertained by requiring every householder to return, under oath, a statement of "the quantity used in his family that had been purchased of a licensed dealer." The same year the selectmen voted not to tax any fishermen who should come to live in the town and follow their calling, "in order to encourage so advantageous a trade." In March, 1738–39, it is mentioned in a report upon the proposed settlement of the Rev. Mr. Prentice, "that the town has been for many years declining in busi-

[1] The Hon. Chambers Russell (H. C. 1731) was son of the Hon. Daniel Russell. He was born July 4, 1713; was Representative, Executive Councillor, Judge of the Superior Court and of the Admiralty; married Mary Wainwright, and died at Guildford, County of Surrey, England, Nov. 24, 1767. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, vi. 274.

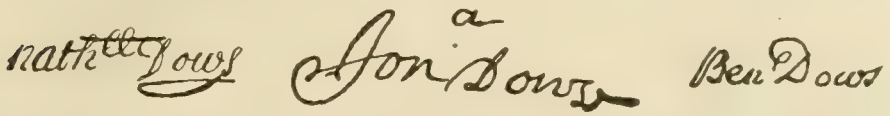


[2] The Hon. Thomas Greaves (H. C. 1703) was son of Judge Thomas Greaves (H. C. 1656). He was born Sept. 28, 1683, and like his father was a physician, and Judge of the Superior Court. His third wife was Phoebe Vassal, and he died June 19, 1747.

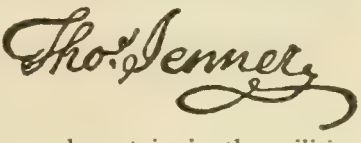
[3] In 1715 permission had been granted to William Cutlove to build a still-house; at the same time he was admitted an inhabitant.

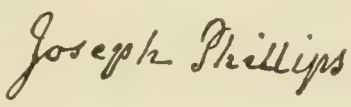
ness," and that many "valuable men" had been lost at sea or had died, leaving widows.[1]

Nathaniel Dowse (or Dows), son of Lawrence Dowse the emigrant, was born Nov. 24, 1658; was chosen town clerk March 2, 1695–96; and also served as town treasurer. He was a brother of the Hon. Jonathan Dowse,



who, among other political preferments, was a member of the Governor's Council; and died Aug. 23, 1719. He was succeeded Sept. 4, 1719, by his son Benjamin Dowse (called *Junior* to distinguish him from his uncle of the same name), who was born Oct. 22, 1695, and died, single, Aug. 24, 1720.[2] Thomas Jenner was the next clerk, and was elected Sept. 12, 1720. He was a wealthy merchant, selectman, town treasurer, justice of the peace, and captain in the militia; was born Dec. 21, 1693, — the son of David and Mabel (Russell) Jenner, — and died June 23, 1765. Samuel Phipps, a nephew of the former clerk of this name, succeeded Jenner as Recorder March 7, 1725–26. He was son of Joseph Phipps; was born Oct. 27, 1696, and died Feb. 11, 1730–31. His successor was Joseph Phillips, son of Captain Eleazer Phillips, and brother of Eleazer Phillips, Jr.,[3] the first recorded bookbinder and bookseller in Charlestown. He was born July 17, 1690; was elected town clerk March 4, 1727–28, and served till his death, Jan. 16, 1755. Mr. Phillips was also one of the selectmen. On Jan. 20, 1755, Mr. Seth Sweetser, the schoolmaster, of whom we have already spoken, began his long term of service as Recorder of the town.





On the fourth of March, 1699–1700, the town voted, "That all the waste land belonging to the town, on the north side of Mystic River, should be divided, and be laid out equally, to every [person] an equal share that hath been an inhabitant of this town six years and is twenty-one years old, and the like share to all widows, householders, that have been six years inhabitants."

[1] In 1753 there were one hundred and thirty-one widows within the Neck.

[2] The Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins and his brother, the Rev. Samuel Dowse Robbins, are descendants of the Charlestown Dowses; and another was the late Mr. Thomas Dowse, of Cambridge, whose library is now in the Massachusetts Historical Society's rooms. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1855–58), vol. iii.

[3] In 1750 this gentleman attempted successfully the cultivation of silk in this town from cocoons secured in Philadelphia, from which he procured "two crops in a summer." Cf. *Boston Evening Post*, Dec. 24, 1750.

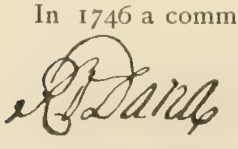
In 1725 Captain Benjamin Geary, and fifty-three others, petitioned successfully for a division of this town into two townships; and they and their estates were set off, Dec. 17, forming the town of Stoneham. June 7, 1726, the General Court, on petition of Joses Bucknam and others, set off that part of Charlestown lying on the north side of Mystic River, and the inhabitants of the said territory, to the town of Malden, reserving to Charlestown the ownership and profits of Penny Ferry. In 1754 a large tract of land was set off to the town of Medford. These losses of territory and the frequent appeals of Cambridge for other lands still remaining to the town alarmed the people. In answering the General Court on the third petition of Cambridge, in 1759, the town's committee said: "Your respondents are not conscious that we or our ancestors have ever done anything to offend the Government, or to induce this honorable Court to reduce this town in such a manner, that from its being the second town settled in the old colony of the Massachusetts Bay, and one of the largest in this county, to be one of the smallest in the whole province."

Two surveys[1] of the streets, lanes, and highways were made during the Provincial period, — one by a committee appointed by the town March 1, 1713–14; the other by a similar committee chosen at the annual March meeting in 1766. I find no report of a committee for like service created May 13, 1754.

In 1727 Fish Street was paved; and in 1735 the town raised £100 for paving the Market-place. In 1758 the town voted to apply to the General Court to authorize a lottery by which to raise funds for paving Main Street. The petition was granted in April, 1760; and we find in the Boston *News-Letter*, of July 17, an advertisement of the scheme of "Charlestown Lottery No. One." Six thousand tickets were offered at two dollars each; one thousand two hundred and fifty-five prizes were offered, to return $10,800 to those purchasing tickets, and $1,200 would remain to pay for the work contemplated.

As early as 1712 it was proposed to build a bridge to Boston "at the place where the Ferry is now kept; viz., from below Mr. Gee's and Hudson's Point to the landing place on this side." This was to be a private enterprise, encouraged and sustained by a proper toll, authorized by the General Court. The project was renewed in 1720, and again in 1738. In the last-named year it was proposed to establish a ferry, or to build a bridge, from "the Copper Works" in the westerly part of Boston to the farm of the Hon. Spencer Phips in Cambridge. This town was opposed to both plans. In March, 1725–26, the building of a bridge at Penny Ferry was suggested, but the project met with no encouragement from Charlestown.

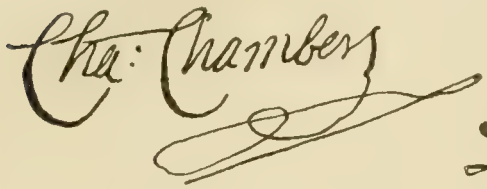
In 1746 a committee — consisting of Richard Dana, Chambers Russell, and others — was appointed to oppose a scheme for building a bridge over the weirs between this town and Medford. Richard Dana, Esq. (H. C. 1718), was for

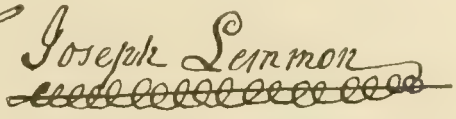


[1] Printed in the *Third Report of the Boston Record Commissioners*, pp. 205–244.

several years a practitioner of law in Charlestown, before his removal to Boston, and was sometimes counsel for this town before the courts. He was the father of the Hon. Francis Dana, LL.D. (H. C. 1762), Chief-Justice of the Commonwealth, who was born here June 13, 1743.

March 1, 1724–25, Charles Chambers,[1] Joseph Lemmon, Thomas Jenner, and Richard Foster, Jr., had leave to build tombs in the burial-ground.[2]





In 1757 the town sold "the horse pasture," at Moulton's Point, for £70, to Captain Samuel Henley; and in 1767 (June 18) it deeded Lovell's Island to Elisha Leavitt, Jr., of Hingham, for £266 13*s.* 4*d.*, which amount was reserved for the use of the school.

In 1696 the old town house, built in 1656–57, was extensively repaired, the turret being strengthened and a new belfry built; and in 1712–13 it was voted that a clock, to be set up in the town house, should be bought at the public charge. May 18, 1724, it was ordered that the westerly end of the town house (*i.e.*, the old watch-house,[3]) be pulled down; and a committee was appointed to confer with a county committee respecting the location of a new prison, which was "to be on or near the Town House Hill." In 1734 a new court house, which served also as a town house,[4] was built at the joint, and nearly equal, expense of the Town and the County of Middlesex "in the most convenient place in the Market-place." The building was fifty feet long, thirty feet wide, and twenty-three or twenty-four feet stud, and cost £939 17*s.* 4*d.* In 1751 the town granted the request of the County

[1] The Hon. Charles Chambers was a sea-captain and wealthy merchant, born in Lincolnshire about 1660, — a very prominent citizen; was selectman and Representative, and died April 27, 1743, in his eighty-third year. His only daughter, Rebecca, married the Hon. Daniel Russell. A fine portrait of him is in possession of Colonel Charles Russell Codman, of Boston, a descendant.

[2] The armorial bearings upon these and other tombs on Burial Hill have been fully described in the *Heraldic Journal*, i. 45, 55, 74.

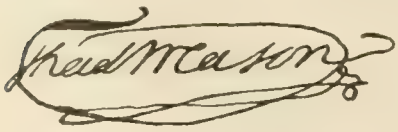
Aug. 2, 1736, the Hon. Ezekiel Cheever had leave granted to him to build "a tomb on the Burial Hill, near Charles Chambers, Esq." He

was a grandson of the famous schoolmaster of the same name (*ante*, i. 397); was born March 9, 1692–93; was selectman in 1732 and subsequent years, a Representative for several terms beginning in 1736, and in 1743 he was chosen "one of His Majesty's Council." His son "Ezekiel Cheever, Jr., Esq.," also took an active interest in public affairs in Charlestown.

[3] A watch-house was ordered to be built in 1637; but, as a similar vote was passed in 1639, the first watch-house probably dates from the year last named. It was sixteen feet long, twelve feet wide, and seven feet high, and had "a chimney in it of convenient largeness to give entertainment on the Lord's Days to such as live remote from the meeting-house." The second "lock-up" was built in 1675, on the Common, and was fourteen feet square. Thieves were rigorously dealt with a century and a half ago. In September, 1738, a man convicted of burglary in this town was executed. John Sales (*vide ante*, i. 387) was the first convicted thief. Cf. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates*, p. 842.

[4] This building, as well as the residences of many private citizens, was brilliantly illuminated, in 1736, in honor of the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Princess of Saxe-Gotha. Cf. *Boston Evening Post*, June 21, 1736.

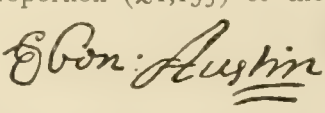
Court that a space about eighteen feet in length and ten feet in width on the lower floor of the court house, at the north-east and east part, "be erected into an office for keeping the records of the courts for this county," at the expense of the county.[1] In 1755 the office in the town (or court) house, lately occupied by Thaddeus Mason, Esq. (H. C. 1728), long clerk of the courts in Middlesex, was fitted up for the use of the town clerk. In the same year £100 was raised for building three fish-market houses on the town's land, on Willoughby Creek, near the Great Ferry.



Jan. 16, 1699–1700, a fire occurred in Charlestown, destroying three houses.[2] It was not until 1724 that the town purchased its first fire-engine. On the 18th of May £30 was appropriated for this object. In 1735 a second engine was paid for at a cost to the town of £117 2*s.* 9*d.* Nov. 8, 1743, *The Ancient Fire-Society* was formed. In 1758 there were three engines manned by twenty-four men, who were appointed by the selectmen. In 1760 the town voted to build an engine-house "on the Green before Cape Breton Tavern," which at that time was kept by Zechariah Symmes, and stood at the junction of what are now Main and Essex streets. The site of the tavern is now occupied by Samuel D. Sawin, as a grocery. In 1773 (April 8) the *Massachusetts Spy*, in describing a fire in Boston, mentions the assistance rendered by "the engine from Charlestown, esteemed the best in America."

About 1690 a postal service was established, and John Knight, of Charlestown, was appointed "Post." This individual was one of three men in town who, prior to 1775, had married five wives.[3] Mr. Knight survived all his consorts, and died Dec. 1, 1714.

Oct. 4, 1721, the town voted to take its proportion (£1,135) of the Province loan of £50,000, and chose Henry Phillips, Ebenezer Austin, and John Fowle trustees to receive it.



Oldmixon[4] thus describes the town about 1740: —

"Charlestown, the mother of Boston, is much more populous than Cambridge, and exceeds it much in respect of trade, being situated between two rivers, Mystic River and Charles River, and parted from Boston only by the latter, over which there is a ferry so well tended that a bridge would not be much more convenient, except in winter, when the ice will neither bear nor suffer a boat to move through it. Though the river is much broader about the town, it is not wider in the ferry passage than the Thames, between London and Southwark. The profits of this ferry belong to Harvard College, in Cambridge, and are considerable. The town is so large as to take up all the space between the two rivers. 'Tis beautified with a handsome large church, a

[1] In June, 1717, a strenuous effort was made to have Charlestown made the shire-town of Middlesex; but it failed, the vote in the House of Representatives standing forty-one for Charlestown, against forty-six in favor of Cambridge.

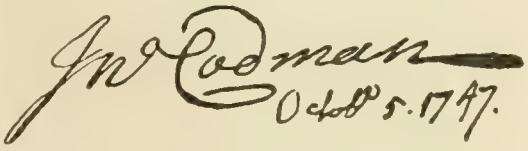
[2] Cf. *Sewall Papers*, ii. 1.

[3] Nathaniel Rand (1709–1785) had five wives, and Joseph Hopkins (1718–1785) had six.

[4] *The British Empire in America* (ed. 1741), i. 192, 193.

market-place by the river side, and two long streets leading down to it. The Inferior Court is kept here the second Tuesday in March and December, and the Superior the last Tuesday in January. Capt. Uring writes that Charlestown is divided from Boston by a large navigable river, which runs several miles up the country. It is near half as big, but not so conveniently situated for trade, though capable of being made as strong, it standing also on a peninsula. 'Tis said one thousand vessels clear annually from these two towns only, more than from all the European colonies in America not in English hands."

In September, 1755, two negroes — Mark and Phillis — slaves of Captain John Codman, were executed for poisoning their master with arsenic. A third culprit — Phoebe — became evidence against the other two, and was transported to the West Indies. Mark was hanged in chains on the northerly side of the Cambridge road, about a quarter of a mile beyond the Neck; and Phillis was burned at a stake, about ten yards distant from the gallows. Both confessed their guilt.[1] Captain Codman was a prominent citizen, and was highly respected. He was also active in military affairs. He married a sister of the Hon. Richard Foster, Jr., and was an ancestor of the Rev. Dr. John Codman (H. C. 1802), of Dorchester, and of the family of this name now prominent in Boston.



In August, 1695, Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Lynde, one of our most distinguished citizens, was commissioned[2] to pursue the Indians who had attacked Billerica in the early part of the month, and who had killed or captured fifteen persons. But the pursuit was fruitless, the Indians eluding the search for them. Colonel Lynde was a member of the Committee of Safety, in 1689, and he was named one of the Council in the Province Charter of 1691. He had previously been a Representative; and he was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He was for many years on the Board of Selectmen. He married (1) Sarah, daughter of Nicholas Davison;[3] (2) Emma, widow of John Brackenbury; and (3) Mary, widow of the Hon. Adam Winthrop. Colonel Lynde died Jan. 29, 1726–27, aged ninety-one. His granddaughter, Sarah Lynde, married the Rev. Joseph Stevens.

[1] Cf. *Boston Evening Post*, Sept. 22, 1755.

[2] Cf. *Massachusetts Archives*, li. 41.

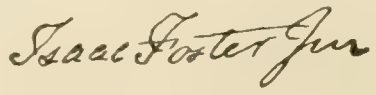
[3] Elizabeth Davison, believed to have been a granddaughter of Major Daniel Davison, son of Nicholas, was married here June 26, 1728, to Captain Robert Ball, a prominent and wealthy citizen. Her portrait by Blackburn, esteemed one of his best, and that of her husband by Smybert are among the very few portraits that escaped the conflagration of June 17, 1775. They

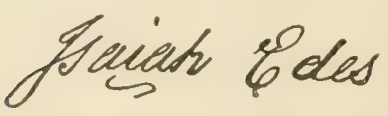
are now in the possession of their descendant, the writer of this chapter.

Feb. 14, 1744–45, the town voted a bounty of twenty shillings to each man who should enlist in the company which Bartholomew Trow had orders to raise in Charlestown for the expedition against Cape Breton.

When, in 1755, about one thousand Acadians were brought to Massachusetts, Charlestown received twelve of them, and Nov. 24 the selectmen "ordered that they be for the present put into the work-house and supplied with necessaries till otherwise provided for." Sept. 6, 1756, the selectmen agreed to petition the General Court for the removal of these unfortunate people; but the petition, if ever presented, was unsuccessful, for on the sixth of May, 1761, it was voted to hire a house and move the "French Neutrals" into it. In 1757 the town voted to pay a bounty of £10 lawful money to such citizens as joined in the "intended expedition" of Lord Loudoun, and the following enlisted: Thomas Lord (Captain), Thomas Edes, Samuel Baker, Abraham Edes, Benjamin Peirce, Joseph Leathers, Thomas Orgain, Barret Rand,[1] John Sherman, Joseph Rand, Jr., William Symmes, and Nathan Balloin. The quota of Charlestown for the Canada expedition of 1758 was forty-eight men,[2] and Mr. Frothingham[3] gives a list of thirty "men that went from Charlestown upon the Expedition, 1759; sailed from the Castle 24th of April," preserved "in a diary kept in this town," which expedition was also destined for Canada.

The period between 1764 and 1776 is treated at length in other chapters of this work, and the active part taken by Charlestown has been well set forth in another history.[4] In 1773 (Nov. 27) a Committee of Correspondence was chosen, "by written votes," consisting of Isaac Foster, Peter Edes, John Frothingham, Richard Devens, David Cheever, Nathaniel Frothingham, John Codman, Isaac Foster, Jr.,[5] and William Wyer. With regard to the disuse of tea and the proceedings incident thereto this town is conspicuous. Among the persons most prominently identified with these proceedings were Isaac Foster, Richard Devens, John Codman, Isaiah Edes, Nathaniel Austin, Benjamin Hurd, and John Harris. The tea collected





[1] Prior to the Revolution of 1775, the Rand family was the most numerous in the town.

[2] Twenty-three of these men were under the command of Captain John Hancock, five under Captain David Wyer, and twenty under Captain Michael Brigden, in whose company — which was in Gridley's regiment — Commissary-General Richard Devens served as Ensign.

[3] *History of Charlestown*, p. 266.

[4] Ibid., chapters xxv.–xxx. Captain Edward Sheaffe was one of the foremost men in Charlestown during the years which immediately preceded the breaking out of the Revolutionary struggle. He was born Oct. 1, 1711; the son of Edward and Mary Sheaffe; was often selectman, moderator of town-meetings, and upon important committees of the town; and for several years he represented his native place in the General Court. He died in May or June, 1771, much lamented.

[5] Cf. *New England Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxv. 70.

from several persons in the town was paid for out of the public treasury, and burned at high noon in the market-place, — Dec. 31, 1773.[1] The Boston Port Bill, which went into effect June 1, 1774, affected the commercial interests of Charlestown as severely as it did those of the larger town. The Town of Boston voted, Aug. 9, 1774, that seven per cent of the gifts sent

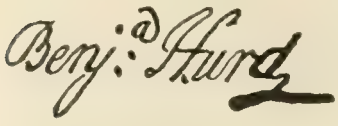
CHARLESTOWN BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.[2]

in should be apportioned to this town, whose Committee of Donations consisted of Nathaniel Gorham, Nathaniel Frothingham, Nehemiah Rand, Peter Tufts, Jr., John Stanton, Stephen Miller, James Gardner, Edward Goodwin, John Larkin, *second*, David Wait, Thomas Wood, Isaac Codman, Isaac Foster, Peter Edes, John Frothingham, Richard Devens, David Cheever, John Codman, Isaac Foster, Jr., and William Wyer. Isaac Foster was chairman, and Seth Sweetser clerk of this Committee, and their weekly sessions extended from Aug. 1, 1774, to April 5, 1775. July 23, 1774, the selectmen voted to withdraw the town's stock of powder, which was stored, with the powder belonging to other towns in the Province, in the old Powder House, originally a wind-mill, still standing on Quarry Hill in

[1] Cf. John Andrews' Letters in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1864–65), viii. 383.

[2] [This view of Charlestown follows a portion of a large engraved view of Boston made by the British engineers about 1770, and given reduced in a heliotype in Mr. Bynner's chapter in this volume. What is called a view of Charlestown in 1743, as given by Mr. Frothingham in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1875–76), xiv. 53, seems to be a translation into a direct view of the foreshortened oblique view which is found in Price's 1743 view of Boston, with an addition of the hills in the background. Another glimpse of Charlestown of about the same date is given in the view of the North Battery in Boston, in Colonel Higginson's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

what is now Somerville. Other towns did the same. Immediately upon receiving intelligence of these withdrawals, General Gage transferred the remainder of "the King's Powder" to Castle William. The town-meeting which assembled July 30, 1774, was continued by successive adjournments till the annual meeting in March, 1775. Nov. 26, 1774, a committee was chosen to see that the acts and resolves of the "Grand American Congress" and of the Provincial Congress were duly executed, so far as they related to this town. It was composed of Nathan Adams, Benjamin Hurd,[1] William Ford, Caleb Call, Samuel Conant, John Harris, Nathaniel Austin, Lovis Foye, Isaiah Edes, James Fosdick, and Samuel Wait.



The British troops on their retreat from Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775, passed through Charlestown. In the morning, when intelligence was received that the expedition to Concord was on the march, the schools were dismissed, and great excitement prevailed. In the afternoon the Hon. James Russell received a note from General Gage, saying he had been informed that armed men had left Charlestown during the day to obstruct the return of the troops to Boston; and that if another armed man went out, the most disagreeable consequences might be expected. The British entered the town by the Cambridge road, about sunset. As soon as their approach was positively known, great numbers of the inhabitants fled over the Neck to the neighboring towns. The troops occupied Bunker Hill that night and were reinforced by a detachment sent over from Boston. Those inhabitants who remained in the town lost no time in removing their families and valuables to a place of safety at the earliest possible moment; so that on the seventeenth of June, when the Battle of Bunker Hill[2] was fought, "only one or two hundred remained out of a population of between two and three thousand."

The last town-meeting before the town was burned was held March 21, 1775, when David Cheever, an active member of the Committee on Supplies, was chosen delegate to the Provincial Congress. The last meeting of the selectmen assembled April 7, when the interest on Captain Richard Sprague's legacy for the poor was distributed.

Time has dealt severely with Charlestown, — the conflagration of 1775 sparing only about fifteen houses at the upper end of the peninsula, just within the Neck. Her highways, her ancient records, and the gravestones upon Burial Hill are all that remain to us as memorials of the first century and a half of our existence. Nor have we any plan of the town made before its destruction.

Henry H. Edes

[1] Mr. Hurd was town treasurer from 1772 till 1776.

[2] To be described in Vol. III.

CHAPTER XI.

ROXBURY IN THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

BY FRANCIS S. DRAKE.

THE abrogation of its charter in 1684 by James II., and the arbitrary rule of the royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros, which followed, stirred Massachusetts to its profoundest depths. To half a century of self-government under peculiarly favorable circumstances had succeeded a tyranny which must in any event have been shortlived. Happily for her the revolution which placed William of Orange upon the English throne afforded an opportunity of which she was not slow to take advantage. Of the original settlers of Roxbury nearly all had passed from the stage before the new order of things had been imposed; but to Eliot, Bowles, Williams, Crafts, and the few of that noble band who still remained, the loss of those liberties for which they had striven so long and suffered so much must indeed have seemed intolerably grievous. One of Roxbury's distinguished sons, Rev. John Wise, minister of Ipswich, was in 1688 fined and imprisoned by Andros for his vigorous opposition to the tax levied in that year by the governor, without authority from the Assembly. The men of Roxbury, under Captain Samuel Ruggles, Sr., Lieutenant Samuel Gore, and Ensign Timothy Stevens, assisted their brethren of Boston in overthrowing their oppressors, April 18, 1689, taking an active part in the capture of Fort Hill and the Castle. The action taken by the town at this time for the establishment of a provisional government is thus recorded: —

"May 6, 1689. At a general meeting of the inhabitants of Roxbury, orderly called, Lieutenant Samuel Ruggles and Nathaniel Holmes were chosen and authorized to meet the representatives of the several towns assembled at Boston, 9th inst., and there to concur and joyne with them in their endeavors to settle and establish a government in the country (for the present), in such a way as shall be thought best for the present good and safety of the country.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants upon the 20th of this instant May, the committee having reported the instructions of the several towns as being too general, it was therefore signified unto them that it was their desire that the governor, deputy-

governor, and such assistants as were chosen and sworn in, in 1686, should resume the government of this colony according to charter.

"June 3. John Bowles and Lieutenant Samuel Ruggles were chosen representatives to meet at Boston, June 5, then and there to consult the present emergencies (relating to the public affairs of the country)."

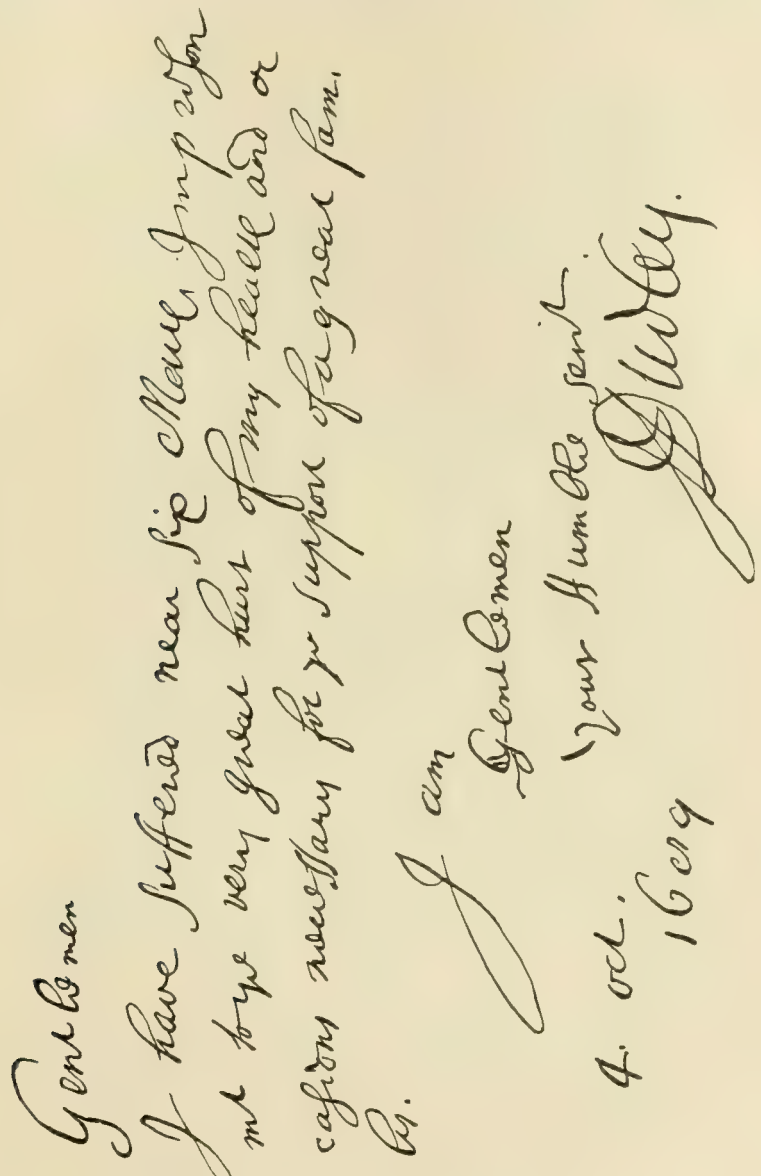
Among those who at this time were made to feel the popular vengeance was Joseph Dudley, who, as President of the Council, and all the more as a native citizen upon whom they had heaped their honors, had incurred their extreme resentment. He had been sent in 1682 to England, as one of the agents to save the charter of the colony; but finding the attempt ineffectual had advised its surrender. This counsel, while it cost him his popularity at home, helped him to obtain the appointment to the presidency of New England, with which he returned in 1685. When the outbreak occurred he was at Providence, presiding as chief-justice upon the Narragansett circuit. He was seized and brought to Boston, where he was thrust into jail and treated with great severity, but was released in the following January, and sailed for England in February 1690. An unpleasant episode occurred to vary the monotony of his imprisonment. After having on the plea of ill-health, and by giving heavy bonds, procured from the court the indulgence of being confined under guard in his own house in Roxbury, he was after a brief respite compelled to re-enter his prison walls. The people were less lenient than the court, and promptly reversed its decision. A contemporary account says: —

"About twelve o'clock at night, being Saturday night, about 200 or 300 of the rabble, Dearing and Soule heading of them, went and broke open his house and brought him to town. The keeper of the jail would not receive him, and they took him to Mr. Paige's (whose wife was a sister of Dudley's). Monday night the 15th they broke into Mr. Paige's house, smashing his windows, in the search for Dudley, who promised to go to prison again and remain until the fury of the people should be allayed. The 16th instant Mr. Dudley walked to the prison accompanied with several gentlemen, there being no stilling the people otherwise."

Joseph, son of Governor Thomas Dudley, was born in Roxbury, July 23, 1647, after his father had attained the age of seventy. He was educated for the ministry but soon turned his attention to civil affairs, for which he was admirably qualified by habits of diligence and by the possession of abilities of a high order. He was present at the battle with the Narragansetts in December 1675, and as one of the commissioners dictated the terms of a treaty with that once powerful tribe. He was a member of the General Court from 1673 to 1675; one of the Commissioners for the United Colonies from 1677 to 1681; an Assistant from 1676 to 1685; President of New England by a commission from James II. from Sept. 27, 1685, to December 1686; President of the Council and Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court in 1687–89; Chief-Justice of New York in 1691–92; Deputy-Governor of the Isle of Wight, England, from 1694 to 1702; and was a

member of the British Parliament for Newton, England, in 1701. He closed his long official career as Governor of Massachusetts from 1702 to 1715, and died in Roxbury, April 2, 1720.

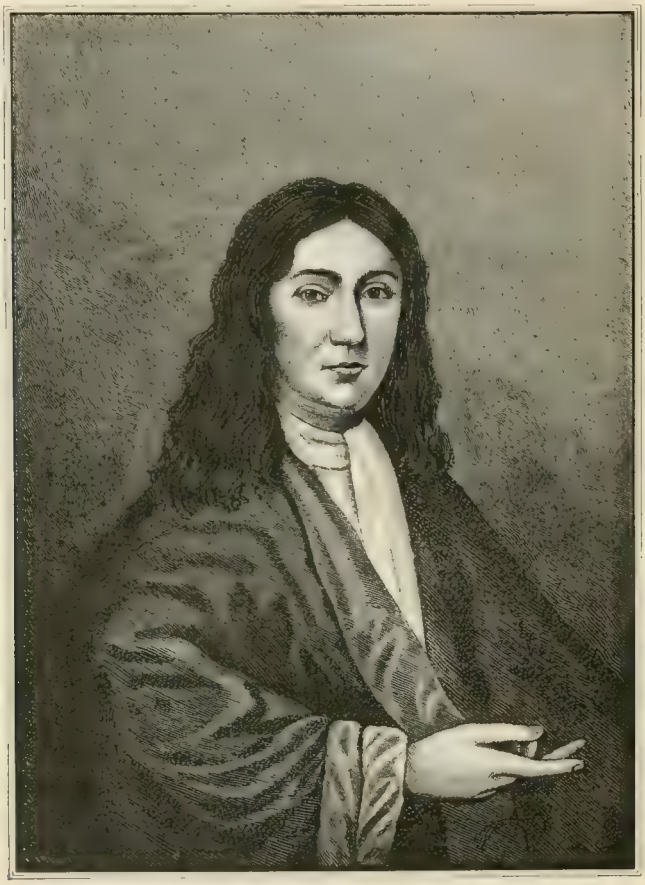
While residing in England from 1693 to 1702, he labored assiduously for a reconciliation with his countrymen, and by his superior sense and polished

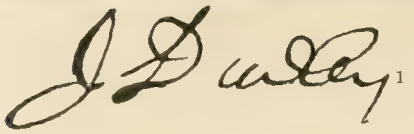


EXTRACT FROM DUDLEY'S LETTER FROM JAIL.[1]

[1] [This is from a letter in the *Mass. Archives*. There is also in the *Mather Papers*, in the Prince Library (now in the Boston Public Library), an autograph letter of Dudley to Cotton Mather, asking his aid to obtain his release from prison, dated June 21, 1689. — ED.]

manners acquired the friendship of many considerable persons at court. Sir Richard Steele, his daily companion at this time, acknowledged that he "owed many fine thoughts, and the manner of expressing them, to his happy acquaintance with Colonel Dudley; and that he had one quality which he never knew any man possessed of but him, which was that he could talk him down into tears when he had a mind to it, by the command he had of





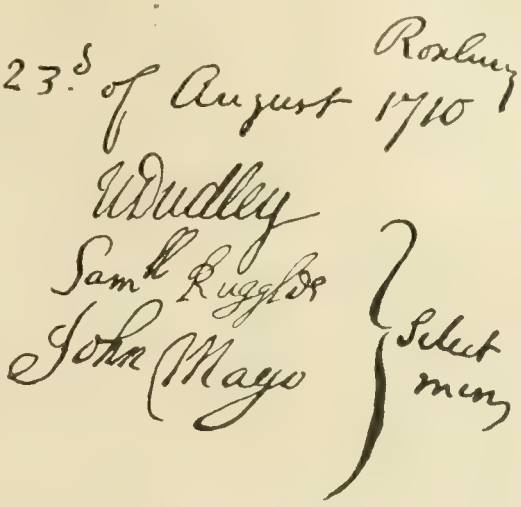
fine thoughts and words adapted to move the affections." He recommended himself to the dissenters in England by his serious, grave deportment; and even had the address to reconcile to himself Rev. Cotton Mather, from whom he obtained a favorable letter which he made known to King William III.,

[1] [There is mention of various portraits of the Dudleys in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct. 1856, p. 342. Another likeness of Joseph Dudley is in the Mass. Hist. Society's gallery. — ED.]

and which removed that monarch's objections to Dudley's appointment as governor, — a post he had long endeavored to secure.

Although on his return to Boston he was received with marks of respect, the past was by no means forgotten, and he never regained his lost popularity. He incurred the bitter hatred of the Mathers; but by his great administrative talents and judicious management he succeeded in gradually lessening the odium in which he was held by the body of the people.

No native of New England has ever experienced so many vicissitudes or enjoyed so many public honors and offices as Joseph Dudley. "He was," says a contemporary, "a very comely person, of a noble aspect and a graceful mien, having the gravity of a judge and the goodness of a father. In private life he was amiable, affable, and polite, and courteous in his intercourse with all classes." Less eulogistic, but doubtless more correct, is what is said of him by Judge Sewall, whose daughter was married to Dudley's son. "Often," says Sewall, "the Governor says that if anybody would deal plainly with him he would kiss them. But I (who did so) received many a bite and many a hard word from him." Dudley rendered important services to Harvard College, and was a benefactor of the Roxbury Free School, to which he bequeathed £50 for the support of a Latin master.[1]



SELECTMEN, 1710.

Strenuous efforts had been made by successive royal governors to obtain a fixed salary from the Province, instead of deriving their support from legislative grants, as had always been the custom. Soon after Governor Burnet's arrival in 1728 the inhabitants of Roxbury voted —

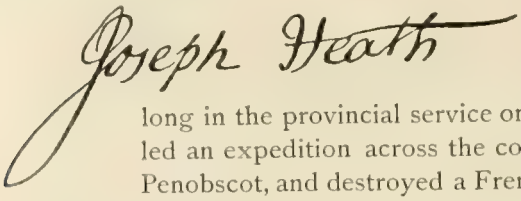
"That it is the mind and desire of this town that the Hon. Wm. Dudley, Esq., our representative, be informed that this town is desirous His Excellency Wm. Burnet, Esq., our governor, should be very honorably supported; but that it is against the mind and desire of this town that our said representative should consent to the passing any act or acts for fixing a salary on our governor for the time being, or for any limited time."

In the various Indian wars and those in which England and France contended for empire in America citizens of Roxbury were actively engaged.[2]

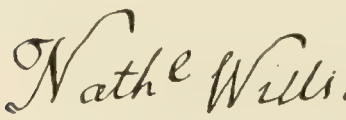
[1] [Other estimates of Dudley are given in the chapters by Mr. Whitmore and Dr. Ellis in the present volume. — ED.]

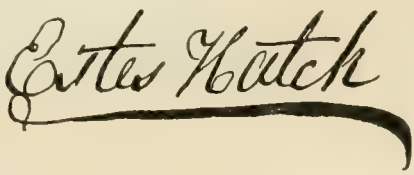
[2] [The general story of these wars is told in Colonel Higginson's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

Of thirty-nine soldiers who went from Roxbury and Brookline under Captain Andrew Gardner, in the ill-fated expedition to Canada in 1690, Samuel Newell was the sole survivor. A tract of land was in 1735 granted to their widows and children, called Roxbury, or Gardner's Canada, now Warwick, Massachusetts. Captain Joseph Heath, grandson of William the emigrant, commanded at Fort Richmond, York County, Maine, from 1724 to 1730. He was long in the provincial service on the eastern frontier, and in 1725 led an expedition across the country from the Kennebec to the Penobscot, and destroyed a French post and village at Fort Hill, near Bangor. For many years and until 1742 Captain John Gyles, of Roxbury, commanded successively at Fort George (Brunswick, Maine), and at St. George's River (Thomaston). His Lieutenant William Heath and his Ensign Ebenezer Seaver being also of Roxbury, it is not unlikely that his soldiers were from the same place. Gyles, who died here in 1755, at the age of seventy-seven, had in his youth passed some years (1689–1698) in Canada, and was often employed as an interpreter for the English, as he had been captured by and lived with the Indians.[1]



In the Louisburg expedition in 1745 were two Roxbury companies, commanded respectively by Nathaniel Williams and John Ruggles. Ebenezer Newell was lieutenant of the company commanded by Estes Hatch. Notwithstanding the alacrity shown in volunteering for this expedition, Governor Shirley was compelled by the exigency to employ force in order to man the vessels that were to accompany it, and orders were issued to Colonel Brinley, commanding the Suffolk regiment, to impress twenty men from Roxbury. Among those thus forced into service from the town were Obadiah Davis, John Wood, Jr., Joseph Mayo, Jr., and Samuel Chamberlain. Colonel Joseph Williams, Captain Jeremiah Richards, Jr., and Lieutenant Ephraim Jackson, of Roxbury, served in the Canada campaigns of 1758–60. Captain Richards's company included many Roxbury men.

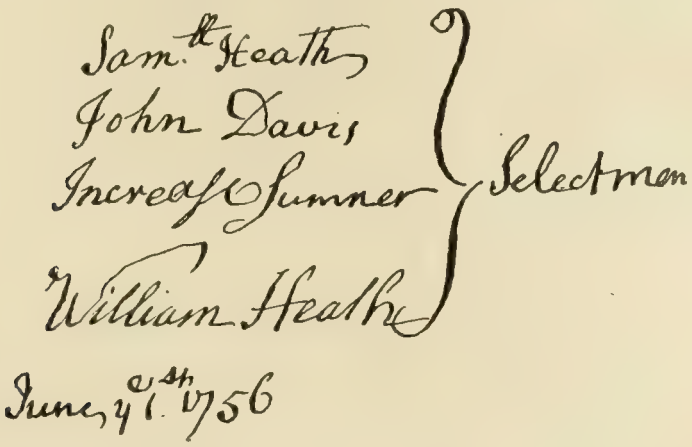




In the memorable contest resulting in American Independence, as well as in the preliminary movements that brought it on, Roxbury went

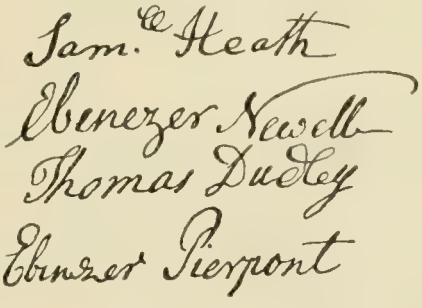
[1] At the request of his wife, Hannah Heath, he published in Boston, in 1736, an account of his life called *Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, etc.* His autograph in the text is from a paper dated in 1727. See *Gyles Family*, by John A. Vinton, p. 122. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1867, p. 49; Oct. 1867, p. 361.

hand in hand with Boston as she had done eighty-six years before when colonial liberty was imperilled by Andros, and as she was yet to do eighty-six years later when the great Rebellion began. Boston took the lead in opposition to the acts of Parliament, and Roxbury nobly seconded her.



SELECTMEN, 1756.

Dr. Warren, William Heath, Colonel Joseph Williams, and others of her leading men were in constant communication with Samuel Adams and other master spirits of what was then the "hub" of revolution, co-operating with them in counsel and in action. The town-meetings were held in the old meeting-house of the First Parish. Looking over her records of this period one is not surprised that Lord Dartmouth, his Majesty's secretary for the colonies, should have written to Governor Hutchinson that the resolves of Roxbury, Marblehead, and Plymouth contained very extraordinary doctrines. Many of these papers were written by Heath, and are vigorous and forcible presentations of the views and feelings of the people at large.



SELECTMEN, 1762.

The first of these, dated Oct. 22, 1765, instructs the representative of the town, Colonel Joseph Williams, to urge the repeal of the Stamp Act; to declare the town's unwillingness to submit to internal taxes other than those imposed by the General Court; and recommends a "clear, explicit, and spirited assertion and vindication of our rights and liberties as inherent in our very natures and confirmed to us by charter."

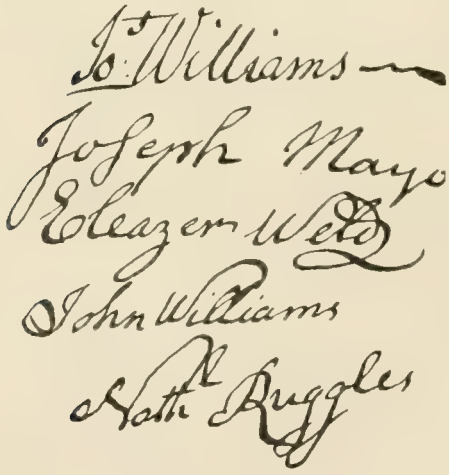
This Act, repealed in 1766, was followed in 1767 by that levying duties upon glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea. This new aggression was promptly met by resolutions to stop importation, and at the same time to

create and develop domestic manufactures,—a course generally adopted by the colonies. Dec. 7, 1767, it was resolved that—

"This town will take all proper and legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this Province, and to lessen the use of superfluities from abroad, provided that Boston and the neighboring towns will come into it. And as it is the opinion of this town that divers new manufactures may be set up in America to great advantage, and some others carried to a greater extent, — therefore, Voted, that the town will, by all prudent ways and means, encourage the use and consumption of glass and paper made in the colonies of America, and more especially in this province, and also of linen and woollen cloths."

A large and influential committee was appointed to procure signatures to the non-importation agreement. At a subsequent meeting the names of those who continued to import contrary to its tenor were read, and it was voted that they be annually read at "March meeting."

On May 26, 1769, Roxbury took the important step of recommending through her faithful representative, Colonel Williams, a correspondence between the Massachusetts House of Representatives and the Assemblies of other provinces. She also instructed him to inquire "why the King's troops have been quartered in the body of the metropolis of the Province, while the barracks provided heretofore have remained in a manner useless," and not to comply with any requisitions for payment therefor; to inquire why criminals have not been prosecuted and punished; to strive by every constitutional method to obtain the repeal of the revenue acts; and, finally, she enjoins frugality with respect to grants of the public moneys,—"the load of debt remaining on the province and the great scarcity of cash," say the resolves of the town, "is a loud call to this."



SELECTMEN, 1771.

Three days after the Boston Massacre, a committee chosen at a full town-meeting — consisting of Colonel Joseph Williams, Eleazer Weld, John Williams, Jr., John Child, Captain William Heath, Nathaniel Ruggles, and Major William Thompson — waited on Lieut.-Governor Hutchinson with a petition of the inhabitants of Roxbury, praying for the removal of all the troops out of the town immediately. Hutchinson returned an answer the same day disclaiming any authority to order the troops from their present post. He quailed, however, before the iron will and inflexible temper of Samuel Adams; and with the removal of the troops quiet was restored. The bells of Roxbury were tolled in honor of the victims whose funeral took place on the same day the petition was presented.

At a town-meeting held Nov. 16, 1772, to consider "the late alarming report that the judges were to receive their salaries direct from the crown," a committee was appointed who at a subsequent meeting reported in favor of instructing Captain William Heath, their representative, to propose an act appropriating a sufficient fund to support the judges and render them independent of the crown so far as possible, provided their commissions were during good behavior, and that they might be removed on application to the two Houses. A letter from the town of Boston requesting "a free communication of sentiments on our common danger" was then considered, and a committee chosen to report thereon. The result, reported December 14, in the language of the record "made great uneasiness in the meeting and very difficult to understand the true state of the vote, and numbers of the inhabitants withdrew from the meeting." This report was probably drawn up by the chairman, Isaac Winslow, Esq., whose conservative views finally led him to cast in his lot with the Tories. The *Boston Gazette* gives full particulars of this stormy meeting, at which the conservative element in the town made a strenuous and well-nigh successful effort to check the popular movement. It appears that, after several fruitless attempts to ascertain the vote, the House was divided, and a majority rejected the report of the committee; whereupon those gentlemen and their friends withdrew. Moderator Heath then read the minority report prepared by himself, which was accepted. A committee of correspondence was then chosen consisting of Captain William Heath, Nathaniel Patten, Nathaniel Felton, Samuel Sumner, Ebenezer Dorr, David Weld, and Captain Ebenezer Whiting.

Roxbury sent her committee to Faneuil Hall to meet those of the other towns, Nov. 22, 1773, to consider the final attempt of the British ministry to raise a revenue in America, by permitting the East India Company to send their tea hither free of duty. At the town meeting, held December 3, to discuss the subject, after voting to pass over in silence the patrolling of soldiers about the streets of the town with their arms, "equipt in a warlike posture," a series of patriotic resolutions was passed, declaring among other things that "the purpose for which the tax is laid — namely, for the support of government, the administration of justice, and the defence of America — has a direct tendency to render assemblies useless and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery; and that whoever shall aid or abet in unloading or receiving the tea is an enemy to America, and that those who refuse to resign their appointments to receive and sell said tea discover a temper inimical to the rights, liberties, and prosperity of America, and that in such light they will be viewed by this town, from whom they may not expect the least protection." Several of the young men of Roxbury were members of the famous "tea party," and lent a hand in making a "teapot" of Boston harbor on the evening of Dec. 16, 1773.

William Heath and Aaron Davis were delegates to the Provincial Congress convened Oct. 5, 1774, and also to that held in the following February. December 28 the town voted to adopt one fourth of its militia as minutemen,

and "for their encouragement" voted them one shilling for every three hours duty. The companies were subsequently reorganized, so that there was one in each of the three parishes. One hundred pounds were appropriated for their pay, which was increased to sixpence an hour. General Heath tells us that Roxbury was the first town to raise a company of minutemen in America, in 1775.

In the anxious days of preparation preceding the commencement of hostilities, Roxbury, like a faithful sentinel at the outpost of liberty, kept a vigilant eye on the movements of the soldiery in Boston, while her own streets were patrolled by a British guard at all hours of the night. Within her borders couriers stood ready to convey into the country at a moment's warning the earliest notice of impending danger. Arms and ammunition skilfully secreted in the wagons of her farmers were smuggled out of the town through the guard stationed on the Neck, and loads of straw on their way to the garrison in Boston were intercepted and made a bonfire of by her citizens.

Three companies of Roxbury minutemen, commanded respectively by Moses Whiting, William Draper, and Lemuel Child, responded to their country's call on the 19th of April, 1775, and did good service on that memorable occasion. Their lieutenants were Jacob Davis, Moses Draper, Thomas Mayo, John Davis, Lemuel May, and Isaac Williams. Dr. Warren, General Heath, and Major Greaton, were actively occupied during the day in assembling the scattered guerilla parties of minutemen and posting them advantageously, — Heath, on account of his rank, exercising command, or so much of it as the impromptu nature of the affair would admit. Moses Whiting's company afterwards made part of Greaton's regiment, serving through the campaigns of 1775 and 1776. Moses Draper led a company of Gardner's Middlesex regiment at Bunker Hill. Edward Payson Williams, a corporal at Lexington, died in the service in 1777, with the rank of Major. Lieutenant Samuel Foster became a captain in Greaton's regiment, with Jonathan Dorr as his second lieutenant. At the close of the day the tired Roxbury minutemen rested on their arms on Meeting-house Hill, after placing a guard at the Neck. On the following day at least 10,000 men had assembled in arms around Boston, and the siege was immediately begun.

The American right was at Roxbury, its main post being Meeting-house Hill. Its first commander was General John Thomas, an excellent officer, whose headquarters were in the parsonage house, yet standing, opposite the church. Giving place in July to General Ward, he commanded a brigade under him, and led the successful movement on Dorchester Heights that terminated the siege. Ward's headquarters were in the Brinley House, afterwards the residence of General Dearborn. Meeting-house Hill common was the grand parade of the army. Here the guards for the advanced lines on the Neck, for the main guard in Roxbury Street, for Lamb's Dam, Mill Creek, and for the other posts, and the fatigue parties employed on the fortifications were formed every morning, and inspected by Thomas, Spencer,

or Greene. The Rhode Islanders were stationed at Jamaica Plain, the Connecticut brigade was on Parker Hill, the Massachusetts men at the lines, on Meeting-house Hill, and in its vicinity. The best furnished troops were the Rhode Islanders, whose tents and equipments, in the newest English style, gave them the appearance of the regular camp of the enemy. The vacated estates of the loyalists, Loring, Auchmuty, Hutchinson, Bernard, and Hallowell, were all in military occupation, and many of the houses vacated by the inhabitants were used as barracks by the soldiers. The "Burying-Ground redoubt," the first defensive work constructed, protected the road to Dorchester as well as the entrance to the town itself. The Roxbury Lines, erected later, constituted an advanced line of defence crossing the highway just north of the Boston boundary, and extending from Lamb's Dam on the east to Brookline on the west. Strong earthworks were thrown up on the site of the Dudley mansion and on two eminences southwest of Meeting-house Hill.

"About noon of the memorable 17th of June," wrote a soldier in Colonel Learned's regiment, "we fired an alarm and rang the bells in Roxbury, and every man was ordered to arms, as an attack was expected. Colonel Learned marched his regiment up to the Meeting-house and then to the burying-ground, which was the alarm-post, where we laid in ambush with two field-pieces placed to give it to them unawares should the regulars come. About six o'clock the enemy drew in their sentries, and immediately a heavy fire was opened from the fortification. The balls whistled over our heads and through the houses, making the clapboards and shingles fly in all directions. Before the firing had begun, the General ordered some men down the street to fell some apple-trees across the street to hinder the approach of their artillery. Bomb-shells were thrown hourly into Roxbury during the night."

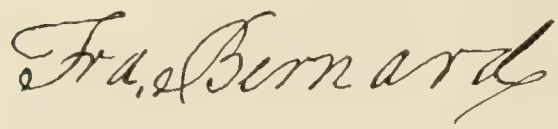
One of the first orders issued by Washington on taking command of the army was for the removal of a number of houses on Roxbury Street, — a military necessity. Roxbury bore the brunt of the conflict during the eleven months of the siege, and suffered severely from the enemy's cannon as well as from the devastation caused by military occupation. An estimate of her losses in the siege, made by the Selectmen and the Committee of Correspondence, foots up £24,412, shared among some two hundred individuals, about forty of whom were damaged to the extent of £200 and upwards. So serious was the injury inflicted upon the town, that it petitioned the General Court for an abatement of its Province tax, two ninths of which was accordingly taken off. The historian Belknap, writing in October 1775, says, —

"Nothing struck me with more horror than the present condition of Roxbury. That once busy crowded street is now occupied only by a picket-guard. The houses are deserted, the windows taken out, and many shot-holes visible. Some have been burnt and others pulled down, to make room for the fortifications."

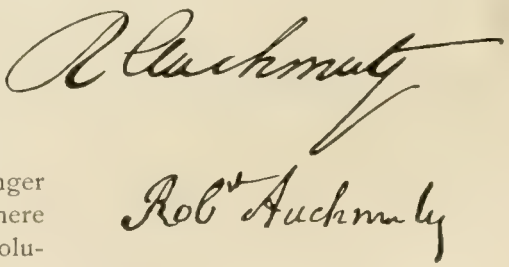
On May 22, 1776, the town instructed her representatives, Dr. Jonathan Davies, Increase Sumner, and Aaron Davis, that, "if the honorable Con-

gress shall for the safety of the said colonies declare them independent, they the said inhabitants will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in the measure." A year later she again instructs them to favor the adoption of a constitution for the State; but it was not until May, 1780, that the instrument finally adopted was accepted by the town. The articles of Confederation of the Thirteen United Colonies were adopted by her Jan. 30, 1778.[1]

Several fine old mansions yet remaining in Roxbury serve as memorials to the present generation of the Tory gentry who built and occupied them, and who at that time constituted the aristocracy of the town. The loyalists of Roxbury were without exception men of high character, who abandoned valuable estates for the sake of principle. Three of them, Sir William Pepperell the younger, Isaac Winslow, and Commodore Loring, were members of the Governor's Council. Their houses and lands were leased by the selectmen until the passage of the confiscation act of 1779 made them the property of the State, for whose benefit they were eventually sold. Governor Bernard's mansion, on the southwest side of Jamaica Pond, occupied after his departure by the younger Sir William Pepperell, was long ago taken down, as also was that of Governor Dudley, the home for many years of Isaac Winslow, Esq.



Shirley Place, on Shirley Street, the grandest of these old residences, built by Governor Shirley about 1748, became in 1764 the property of Judge Eliakim Hutchinson, Shirley's son-in-law. Long afterward it was the home of Governor Eustis. Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and Burr were numbered among its distinguished guests.[2] Another of these relics of colonial days stands at the corner of Cliff and Washington streets. It was built about 1761 by the younger Judge Auchmuty, who resided here until the breaking out of the Revolution. It was afterward the home of Governor Increase Sumner. Here, as a convenient halting-place between the Province House and the Governor's country seat at Jamaica Plain and the Lieutenant-Governor's residence at Milton, met the secret conclave of Crown officers who plotted the overthrow

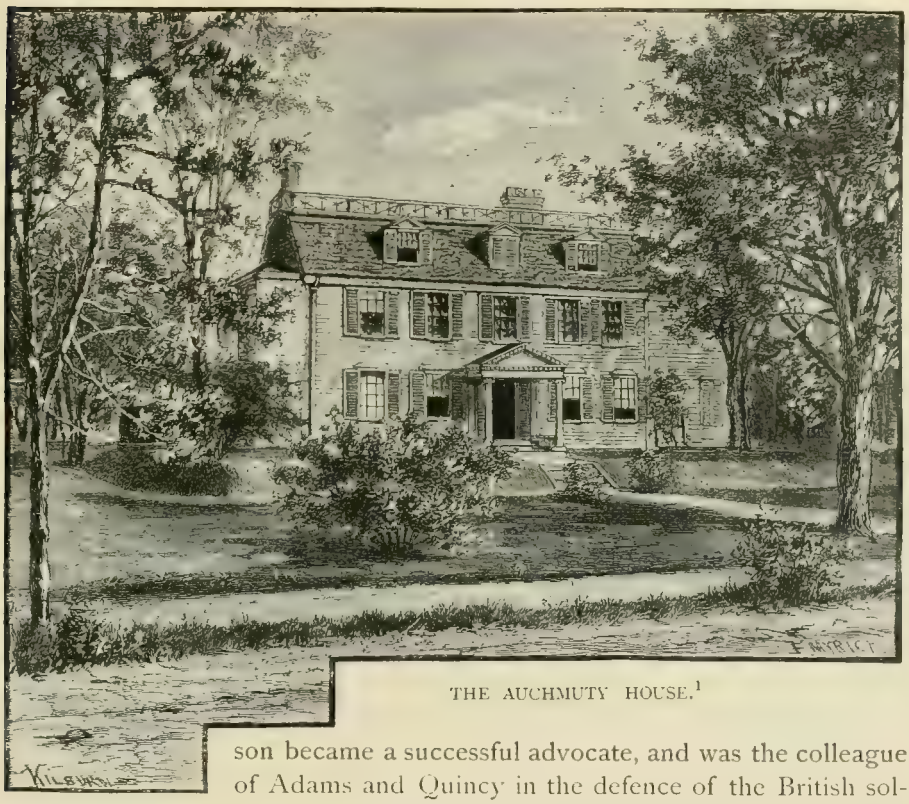


AUTOGRAPHS OF THE ELDER AND YOUNGER AUCHMUTY.

[1] [The present outline sketch of the connection of Roxbury with the political commotions and the succeeding military movements which led to and accompanied the War of Independence, seems properly placed here for the local associations; but the full story of these days will be told in the next volume of this History. — ED.]

[2] [A view of this mansion is given elsewhere in this volume, in connection with a portrait of Governor Shirley. — ED.]

of colonial liberty. Here Bernard, Hutchinson, Auchmuty, Hallowell, and Paxton discussed the proposed alterations in the charter, and the bringing over British soldiers to overawe the people. The younger Robert Auchmuty died in London, an exile from his native land, in November, 1788. His father, a distinguished lawyer and judge, also a resident of Roxbury, was a man of extraordinary talent, and famous for wit and shrewdness. The



THE AUCHMUTY HOUSE.[1]

son became a successful advocate, and was the colleague of Adams and Quincy in the defence of the British soldiers tried for participation in the "Boston Massacre."

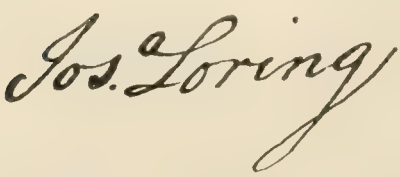
The mansion at the corner of Boylston and Centre streets, built about 1738, was hastily vacated by Captain Benjamin Hallowell, its loyal owner, early in April, 1775. During the siege it was a hospital for the camp at Roxbury. The estate was in 1801 regained by his son, Ward Nicholas Hallowell, who claimed it in the right of his mother and assumed her name of Boylston. Captain Hallowell commanded the Province 20-gun ship "King George," during the French war, rendering essential service at the retaking of Newfoundland.

[1] [This house, the present residence of Charles F. Bradford, Esq., is delineated from a photograph kindly furnished by that gentleman. F. S. Drake, in his *Town of Roxbury*, p. 352, enlarges upon its historical associations. — Ed.]

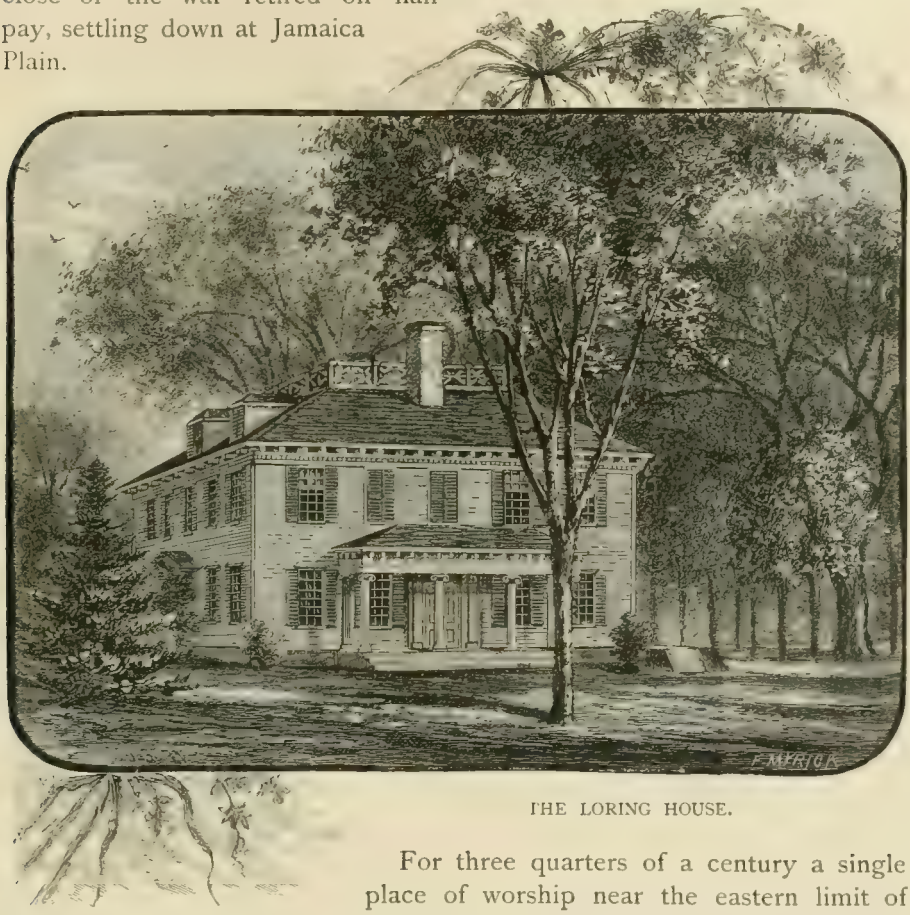
As a commissioner of customs and also as a *mandamus* councillor he was doubly the object of popular detestation, and on at least one occasion owed his life to the speed of his horse. He was exempted from pardon by the Provincial Congress, June 16, 1775; but on revisiting Boston in 1796 was kindly received. His son, Sir Benjamin Hallowell Carew, was a distinguished British admiral, the friend of Nelson.

THE HALLOWELL HOUSE.

Commodore Loring's house, at present known as the Greenough Mansion, was in May, 1775, the headquarters of General Nathanael Greene, but was afterwards, for a brief period, a hospital for the American soldiers. Captain Isaac Sears, well-known as an ardent "Son of Liberty," bought the property of the State, and lived here a few years. Loring was the only native of Roxbury of any prominence who adhered to the royal cause. He learned the tanner's



trade, but afterwards went to sea and rose to the command of a privateer. He was made a captain in the British navy in 1757; was commodore of the naval force on lakes Champlain and Ontario, and participated in the capture of Quebec under Wolfe, and in the conquest of Canada. He was severely wounded while in command on Lake Ontario, and at the close of the war retired on half-pay, settling down at Jamaica Plain.



THE LORING HOUSE.

For three quarters of a century a single place of worship near the eastern limit of the town had been made to do duty for a population that had gradually extended itself eight miles westward to the Dedham line. In 1706, Joseph Weld and forty-four others at the west end of Roxbury, on account of their great distance from the Meeting-house, and the great "travail and time in going and returning," prayed the General Court to be made a separate precinct, to be freed from taxes for the old parish, and for aid in building a house. Having without the required permission built a church and formed a congregation, in April, 1711, they sent a "humble address" praying for pardon to their "fathers and elder brothers" in town-meeting assembled, and again humbly requested a dismission to be a distinct precinct, assigning among other excellent reasons this most cogent one: —

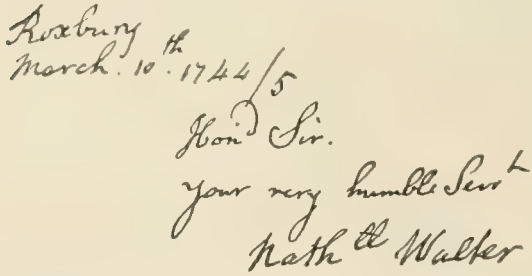
"As for the season and opportunity we took for our aboves'd mismanaged enterprise, whether this was the time agreeable to the approving will of God we dare not assert; but the event proves it to be his permissive and determinate will, else it had not been so far effected."

Such reasoning was conclusive, and they were accordingly set off, the precinct line nearly coinciding with a line which should include the present Walk-Hill, South, Eliot, and Prince streets. Having accomplished their purpose, the Second Church, consisting of eighteen members, formerly belonging to the First, was gathered Nov. 2, 1712, and on the 26th Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, of Boston, was ordained as their pastor. A trivial incident that prevented the settlement here of Rev. John Barnard, afterwards the celebrated minister of Marblehead, is thus related in his autobiography. It shows the popular distrust of Governor Dudley, even at that late day:

"In the latter end of 1711," says Mr. Barnard, "it was concluded by my friends, from the affection the people had for me, that I should have been fixed at Jamaica, a parish in Roxbury. I confess it pleased me, because it was within five miles of Boston; but happening to attend a lecture at Roxbury, Governor Dudley, who saw me come in, threw open his pew door to me. Some of the chief persons of Jamaica were present, and observing the respect the Governor paid me, concluded I should be a Governor's man, as they called it, and though they were particularly set for me before, yet from some disgust they had for the Governor, altered their minds and threw me off."

The first building occupied by the society stood on Walter Street and adjoined the burial-ground on the south. When the Third or Jamaica Plain Parish was formed from the Second in 1773, a new building was erected a mile further to the west.[1]

Mr. Thayer, who was a native of Boston and a graduate of Harvard College in 1708, died March 6, 1733. His successor, Rev. Nathaniel Walter, was the son of Rev. Nehemiah Walter, of the First Church. He was born in Roxbury Aug. 15, 1711, graduated at Harvard College in 1729, was ordained over the Second Church July 10, 1734, and died March 11, 1776. He was a chaplain in the Louisburg expedition, and acted as interpreter for General Pepperell.[2] After Mr. Walter's decease Rev. Thomas Abbott, ordained Sept. 29, 1773, was pastor until 1783.


Roxbury
March. 10th. 1744/5
Hon'd Sir.
your very humble Serv't
Nath'll Walter

In 1739, Leonard Laukman, Richard Smith, Jonathan Pue, Robert Auchmuty, Francis Brinley, and Lewis Vassall, gentlemen of wealth,

[1] This house, still standing, was the scene of Theodore Parker's first ministerial labors.

[2] His son, Rev. William Walter, also a native of Roxbury, was rector of Christ Church in Boston. The signature of the father, herewith given, is from his letter to General Pepperell, accepting the position as chaplain of his forces. — *Pepperrell Papers*, i. 57. There is an account of the Walter family in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1854, p. 209.

who had lately become residents of the town, asked for a piece of common land situated at the point of intersection of the Dorchester and Braintree roads, now Dudley and Warren streets, as a site for an Episcopal church. A compliance with their request the petitioners say, "we shall look upon as only just and equal, but an earnest of a true Catholic spirit to your brethren in the faith." Their petition was not favorably considered, and it was not until 1833, almost a century later, that St. James's Church, the first Episcopal society in Roxbury was established.

The old First Church in which Eliot and Walter had preached was taken down in 1741. A new one built on its site was destroyed by fire in March, 1744, and the use of foot-stoves to which the conflagration was attributed was on that account thereafter prohibited. Towards the building of the fourth house, completed in 1746 upon the same plan as its predecessor, aid was received from the neighboring churches, services being held in the interim in the brick schoolhouse. Judge Paul Dudley provided a handsome porch, and Colonel Joseph Heath gave a clock. "So as not to intrude on the pews in the west galleries," a corner in them was allotted to the negroes to sit in. In 1753 the three seats to the right of the clock, in the centre of the gallery, were appropriated for those "who may be inclined to sit together for the purpose of singing." This house, used as a signal station by the Americans during the siege, gave place to the present edifice in 1804.[1] From its belfry were displayed the signals which transmitted to the country the joyful intelligence that the British troops were evacuating Boston, and that the long siege had been brought to a successful termination. A constant and conspicuous target for the British cannon, its frame was pierced through in many places, one ball passing through the belfry.

John Eliot

Nehemiah Walter

Great was the excitement when the celebrated Whitefield preached here. In his diary, under date of Friday, Sept. 26, 1740, he mentions preaching at Roxbury in the morning to "many thousands of people who flocked in from all parts of the country," and whom he must have addressed from the open space in front of the church. He afterwards dined with Judge Paul Dudley, who left on record his impression that Whitefield's preaching seemed much like that of the old English Puritans, and that it was not so much the matter of his sermons as the very serious, earnest, and affectionate delivery of them without notes that gained him such a multitude of hearers.[2]

What would now be viewed as a simple matter, — a change of church hymn-books, — was a serious business a century ago. In a letter to Rev. Amos Adams, of the First church, dated Sept. 11, 1757, and signed by James Bowdoin and other influential parishioners, it was said that the New

[1] A picture of this building, with its surroundings in 1790, faces the titlepage of F. S. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*.

[2] [An account of the "Great Awakening" under Whitefield is given in the Rev. Alexander McKenzie's chapter in this volume. See also Mr. Goddard's chapter for the relations of the press. — Ed.]

England version of the Psalms, however useful it may formerly have been, "is now become, through the natural variableness of language, not only very uncouth but in many places unintelligible," and it recommended that the version of Tate and Brady be substituted. The change was made July 9, 1758, "some people" says the church record, being "much offended at the same."[1] Rev. Thomas Walter, some time pastor of the church, says the singing of his congregation "sounded like five hundred different tunes roared out at the same time;" and so little attention was paid to time that they were often one or two words apart, producing noises "so hideous and disorderly as is bad beyond expression." The manner of singing also had become so tedious and drawling, that he himself had paused to take breath twice in one note. The subsequent introduction of the bass-viol, or the "Lord's Fiddle" as it was derisively called, incurred serious opposition. "The old pious people," says an eye-witness, "were horror-struck at what they considered a sacrilegious innovation, and went out of meeting in high dudgeon."

Rev. Nehemiah Walter, Eliot's colleague and successor, was born in Ireland, of English parents, and before coming to New England, where he graduated at Harvard College, had attended one of the best schools in his native land. His proficiency in the French language was such as enabled him to preach, in the occasional absence of their pastor, to the French congregation in Boston in their own tongue; and he was also a superior general scholar. The unanimous call extended to him by the First Church was approved and confirmed by the town, and he was ordained Oct. 17, 1688. He was an admirable preacher, speaking with great animation, though with a feeble voice. He was low of stature and of a very delicate bodily frame. Mr. Walter married Sara, daughter of Rev. Increase Mather. His sons Thomas and Nathaniel were both in the ministry in Roxbury. The pastorates of Eliot and Walter covered a period of one hundred and eighteen years, the latter dying Sept. 17, 1750, at the age of eighty-seven. Mr. Walter's residence adjoined Eliot's on the south.

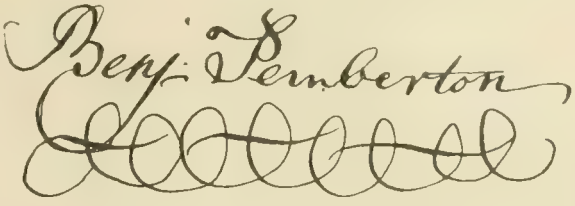
Rev. Thomas Walter, his son, and his colleague from 1718 until his death Jan. 16, 1725, at the early age of twenty-eight, possessed all his father's vivacity and richness of imagination, with greater vigor of intellect. He graduated at Harvard College in 1713, was one of the most distinguished scholars and controversialists of his time, and was the first to reform the church music of America. In 1721, his *Grounds and Rules of Music Explained*, in which the music was printed for the first time with bars, threw the churches into commotion, some battling for the old and some for the new way of singing,—that is by rote, or note. "I have great jealousy" said a writer in the *New England Chronicle*, "that if we once begin to sing by note, the next thing will be to pray by rote,—and then comes popery."

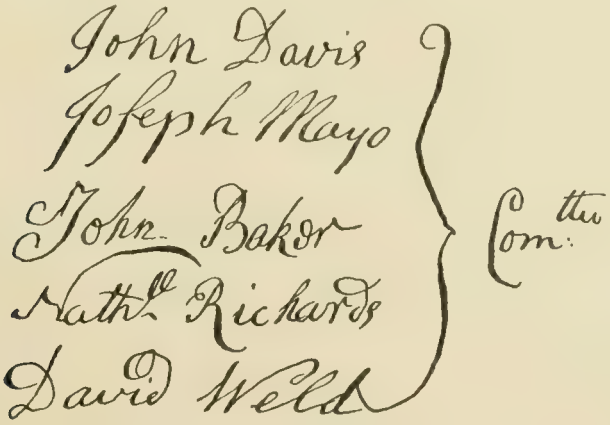
The successor of Rev. Nehemiah Walter was Rev. Oliver Peabody, whose brief life and ministry closed in 1752. Rev. Amos Adams, the sixth

[1] [See Vol. I., p. 457.—Ed.]

minister of the First Church, a native of Medfield, Mass., graduated at Harvard College in 1752, and was ordained here Sept. 12, 1753. His wife was Sarah, daughter of Dr. Charles Chauncy, of the First Church of Boston. Mr. Adams was a very energetic preacher, having an extremely sonorous and plaintive voice; and, notwithstanding his plainness of speech and the length of his sermons, was popular in the pulpit, and had great influence over his people. He was an ardent patriot, and was the scribe of the convention of ministers at Watertown, which in May, 1775, recommended to the people to take up arms. His death, which occurred Oct. 5, 1775, was occasioned by a fever brought on by over exertion and exposure in the performance of his religious and patriotic duties.

The Third or Jamaica Plain Parish Church, at the corner of Centre and Eliot streets, owes its origin to Mrs. Susanna Pemberton, whose husband, Benjamin Pemberton, caused it to be built mainly at his own expense. It was raised in Sept., 1769, upon land bequeathed to the town by the Apostle Eliot; and on Dec. 31 the first sermon was preached in the unfinished structure by Rev. Joseph Jackson, of Brookline. Sir William Pepperell gave a Bible for the pulpit, and a few years later John Hancock, whose summer residence was at Jamaica Plain, presented the bell recently taken from the New Brick Church, Boston. Town-meetings were held here while the old Meeting-house was occupied by the Provincial soldiers in 1775, and in it the sessions of the General Court were also held in the spring of 1778, on account of the prevalence of small-pox in Boston, Dr. Gordon officiating as chaplain. The Third Parish, comprising thirty-five persons with their estates, organized Dec. 11, 1769, was incorporated in 1772; and July 6 of that year Rev. William Gordon, after having preached to the Society one year, was installed pastor. In May, 1773, nine persons, Mr. Pemberton at their head, all belonging to the First Church, were after some opposi-





PETITIONERS.[1]

[1] [These are the signatures to a petition to the General Court in 1771, for a committee to be appointed to settle the dispute relative to the location of the Meeting-house in West Roxbury.—Ed.]

tion separated from it by an act of the General Court, and annexed to the Third Parish. Before this time it had formed part of the Second or Upper Parish.

Before coming to America, in 1770, Rev. William Gordon, a native of England, had been settled over large independent societies in Ipswich and in London. After a pastorate here of fourteen years his connection with the Third Church was dissolved, and in 1786 he returned to England, where he published his *History of the American Revolution*, a minute and generally faithful narrative of that memorable contest. Though rude and blunt in manner, and not interesting as a preacher, he was popular, and was facetious and social in disposition. A zealous champion of the negro race, he called public attention in numerous and vigorous newspaper articles to the absurdity as well as the injustice of holding them in slavery while carrying on the struggle for liberty. His warmth of temper and lack of prudence and judgment embroiled him with Mr. Pemberton, the patron of the society, occasioned Governor Hancock's removal from Roxbury, and cost him his dismissal from the chaplaincy of both houses of the legislature. The close of his life was passed in extreme poverty in Ipswich, England, where he died Oct. 19, 1807, aged seventy-seven.

Upon the triangular piece of ground on Centre Street, where the soldiers' monument now stands, the first school-house in Jamaica Plain was erected in 1676. Its principal benefactors were Hugh Thomas, who in that year gave to the town for this purpose all his real estate, besides other property; and Rev. John Eliot, who in 1689 gave seventy-five acres of land. The Eliot School, named for the latter donor, was not incorporated until 1804. In 1714 the town refused to add ten pounds to the tax levy "for the better support of a grammar schoolmaster" to teach in the old schoolhouse in the town street. The sum was asked for on the plea that "the rents and donations to said school were not sufficient encouragement for a schoolmaster." In 1741 a school was established at Spring Street (West Roxbury), and twenty pounds raised yearly by the town for its support.

Increasing pauperism, occasioned by a large influx of strangers, had caused the subject of a workhouse to be agitated by the town in 1744. Its poor had previously been cared for by private individuals, at the public expense. The subject was revived in 1758, but, "being a time of war and great expenses," it was dropped, and was not again taken up until 1766. Two years later the building, which was of brick, and which stood just north of Mr. Prang's residence on Centre Street, was ready for use, continuing in occupation until 1831. During the siege, the inmates having been removed, a company of provincial soldiers was quartered here.

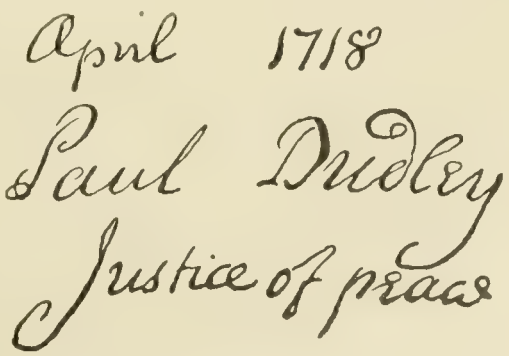
Among the distinguished natives of Roxbury during this period was John Wise, "the most powerful and brilliant prose writer produced in this

country during the colonial time." He was the son of Joseph and Mary (Thompson) Wise; was baptized in Roxbury, Aug. 15, 1652; graduated at Harvard College in 1673, and was minister of the Second Church, Ipswich, from 1680 till his death, April 8, 1725. His zeal for civil and religious liberty, already referred to, received further illustration in his *Church's Quarrel Espoused*, a work of great literary merit and "a master specimen of the controversial art," published in 1710 in answer to *Questions and Proposals* by the Mathers. The latter was a scheme to take away the power of the laity in the New England churches, and to substitute therefor the will of the clergy. Wise's learning, logic, and eloquence completely frustrated the attempt. His *Vindication of the Government of the New England Churches* appeared in 1717. His books, reprinted by the Revolutionary leaders in Boston fifty years later, announce political ideas far in advance of his time, and which entitle him to be regarded as "the first great American democrat."[1]

Another name that deserves to be held in grateful remembrance by posterity is that of Robert Calef, a native of England, by occupation a clothier and husbandman, and who at the time of his death, April 13, 1719, at the age of seventy-one, was one of the selectmen of Roxbury. At a time when nearly all were carried away by the witchcraft delusion, and when the excited multitude verily believed that Satan had been let loose among them, this clear-headed, courageous citizen, almost single-handed, opposed the popular madness, and let in the pure rays of truth and common-sense upon the dark shadows of superstition around him. But this story has been told in another chapter of the present volume.

Mary Stevens, the granddaughter of this sturdy antagonist of superstition in 1692, was the mother of Joseph Warren, the illustrious opponent of British tyranny in 1775.

Paul Dudley, son of Governor Joseph Dudley, was born in Roxbury, Sept. 3, 1675, and after graduating at Harvard College in 1690 went to London and studied law at the Temple. When, in 1702, his father was made governor, he accompanied him hither with the commission of attorney-general of the province. He was afterwards a member of the Legislature and of the Executive Council, and Speaker of the House. In 1718 he became a justice of the Supreme Court, and from 1745 until his death, Jan. 25, 1751, was chief-justice of Massa-

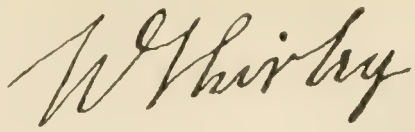


[1] [See also Mr. Goddard's chapter in the present volume. His measure is taken with appreciation in Prof. M. C. Tyler's *History of American Literature*, and in Dr. H. M. Dexter's *Congregationalism as seen in its Literature*.—ED.]

chusetts. He was a thorough and accomplished lawyer, and on the bench displayed quick apprehension, a retentive memory, and extensive erudition. Beginning his career with great zeal on the side of the crown, and sustaining measures tending to abridge colonial privileges, he became unpopular, and shared with his father in the bitter animosity of the Mathers. His talents, and independence in office, gradually reinstated him in the favor of the people. To him may be traced many of the reforms which obtained in the practice of the courts and the mode of administering justice. To the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, of which he was a member, he contributed materials for the natural history of New England. He was a benefactor of Harvard College, and in his will provided for the annual "Dudleian" lecture to be delivered before it. Other and more durable monuments of his beneficence still remain in the old milestones yet extant in Roxbury, marked with the initials "P. D."

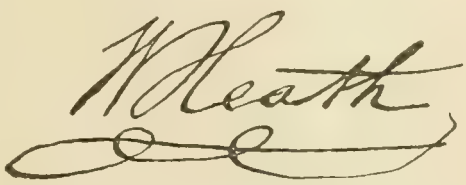
His younger brother, Colonel William Dudley, born Oct. 20, 1686, graduated in 1704, and though he never practised the law as a profession, is said to have been the first educated lawyer of native birth who sat upon the bench of the Court of Common Pleas. Brought early into public life, he filled a large space in the political affairs of his time. Sent to Canada when only twenty years of age to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, he succeeded in redeeming, among other captives, the Rev. John Williams of Deerfield. In 1710 he acquired reputation as an officer in the expedition against Port Royal (Annapolis), and was colonel of the Suffolk County Regiment from that year until his death, Aug. 10, 1743. He represented Roxbury in the General Court, and was for several years Speaker of the House and a member of the Governor's Council. Like his father and grandfather before him, Colonel Dudley possessed talents of a high order, and was exceedingly popular. With strong intellectual powers, a brilliant fancy, and a ready elocution, he excelled in debate, and thereby exercised a commanding influence in the public assemblies of which he was a member.

William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts from 1741 to 1756, was the son of a London merchant, who by marriage became possessed of the estate of Otehall, in the parish of Wivelsfield, Sussex, England. He was educated at Cambridge, and designed for the bar, where his superior talent and address procured him the notice of Sir Robert Walpole and of the Duke of Newcastle, who gave him his appointment of governor. Arriving in Boston in August, 1731, he practised law with success until appointed to the chief magistracy, in 1741. He was the prime mover in the successful expedition against Cape Breton in 1745, which resulted in the capture of Louisburg. Visiting England in 1749, he was placed on the commission to settle the American boundaries, spending much time in France with small result, and returning in August, 1753.



Shirley was a strong advocate of prerogative, and in 1756 advised the ministry to impose a stamp tax in America. In February, 1755, he was made a major-general, with the superintendence of military operations in the Northern colonies. The next year he was superseded both in his command and his government, and ordered to England. Triumphantly vindicating himself from the charges against him, he was made a lieutenant-general in 1759, and was governor of the Bahamas from 1758 to June, 1769, when he returned to Roxbury, residing in the mansion built by him until his death, March 24, 1771. Shirley possessed great industry and ability, but though enterprising, able, and deservedly popular, was ambitious in a degree disproportionate to his powers.[1]

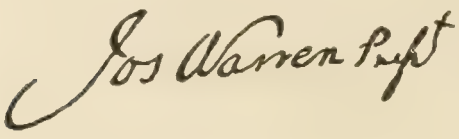
Major-General William Heath, born March 2, 1737, on the old homestead, was brought up a farmer, pursuing this occupation when not in the army to the close of his life. Joining the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company at the age of seventeen, he was its captain in 1770, at which time he wrote for the *Boston Gazette* some essays signed "A Military Countryman," urging the necessity of acquiring skill in military exercises, in view of the threatening aspect of public affairs. It was partly through his efforts that the organization of minutemen, which placed New England at once upon a war footing, was effected. He had previously been commissioned a captain in the Suffolk Regiment by Governor Bernard. Hutchinson superseded him in his command, but when, in 1774, the people selected their own officers, they chose Heath colonel of the regiment. He was frequently moderator of town-meetings, and a member of the General Court. Engaging with zeal in the Revolutionary contest, he was the trusty coadjutor of Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren, was a delegate to the Provincial Congresses of 1774 and 1775, and was an active member of the committees of Correspondence and of Safety. Made a provincial major-general in June, 1775, he received the same rank from the Continental Congress in August following. Heath, who was the only general officer on the ground on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, organized and directed the armed husbandmen who that day put the far-famed British regulars to flight. He commanded a division at the siege of Boston, was at the head of the Eastern department in 1777 with the care of the Saratoga Convention prisoners, and subsequently had charge of the posts on the Hudson. Upon the discovery of Arnold's treason, Heath was the trusted officer to whom Washington confided the command at West Point. Returning to his farm at the close of the war, he was chosen a delegate to the convention which adopted the Federal Constitution in 1788, was a State senator in 1791–92, and was judge of probate for Norfolk County from 1793 until his decease, Jan. 24, 1814. In 1806 he was chosen Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts,



[1] [See Dr. Ellis's and Colonel Higginson's chapters in the present volume. — Ed.]

but declined the office. Honest, upright, and patriotic, as a general Heath was over-cautious, and he was employed by Washington in administrative duties for which he was naturally fitted rather than for field service.

Joseph Warren, the earliest and perhaps the most illustrious of the victims of the Revolutionary war, was born at the family mansion on the street in Roxbury bearing his name, June 11, 1741. His father, who was a farmer, and who had filled several town offices with credit, was killed by a fall from an apple-tree in 1755. The son graduated at Harvard College in 1759, taught the Roxbury Grammar School one year at a salary of £44 16*s*., and then entered upon a successful career as a physician. The political agitation of the day, however, soon drew him into its vortex. He wrote for the public journals, worked zealously in the public and private meetings of the patriots, and soon became a leader whose fervid oratory and tireless activity, together with his personal popularity, made him the peer of Samuel Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., as well as the idol of the people. His oration, March 5, 1775, commemorating the "Boston Massacre," delivered in defiance of the threats of British officers that it would be at the price of the life of any man to speak on that anniversary, evinced Warren's fearlessness, at the same time that it afforded proof of his great oratorical powers. At Lexington, where he was said to have been the most active man on the field, a musket ball took off a lock of hair close to his ear. On that day he united the characters of the general, the soldier, and the physician, animating his countrymen in battle and fighting by their side, and also administering to the wounded. Three days before the battle of Bunker Hill he was made a major-general by the Provincial Congress. He opposed the plan of occupying Charlestown Heights, but when the step was determined on resolved to share its dangers. Declining the command, he took his station in the redoubt which he was one of the last to leave, and fell near it while slowly retiring. At the time of his death he was president of the Provincial Congress and chairman of the Committee of Public Safety, being thus virtually at the head of the new commonwealth.[1]



John Greaton, a brigadier-general in the Revolutionary army, was born in Roxbury, March 10, 1741. His father was the last landlord of the famous Greyhound Tavern. A prominent "Son of Liberty," Greaton was active in the Lexington battle, and was successively major, lieut.-colonel, and colonel of Heath's regiment. During the siege of Boston he led several successful expeditions to the islands in the harbor, bringing off live-stock and destroying the fodder and other supplies destined for the British fleet and garrison. He took part in the unfortunate invasion of Canada in 1776; shared in the glories of Trenton, Princeton, and Saratoga, serving in Nixon's brigade in the decisive campaign of 1777; and as senior officer at Albany,

[1] [A further account of Warren will be given in the next volume. — ED.]

in 1779, was for a time in command of the Northern department. After commanding his regiment throughout the whole war, he was made a brigadier-general on the continental establishment, Jan. 7, 1783. Returning home in October of that year, worn out in the service, he died there on the 16th of December following. His son, Richard H. Greaton, a captain in the army, was wounded in St. Clair's battle with the Indians. His brother, Rev. James Greaton, also a native of Roxbury, was rector of Christ Church, Boston, in 1759–67.

Some of the doings of the town during the provincial period, and its general condition at its close, now claim attention. In 1688 and later, when coin was scarce, taxes were received in what was called "country pay,"— that is, wheat at 4*s.* per bushel; rye or barley, 3*s.*; peas, 3*s.* 6*d.*; or at fixed rates frequently revised in town-meeting. One third was abated for money. The pay of a deputy to the General Court was 3*s.* per day. For killing a wolf 10*s.* was paid. In 1696 the town decided that "the voat of every particular person shall hang altogether, being written in one list, single voates to be cast by as insignificant." A by-law in 1723 prohibited forestalling: "No person nor slave to buy up any provisions going to Boston market except for their own use, under penalty." In 1724 the town voted to fine any person who "runs or gallops a horse in a calash, chaise, chair, cart, or sled in the town, or from Boston line to Mr. Jarvis's, or round the square," as the usual pleasure drive through Roxbury, Bartlett, Dudley, and Eustis streets was then called. In 1768 the town voted not to prevent football playing in Roxbury Street.

Negro slaves employed in domestic service were found in Roxbury towards the end of the seventeenth century, gradually increasing in number with the progress of wealth and luxury in the town. In 1739 some of the principal slave-owners,— Edward Ruggles, John Holbrook, James Jarvis, Noah Perin, Jr., Ebenezer Dorr, Nathaniel Brewer, John Williams, Ebenezer Weld, Ebenezer Gore, Thomas Baker, Jonathan Seaver, and Joseph Williams, — petitioned the town to prevent or punish negro servants "abroad in the night at unseasonable hours." Upon this petition no action was taken by the town. This and another of the distinctive phases of social life in Roxbury in this period,— an aristocracy of wealth and official station which had grown up under the royal government, — were swept away by the Revolution; and as the colonial epoch had ended with an emigration that withdrew from her borders many of her enterprising citizens, so the close of this period of her history witnessed a loyalist emigration smaller, indeed, in numbers, but making up what was lacking in this respect by its character, its influence, and its possessions.

Externally, few changes had been made during the century. Though agriculture continued to be the preponderating interest of the town, the tanning business had gradually assumed extensive proportions, while her two landing-places, one on either side of the Neck, gave her for a time a

certain commercial importance. The growth of the town in numbers had been slow. The census of 1765 gave a population of 1,467, — about double what it was a century before. During the siege the eastern part of the town was almost depopulated, and ten years later her numbers had not perceptibly increased. Two additional churches had been established, a workhouse built, and two new burial-places laid out, — the Westerly on Centre Street in 1690, and the Peter's Hill, or Central, on Walter Street about 1722. The lower part of Warren Street and a few other needed thoroughfares had been opened; the Neck had been paved, fenced, and protected by a dike on the south and a sea-wall on the north, from Dover nearly to Waltham Street; and the highway from the Boston line to Meeting-house Hill had, in 1758, been paved by means of a lottery, — a common expedient in those days for the prosecution of public works. On the whole, notwithstanding the siege which had borne heavily upon her, and the general depression caused by the war, some progress had undoubtedly been made by the town at the close of the period just considered.

Francis S. Drake

CHAPTER XII.

DORCHESTER IN THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS,
Minister of the First Parish.

IN the month of May, 1689, the following entry appears on the town records: —

"According to the order of the councill for safety of the people and conservation of the peace, may the 2^{d}, 1689, directed to the Captain and select men of the town of dorchester, — the inhabitants of the town being warned, met together on the 7th instant, may, and made choice of Samuel Clap and Timothy Tilston to convene at boston upon thursday, the ninth instant, at two o'clock afternoon, fully impowrd, then and there, to consult, advise, joyn, and give their assistance with the councill now sitting."

This short record furnishes the bridge from the Colonial to the Provincial period. The Revolution had taken place in England. The news of the proclamation of William and Mary had reached the colony; Andros had been deposed in New England, and the towns were called upon to send delegates to the general convention to establish a temporary government. At a town-meeting held June 4, the same persons were chosen representatives to the gathering held in Boston on June 5; and it is presumed that they represented the town in the convention on May 22. By vote of the town they were allowed six shillings a week for their attendance at the General Court. On July 25 the church at Dorchester observed a public fast, appointed by the Council and Representatives "in behalf of the troubles and unsettledness of the government; and in regard of the Indians plotting against us, and doing mischiefs in some parts of the country, killing and plundering; and in behalf of our native country; that God would bless our new king and queen and nobles, and the church of God in other parts of the world."

Dorchester is brought into prominence in the beginning of the Provincial period through the important trusts which were laid upon two of her sons, — Increase Mather and William Stoughton. Mr. Mather, then pastor of the

Second Church in Boston, and, as Palfrey says, "the most eminent among the clergy of Massachusetts," had been sent to England in 1688; and in the opening chapter of this volume the reader will find a record of the distinguished ability which he manifested in this mission. When, on Mather's recommendation, Sir William Phips was made Governor, the burden of the second place in authority fell upon another of Dorchester's sons, — William Stoughton. The recall of Phips, and the delay in the arrival of Bellomont, made Stoughton acting Governor for several years.

A review of his administration has fallen to another writer in this volume.[1] We can only speak here of his general career as a resident, citizen, and one of the most influential leaders of the town. He was a son of Israel Stoughton, mentioned in the first volume, and was born Sept. 30, 1631. Whether he was born in England or in Dorchester is not known, as the date of his father's arrival in this country is involved in uncertainty. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1650, studied afterward at New College, Oxford, but returned to New England in 1662, having lost his fellowship on the restoration of Charles II. His name appears frequently on the Dorchester records as assisting Mr. Mather in the public services. At the death of Mr. Mather he was invited six times to become the pastor of the Dorchester church, but persistently declined the invitation, and was never settled as a minister. He preached the annual election sermon in 1668, which is said to have been "one of the most powerful and impressive that had been delivered before the General Court."

From 1671 until the time of his death, thirty years later, he took an active part in the political affairs of Massachusetts, serving as assistant to the Governor; as messenger to England with Bulkley in 1676; member of Andros's Council; Judge of the Superior Court; and, as already mentioned, Lieut.-Governor and acting Governor of the colony under Phips. But perhaps he is most widely and most unpleasantly remembered as Chief-Justice of the Court commissioned for the witchcraft trials.

Governor Stoughton lived at the corner of Savin Hill Avenue and Pleasant Street. Judge Sewall, his warm friend and associate in the witchcraft trials, often visited him here, no doubt to talk over the exigencies of those troublous times. The solitary stone and the large elms which once marked the spot where his house stood have but lately succumbed to the changes which annexation has produced in Dorchester. Stoughton died in 1701, and was buried in the Dorchester cemetery. The elaborate Latin inscription on his tomb, which for that time was quite costly, is supposed to have been written by Cotton Mather, modelled after that of Pascal. Modern historians of Massachusetts have declined to echo the eulogy of his epitaph. Palfrey speaks of him as a "rich, atrabilious bachelor, one of those men to whom it seems to be a necessity of nature to favor oppressive and insolent pretensions, to resent every movement for freedom and humanity as an impertinence and affront." He elsewhere describes him as "hard, obstinate,

[1] [See Dr. Ellis's chapter on the Royal Governors. — Ed.]

narrow-minded;" and again reproaches him for a "bulldog stubbornness that might in other times have made him a St. Dominic." Quincy, on the other hand, in his *History of Harvard University*, credits the charge that he was one of those "having more of the willow than the oak in his constitution;" "one of those politicians who change their principles with times, and shift their sails so as to catch every favorable breeze." By another historian he is called "pudding-faced, sanctimonious, and unfeeling." But, in mitigation of this harsh judgment, Palfrey admits that he was "not unconscientious after his own dreary way." Hutchinson and Barry both commend his administration as Governor. Judge Sewall in his Diary tells us that he "prayed excellently;" and we have ample evidence that he was liberal in the use of his wealth. It is somewhat difficult to believe that one so decided and conscientious in his opinions was a time-server, and his course in the witchcraft trials seems most easily explained on the theory that his conscientiousness was equal to his superstition. His mind was not an enlightened one; but there seems no reason to believe that he did not strive to act in accordance with the dim and very blue light which he had.

Three years before his death he gave to Harvard College a building costing one thousand pounds, Massachusetts currency. It was taken down in 1780, but the present "Stoughton Hall" preserves the memory of the gift. In his will he also made a bequest of land to the college, "which nursery of good learning hath been of inestimable blessing to the church and people of God in this wilderness, and may ever continue to be so if this people continue in the favor of God." The income of this land and part of the income of Stoughton Hall was given by him for needy students. He also made gifts to the churches of Dorchester and Milton, and to the poor of the town.

Blake, in his *Annals*, makes no mention of the witchcraft trials; and Dorchester's part during that tragic excitement seems to have been confined to supplying the stern and inexorable judge who presided. Rev. John Hale, of Beverly, in his *Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft*, published in 1697, after mentioning the execution of the women in Charlestown in 1647 or 1648 for witchcraft, says: —

> "Another that suffered on that account sometime after was a Dorchester woman. Upon the day of her execution Mr. Thompson, minister at Brantry, and J. P., her former master, took pains with her to bring her to repentance. She utterly denied her guilt of witchcraft, yet justified God for bringing her to that punishment."

She confessed that she had been guilty of a great sin, but "owned nothing to the crime laid to her charge."

In the unfortunate expedition against Canada, in 1690, Dorchester furnished a company of seventy-four men, under command of Captain John Withington. Forty-six of these, with the captain, were lost at sea. In recognition of this service, the General Court, in 1735, granted to the survivors of the expedition, and to the heirs of those who were lost, a

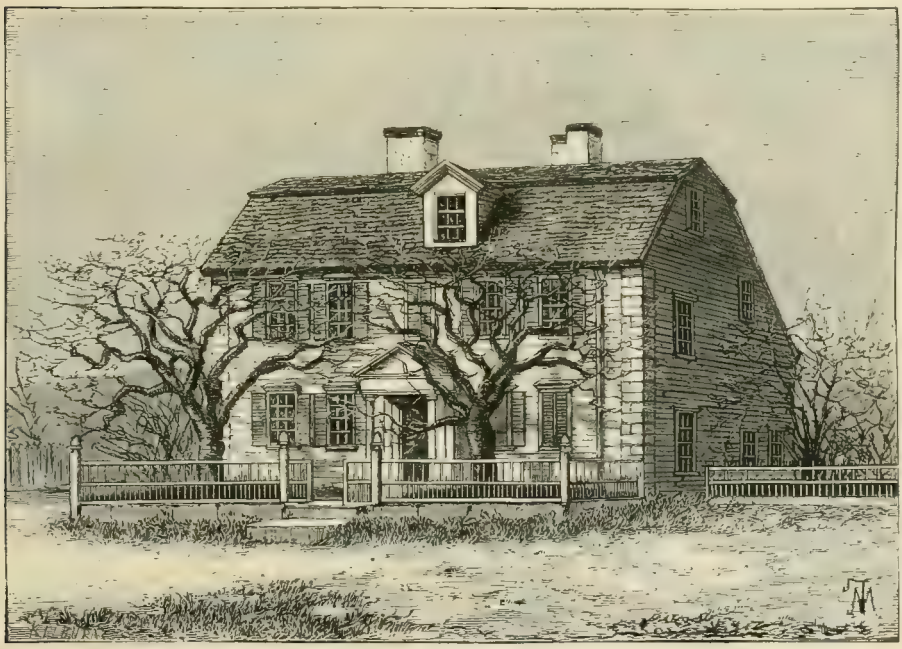
township of land in the northern part of Worcester County, which was called Dorchester-Canada. In 1765 this was incorporated into a town and called Ashburnham. In addition to this loss of forty-six soldiers, Dorchester suffered heavily about the same time from an invasion of small-pox and fever. We learn from a memorandum made by the father of James Blake, that "from first of April, 1690, unto the last of July, 1691, — that is, one year and four months, — there died in Dorchester 57 persons; 33 of them of small-pox, the rest of fever; most of them of middle age." This loss by disease is larger than we find on the bill of mortality for any year in the period from 1749 to 1792. When we add the forty-six soldiers, making a total of 103, we may safely say that in no year since its founding has death cast so much gloom over the town. From 1657 to 1734 inclusive, — a space of seventy-eight years, — there were 2,416 births and 921 deaths; which show, as James Blake remarks, "that many of the people that were born in the town moved out and died not here." Noah Clapp, for many years town clerk, gives a record of births and deaths and marriages from the year 1749 to 1792, a period of forty-three years, from which it appears that there were 1,891 births, 991 deaths, and 463 marriages.

After sending its soldiers to the north in 1690, Dorchester was soon engaged in the more congenial work of sending the gospel to the South. In 1635–36 it had planted the first church in Connecticut. It was now to spread the table of the Lord in the groves of Carolina. On Oct. 22, 1695, the usual Lecture day, a meeting was held in the old church at Dorchester to ordain the Rev. Joseph Lord to this missionary work. In the following December, nine men from Dorchester and neighboring towns, having first organized themselves into a church, embarked for the South. Mr. Danforth of Dorchester preached the sermon at the time of their departure. The little company landed on the shores of South Carolina, and made their way to the Ashley river. In the wilds of the unbroken forest they partook of the first sacrament of the Lord's Supper ever held in Carolina. A meeting-house was erected, and the new settlement was called Dorchester. The unhealthfulness of this locality, however, caused the colony to remove, some fifty-seven years later, — in 1752, — to Georgia, where they founded the town of Midway, and the earlier settlement fell into decay. It was this little settlement in Georgia, forming a large part of the parish of St. John, which took a bold and early stand for liberty in the war of the Revolution. When Georgia was holding back and declining to join in the general movement, the parish of St. John subscribed, on its own account, "the General Association," and sent one of the members of the Dorchester-Midway Church to represent the parish in the Congress at Philadelphia.

Earnest and zealous in sending the gospel to distant regions; generous in relieving by ample contributions the necessity of the saints in England, or the destitution of some poor captive among the Turks, — the town did not forget to illustrate a gospel of charity and justice to the Indian tribes around them. It was mentioned in the first volume of this History that

the town of Dorchester in 1657 set aside six thousand acres of land for an Indian reservation, "where they might have the gospel preached to them by the Rev. Mr. Eliot." About fifty years after, some differences arose between the Indians and the English in the vicinity of Ponkapoag concerning the control of a portion of this land. The Indians, therefore, sent a deputation to Dorchester, acknowledged the town to be the donor of the land, and requested that it would choose three men, to join with two men whom they should choose, to adjust the difficulty. The town accepted the proposition, and, after binding the Indians not to dispose of this land without consent of the town, passed the following resolution: "And the town of Dorchester do promise and engage that the committee chosen shall from time to time take care that the English there do not by any means wrong the Indians; but if it appear that they or any of them do, they shall see them righted." The action of Dorchester was so satisfactory to the Indians, that they sent a letter in 1708 thanking the town for its mediation, and stating that the differences had been composed.

In 1726 Dorchester suffered another change in her boundaries. Ponka-



HOUSE ON WILLOW COURT.[1]

poag, or the south precinct, with the lands beyond it in the town, was set off as a township by itself under the name of Stoughton.

From the records of the town and those of the church, and the brief

[1] This house was raised May 15, 1750. It was built by Ebenezer Clapp (father of Colonel Ebenezer Clapp). During the early part of the Revolutionary struggle soldiers are said to have been quartered in it. The house is now occupied by James T. Howe.

jottings of James Blake, we get many details of daily life, unimportant though they may be.

In 1707 it was voted to pay twelve-pence a dozen for all the old blackbirds killed within the town and brought in to either of the constables; and threepence for all the young ones. A few years after another bounty of twopence per head was offered on "crow or stare blackbirds." These votes were repeated annually for a great many years. In 1735 the town declared war against striped squirrels, and offered a bounty of twopence for every head. In 1736 it was "voted that whosoever shall kill brown rats so large grown as to have hair on them, within the town of Dorchester, the year ensuing until our meeting in May next, and bring in their scalps with the hairs on unto the town treasurer, shall be paid by the town treasurer fourpence for every such rat's scalp." And in 1785 a bounty of one shilling and sixpence a-piece was offered for the killing of rattlesnakes. In 1734 the town ordered that the bell be rung at nine o'clock every night, and the custom was followed for about a hundred years. The severe winter of 1740, when the harbor was frozen; the earthquake of 1744, which shook the meeting-house and threw down some stone walls; the scorching drouth of 1749, — are all faithfully entered in Blake's *Annals*. He mentions the five hundred soldiers who went from the Province to assist in the war against Spain, and describes at some length the expedition of 1745 against Louisburg. In this expedition three thousand went from Massachusetts. And Blake adds: "Most that went from hereabouts, that I knew, either died there or in their passage home, or soon after they came home. It is said there died of our New England forces about 1,500 men."

From a census taken by the selectmen in 1765 we learn that there were 204 houses and 245 animals. Of males under 16 years of age there were 292; females, 284. Of males above 16 years of age, 343; females, 404. Negroes and mulattoes, males 23; females 14. Total, 1,360.

The Revolutionary record of Dorchester is one of vigilant and uncompromising patriotism, of bold and concerted action, of persistent and determined sacrifice in the cause.

Leaving the military movements — which at the outbreak of the war rendered Dorchester Heights conspicuous — to be told by another hand in a later volume, the present chapter must be confined to the local action of the town rather than to the general story of those perilous days. When the action of the Albany Congress of 1754, which sought to secure a union of the colonies against the French aggressions, was discussed in the Massachusetts Legislature, Robert Spur, the Dorchester delegate, held off with the majority from perfecting a union for which the times were not yet ripe. At the next session, in 1755, Colonel Estes Hatch was sent to represent Dorchester, and the town voted —

"That the representative of this town be and hereby is instructed to use his utmost endeavor to prevent the plan for the union of the governments that has been under the consideration of the General Court from taking effect; and that he also oppose any

other plan for a union that may come under the consideration of the General Court whereby he shall apprehend the liberties and privileges of the people are endangered."

The resolution embodies the suspicion in which any movement was held which threatened to surrender any of the privileges they then enjoyed. And it is worthy of note that the plan of the Albany commissioners was rejected by all the legislators of the several provinces, no one of them wishing to yield so much power to any general government.

Ten years later, when the Stamp Act was passed, the town declared that some of their "most valuable rights" were "very sensibly affected;" and at a meeting held Oct. 31, 1765, the people instructed their representative, Colonel John Robinson, to use the utmost of his endeavors "with the Great and General Court of this Province, to obtain a repeal of the late Parliamentary act, always earnestly asserting our rights as free-born Englishmen," and to use his best skill "in preventing the use of stamped paper in this government." At the same time they manifested their "utter abhorrence of all riots, tumults, and unlawful assemblies," and urged their representative to assist in making such laws as would serve to prevent them.

In 1767, when the duty was laid on paper, glass, and other articles, a meeting was held on the 22d of December, and a committee of nine appointed to report if anything could be done to lessen the use of foreign superfluities. At a meeting held Jan. 19, 1768, the committee recommended the following vote: —

"*Voted*, That this town will take prudent measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this Province, and to lessen the use of foreign superfluities."

In the same year Dorchester chose a representative to the convention of the Province recommended by Boston on the dissolution of the General Court.

It is probable that the town had its sprinkling of Loyalists; but they were too inconspicuous or too discreet to be influential. When, in November, 1768, John Hancock was arrested for alleged smuggling of wine from his sloop "Liberty," the man who made the arrest was Mr. Arodi Thayer, marshal of the Court of Admiralty and, for many years after the Revolution at least, a resident of Dorchester. He lived to be eighty-eight years of age, and, dying in 1831, is still remembered by the oldest citizens for his personal eccentricity. His commission and badge of office — a silver oar — are deposited with the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society.

The 14th of August, 1769, was a merry day in town; for the Sons of Liberty, after assembling in Boston at Liberty Tree, adjourned for dinner to Liberty Tree Tavern, known also as Robinson's Tavern, in Dorchester. Tables were spread in the field under a tent, and more than three hundred people sat down to an abundant feast, which included three barbacued pigs. Speech and song enlivened the afternoon. The last toast given was, "Strong halters, firm blocks, and sharp axes to all such as deserve them." At five

o'clock the Boston people, we are told, started for home, led by John Hancock in his chariot. Although fourteen toasts were given in Boston and forty-five in Dorchester, John Adams says in his Diary that "to the honor of the Sons I did not see one person intoxicated, or near it."

In 1770 the town passed a resolution not to purchase goods of any merchant who imported them from Great Britain contrary to the "noble resolution and agreement" entered into by the merchants of Boston. At the same meeting the following vote was passed: —

"Whereas a duty has been laid upon foreign tea, *Voted*, that we will not make use of it in our families, except in case of sickness, until the duty be taken off."

In December, 1772, the votes and proceedings of the town of Boston, containing a statement of the rights of the colonists and a list of "the enfringements committed thereon," were communicated to the town, and a committee appointed to draw up a similar statement. On Jan. 4, 1773, the committee reported nine sturdy, ringing resolutions, too long for insertion here, which have the same heroic pitch as did the Declaration of Independence three years after. The resolutions speak of the "lawless usurpation" of Parliament, "subversive of every principle of good and lawful government." They protest against the wresting of the Castle from the control of the Province; against the power extended to the Courts of Admiralty; the appropriation of the Provincial revenues, and the act by which persons supposed to be guilty of certain crimes may be hurried away to be tried in England." The Dorchester representative was then instructed to join in any constitutional measures for the redress of these grievances, and not to consent "to give up any of our rights, whether derived from Nature or by compact."

The warm feeling which Dorchester entertained towards Boston at this time is shown in one of these resolutions: —

"*Resolved*, that the sincere and hearty thanks of this town be given to the town of Boston for the care and attention with which so respectable a number of its worthy inhabitants have watched for the common good, and have communicated the dangerous machinations of our restless enemies, who might otherwise have finished their plan and have involved us in most remediless destruction before this day."

At this meeting Captain Lemuel Robinson, Captain John Homans, and Samuel How were chosen a committee of correspondence to "watch over our liberties and to correspond with committees of other towns." This committee of correspondence met with the committees of Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, and Boston on Nov. 22, 1773, in Faneuil Hall, to take measures to prevent the landing and sale of the cargoes of tea that were then on the way to Boston. The action of this conference was "highly approved" at a town-meeting in Dorchester, held Nov. 30, 1773, the day after the great meeting at the Old South Church, at which Dorchester was also represented. It was then determined to "assure the public that should this country be so unhappy as to see a day of trial for the recovery of its rights by a last and solemn appeal to Him who gave them, we should not

be behind the bravest of our patriotic brethren; and that we will at all times be ready to assist our neighbors and friends when they shall need us, though the greatest dangers should attend them." The promise of this resolution, which was one of the first of this nature to be adopted by any of the towns, was amply redeemed.

The fate of the three hundred and forty-two chests of tea which afterward came to Boston harbor is well known. But, through the action of a Dorchester man, one case was destined to be tried by fire as well as by water. Ebenezer Withington, a town laborer, on going around upon the marshes found a strange chest of tea, and "brought off the same, thinking no harm." It soon became known to the town. The tea was quickly seized by a party from Boston and burned upon the Common, and Mr. Withington was required to make an explanation before town-meeting. The following resolution passed by the town shows what was thought in Dorchester about the destruction of the tea: —

"*Resolved*, That this town on the most mature deliberation highly approve of the proceedings of the people who assembled in the Old South Meeting-house in Boston, on the 29th November last and since, and the endeavor they then used to preserve the property of the East India Company; and that it is the opinion of this town that the destruction of the tea proceeded entirely from the obstinacy of the consignee and the Collector of the Customs in refusing to grant a clearance, and of the Governor in refusing to grant a pass for Mr. Rotch's ship."

We have given enough from the old records of the town to indicate the bold and patriotic spirit of the people on the very threshold of the Revolutionary conflict. The stand thus early taken was firmly adhered to all through the struggle. A significant resolution passed in September, 1774, shows that the battle of the following year was scented afar off. After instructing its representative to the General Court to join with members of the neighboring towns in the General Provincial Congress, in case the General Court was dissolved, it was voted to "add six barrels of powder to the stock already belonging to the town, and that the selectmen be a committee to provide such a quantity of ball, small and great, in addition to the quantity of ball the town already has, as they judge needful." A number of carpenters having gone from the town to build barracks for the soldiers at Boston, it was voted "that they be desired to desist therefrom, and that if they refuse to desist they will incur the displeasure of the town." In December, 1774, it was also voted to pay the province tax to Henry Gardner, of Stow, treasurer for the Sons of Liberty, instead of to Harrison Gray. Steps were promptly taken for the encouragement of minutemen; and on May 23, 1776, it was voted that "if the Continental Congress should think it best to declare independency with Great Britain, we will support them with our lives and fortunes." When the Declaration was made, it was copied in full on the town record, as ordered by the council. A bounty of twenty pounds, in addition to the pay offered by the colonies, was offered in 1777 to each

man who would enlist for three years, or during the war. A return made by the selectmen of the number of male inhabitants of Dorchester at home or abroad, above sixteen years of age, shows that there were two hundred and ninety-four at home, seventy-nine in service; six Boston people and ten mulattoes, — a total of three hundred and eighty-nine.

On Jan. 26, 1778, the town voted "that we approve of the articles of confederation and perpetual union between the United States of America, and that our representative be instructed to act accordingly." The town records also show the active interest felt by Dorchester in the formation of the State Constitution in 1778–80. In every case her action was in the direction of the largest liberty and the most perfect safeguards.

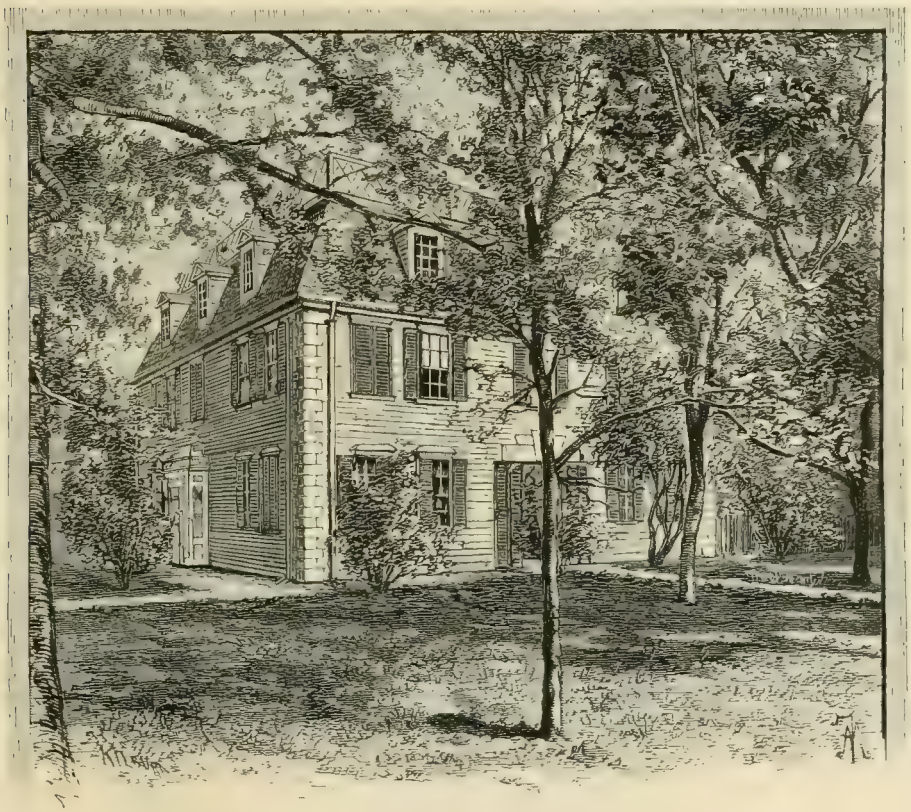
As the religious history of Dorchester has been more frequently written than its civil history, we have given more space to the latter in this chapter. A few minutes' examination of the town records would show us that nearly as much of the time of the ancient town-meeting was spent in regulating the interests of religion as was spent upon its civil affairs. It would have been heresy at that time to draw any line which separated the parish completely from the town.

In the previous volume the religious history of the town was brought down to the death of Richard Mather, in 1669. On failing to induce Mr. Stoughton to become its minister, the church and town reluctantly turned to seek another man. Choice was finally made, in 1671, of Rev. Josiah Flint, a native of Braintree and a graduate of Harvard College. Mr. Flint began his labors in the new meeting-house, the first one to stand on the hill. After a zealous ministry of nine years, somewhat interrupted by feeble health, he died in 1680, at the age of thirty-five. He was succeeded in 1681 by Rev. John Danforth, son of Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, the colleague of John Eliot. Mr. Danforth served the Church of Dorchester with honor and fidelity for forty-eight years. Blake tells us that he was a man of great learning, and that "he understood the mathematics beyond most men of his function. He was exceedingly charitable and of a very peaceful temper." He was buried in the old burying-ground, in the tomb of Governor Stoughton. It was during his ministry, in 1698, that the Young Men's Union was formed in Dorchester, — a society for religious purposes which continued in existence until 1848, a period of one hundred and fifty years.

Though we have this evidence that the young men were earnest and reverent, neither the boys nor the dogs of Dorchester seem to have been sufficiently pious to keep still during meeting-time without restraint. In 1727, "Because of late," as the town records say, "dogs have frequently come into our meeting-house on Sabbath days, and by their barking, quarrelling, etc. have made disturbance in the time of divine service," the town found it expedient to affix a penalty of five shillings upon their owners if the trouble was repeated. In the same year the selectmen of the town were directed

to appoint from time to time some "meet person to inspect the boys in the meeting-house in time of divine service." The boys seem to have repeatedly forced themselves into the business of the town-meetings by their Sunday disorder, for several such votes occur on the town records. In 1753 William Severs was allowed sixteen shillings a year "to keep the boys orderly in the time of divine service." He was also to tarry at noon and "prevent disorder then." But in 1776 the spirit of independence seems to have been so rife that six men were necessary for this purpose, and it was voted "that if the boys be disorderly, the men appointed to take care of them give them proper discipline."

The Rev. Jonathan Bowman, the next pastor, was called, in 1729, to be colleague to Mr. Danforth, about six months before the latter's death. Mr. Bowman was a native of Lexington, and, like two of his predecessors, a graduate of Harvard College. His ministry was somewhat disturbed by the arrival of Rev. George Whitefield in Boston, in 1740. Blake, in his *Annals*,



THE EVERETT HOUSE.

describes the great impression which the revivalist's preaching made upon Boston and the surrounding towns. He records his opinion "that things are by some Persons carried too far, contrary to y^e^ design of y^e^ Holy Spirit,

— as in some places where Laymen go about Exhorting (as they call it), and people crowd in large Assemblies to hear them; and many cry out in y^e^ Assembly, and are so struck (as they call it) that for a time they loose their Senses and Reason, and y^e^ like." Four years later Blake adds of Whitefield's second visit: "But Ministers and People were generally Offended with his Conduct and manner of Preaching; but some were most firmly attached to him, and endeavored to defend all that he either said or did, which caused much Writing and Disputing."[1]

During this excitement seven male members of the church, "for their separation and injurious treatment of the minister, were laid under censure and forbid to come to communion until repentance and reformation." The disaffected members called for a council. The church consented; the council was held May 19, 1747; Mr. Bowman and the church were sustained, and the dissatisfied brethren were advised to submit and return to the church.

Some twenty-six years later Mr. Bowman came somewhat violently into collision with his parish, largely on account of a personal difficulty which he had with one of his neighbors. A bitter controversy ensued. Another council was called in 1773. It was charged that he refused baptism to a child; that his sermons were too short; that he preached old sermons; and that he did not insist upon the doctrines of original sin and self-denial, and that he acted arbitrarily as moderator of the church meeting.

The unhappy differences resulted in the dismission of Mr. Bowman, after a pastorate of forty-three years. During his ministry the fourth meeting-house was built, in 1743, at a cost of £3,300. It is worthy of notice also that the Scriptures first began to be used in Dorchester as a part of public worship, Sept. 23, 1753, one hundred and twenty-two years after the church was established.

Rev. Moses Everett, the next in the ministerial line, was ordained in September, 1774. Though town and country were in the midst of intense political agitation, his ministry seems to have been one of great peace and satisfaction. He served in Dorchester for eighteen years, when failing health compelled him to resign. He was a brother of Rev. Oliver Everett, who was settled as pastor of the New South Church in Boston, in 1782. On giving up his pastorate Rev. Oliver Everett also removed to Dorchester, and his son Edward was born in the house on the corner of Pond and Boston streets, now owned by Mr. John Richardson, a picture of which is herewith given.

S. J. Barrows.

[1] [The Great Awakening under Whitefield is more fully described by Dr. McKenzie in this volume. — Ed.]

CHAPTER XIII.

BRIGHTON IN THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

BY FRANCIS S. DRAKE.

IN this, as in the preceding epoch, while speaking of the events in which each section had its due share, we are still to consider Brighton as a constituent part of Cambridge.

The news of the abrogation of the charter reached Boston in the summer of 1685.[1] In December, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, "Captain General and Commander-in-Chief of New England," arrived. Not the least among the grievances complained of by the people during his administration was the claim of its adherents to enrich themselves by grants of land to which they had not the shadow of a right. The notorious Edward Randolph endeavored to obtain possession of seven hundred acres of land in Cambridge near Spy Pond, — one of his many similar attempts to benefit himself at the public expense. That it failed of consummation was, no doubt, due to the revolution which so speedily ensued. In that sudden uprising of the people in April, 1689, which resulted in a brief restoration of the former government of the colony, the inhabitants of Cambridge actively participated. The movement was full of danger, but that did not deter them from pledging their persons and estates to the support of the principal actors in it; one of the most conspicuous of whom, their favorite and trusted leader Thomas Danforth, was reinstated as deputy-governor. The delegates of Cambridge to the convention, held May 9, presented the following declaration: —

"Cambridge, May 6, 1689. We, the freeholders and inhabitants of the town of Cambridge, being very sensible of, and thankful unto, God for his mercy in our late deliverance from the oppression and tyranny of those persons under whose injustice and cruelty we have so long groaned; and withal desirous heartily to express our

[1] It is worth noting that the loss of the Massachusetts charter was not wholly due to the abuse of its privileges. Those towns in England which opposed the policy of the Court were deprived of their municipal liberties at the same time by the *quo warranto* process, and their representation secured to the Crown, in furtherance of the settled policy of the King to make himself despotic, — a policy in which at the time of his death he had nearly succeeded.

gratitude to those worthy gentlemen who have been engaged in conserving of our peace since the revolution, yet withal, being apprehensive that the present unsettlement may expose us to many hazards and dangers, and may give occasion to ill-minded persons to make disturbance, — do declare that we expect that our honored Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants, elected by the freemen of this colony in May, 1686, together with the deputies then sent down by the several respective towns to the court then holden, which was never legally dissolved, shall convene and reassume and exercise the government as a General Court, according to our charter, on the ninth of this instant, May, or as soon as possible. And in so doing we do engage that, to the utmost of our power with persons and estates, we will contribute to their help and assistance as in duty and equity we are bound, praying that God would direct them in this difficult juncture; and do hope that all that are concerned for the peace and good of this land will readily join with us therein.

"*Memorandum.* It is here to be understood that what we expect to be done as above is only for a present settlement, until we may have an opportunity to make our address unto, or shall be otherwise settled by, the supreme power in England.

"These lines above written as they are worded, was agreed upon by the inhabitants of the town of Cambridge this 6th of May, 1689, as attests Samuel Andrew, *clerk*, in the name of the town."

By an act of the General Court dated March 20, 1712–13, the northern precinct of Cambridge was made a separate town by the name of Lexington. For more than half a century afterward few events of importance occurred in Cambridge. The small-pox was unusually prevalent and fatal in 1721, 1730, and again in 1752, occasioning the dispersion of the college students for brief periods. This was also the case in 1740, when an epidemic called the "throat distemper" occasioned great alarm.

Cambridge was not behind her sister towns in her opposition to those measures of the British Parliament which brought on the American Revolution. Soon after the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, her town-meeting expressed the opinion "that the inhabitants of this province have a legal claim to all the natural, inherent, constitutional rights of Englishmen, and that the Stamp Act is an infraction upon these rights." To the convention of delegates from the various towns which Boston, in view of Governor Bernard's refusal to convene the legislature, had summoned to meet in Faneuil Hall, Sept. 22, 1768, she sent Captain Samuel Whittemore and Thomas Gardner. In May, 1769, the session of the House of Representatives was held in the college halls, — the sitting of that body having been adjourned to Cambridge by the Governor. In response to Samuel Adams's project for committees of correspondence in December, 1772, she selected for that duty Captain Samuel Whittemore, Captain Ebenezer Stedman, Captain Ephraim Frost, Captain Eliphalet Robbins, Captain Thomas Gardner, Joseph Wellington, Abraham Watson, Jr., Nathaniel Sparhawk, and Samuel Thatcher, Jr., who, a few days later, addressed a letter to the Boston Committee, acknowledging the vigilance and care discovered by the town of Boston of the public rights and liberties, and acquainting them that Cambridge "will heartily concur in all salutary, proper, and constitutional

measures for a redress of grievances." Of this committee Robbins, Gardner, and Sparhawk were citizens of Brighton. In November, 1773, the tax on tea called out a very full meeting of the inhabitants, who, in a series of resolves expressed their abhorrence of the measure and their determination to oppose it. In the preliminary measures for the disposal of the tea sent to Boston, the Cambridge committee united with those of the neighboring towns, holding daily meetings for the purpose in Faneuil Hall. On Sept. 2, 1774, the people of Middlesex assembled in large numbers and waited on Lieut.-Governor Oliver, Samuel Danforth, and Joseph Lee, who were compelled publicly to resign the office of councillor, held by them under Governor Gage's *mandamus*. They also exacted from Sheriff Phips a pledge that he would not execute any precept sent to him under the new acts of Parliament for altering the constitution of the Province.

The appeal to arms soon followed; and on May 27, 1776, the inhabitants of Cambridge unanimously voted to support Congress with their lives and fortunes in the Declaration of Independence. June 16, 1777, her representatives were instructed not to agree to any attempt to form a new constitution for the State by the General Court or any other body; and when, after having done so, the Court submitted a constitution to the people for approval, it was unanimously rejected by the town. The instrument formed by a convention of delegates was accepted by her, May 22, 1780. The names of fifty-seven citizens of Brighton have been preserved who served in the Revolutionary army, — a few of whom on account of age served by proxy.

Cambridge, the headquarters of the provincial army during the siege of Boston, was also the post of its centre. Her militia, enrolled in Samuel Thatcher's company of Colonel Gardner's regiment, took part in the conflict of the 19th of April, 1775. This was an eventful day for Cambridge, where the carnage was greater than in any other town, — twenty-six of the Americans, or more than half of those slain, six of them inhabitants of the town, having fallen within her borders. The planks of the bridge over Charles River were taken up to barricade its northerly end, and some of the Watertown militia were posted there. Earl Percy, who with a reinforcement passed through Brighton between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon of that day, found no difficulty in replacing the planks and continuing his march.

After Warren, the most illustrious of the victims of the sanguinary battle of Bunker Hill was Colonel Thomas Gardner, of Brighton. Like Warren, he had already rendered yeoman service in the political arena. From 1769 until his death he was a selectman and representative to the General Court, and was one of the most active and influential members of the Provincial Congress. He was also an energetic member of the important committees of correspondence and of safety; and on Nov. 29, 1774, was chosen Colonel of the First Middlesex Regiment, in which he had previously been a cap-

tain. Commissioned a colonel in the Continental army, June 2, 1775, on the 17th he led his regiment to Bunker Hill, and was descending its northern slope at the head of his men, when he was mortally wounded, dying July 3, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was borne from the field to the house of his sister, the wife of Samuel Sparhawk. This house may still be seen on old River Street, now Western Avenue. Colonel Gardner's residence, built of massive oak, is yet standing on Allston Street, near Union Square. A street running east from Harvard Avenue, — the old county road to Brookline, — laid out through his land, bears the name of this worthy and patriotic citizen. The next day after taking command of the army, Washington issued the order for Colonel Gardner's burial "with the military honors due to so brave and gallant an officer, who fought, bled, and died in the cause of his country and mankind."

For the supplying fresh provisions to the army besieging Boston in 1775, a cattle-market was established in Brighton, — the origin of the business which has since grown to such extraordinary proportions. It was situated on Market Street, near the present abattoir.

Rev. William Brattle was ordained pastor of the Cambridge Church, Nov. 25, 1696, five years after the "Farmers" were set off as a separate parish, now the town of Lexington, and four years after the death of Rev. Nathaniel Gookin. His pastorate of over twenty years, terminating with his death, Feb. 15, 1716–17, was peaceful and successful. He was also a tutor and fellow of the College, and a member of the Royal Society of London. His successor, Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, ordained Oct. 9, 1717, died Feb. 9, 1784, in the ninety-first year of his age, and sixty-seventh of his ministry. During his pastorate the parish was still further divided by setting off Menotomy as the Second Precinct in 1732, and Brighton as the Third Precinct in 1779. Christ Church (Episcopal) was also organized in 1761. Another disturbing event was the coming of the celebrated evangelist Whitefield, in 1740, and again in 1744, and his exclusion from the Cambridge pulpit.

Several petitions — the first in May, 1747, renewed in 1748, and again in 1749 — were presented to the General Court by the inhabitants of the south side of the river for incorporation as a separate religious precinct. In the latter it is said: —

"There is within the bounds of the proposed new parish, on the south side of the river, . . . 2,660 acres and 81 rods of land; 42 dwelling-houses; about 50 families; above 50 persons in full communion with the church; and this part of the town's proportion of the province tax in 1748 was £700 11*s.* 8*d.*, old tenor, and 67 ratable polls, about 290 souls. . . . We have supported the gospel among us some part of the year for fourteen years, during which time we set apart a house for divine worship that had been a dwelling-house; upon finding it too small for the congregation, we erected a convenient house for the worship of God; . . . and soon after we had winter preaching in this house we concluded to have summer preaching in it also, and we are now in the 5 year that we have had constant preaching."

A last appeal, in January, 1774, resulted in the passage of an act, May 1, 1779, "for dividing and setting off the southerly part of the First Parish in the town of Cambridge" into a separate precinct, a few families on the south side being specially exempted from all charges to the Third Parish, and allowed to remain members of the First. This final petition states, among other urgent reasons for their request, the following: —

"About forty years past, the gospel was first preached among us, — it being impracticable when the tides were high, and the snow and ice lodged on the causeway leading to the town of Cambridge, to pass and repass; . . . and about the year '60 we applied to the then General Assembly that they would take our unhappy situation into consideration and relieve us, . . . who ordered that £52 per annum be paid out of the parish rate for the support of preaching on the south side of the river; . . . but we, finding that sum not sufficient to the support of an ordained minister, have, for more than thirty years, been without; and also have been put to much difficulty to get an ordained minister to baptize our children, and have never had the ordinance of the Lord's Supper administered amongst us; and we apprehend that many of our children that are arrived at man's estate have never seen that ordinance administered; and notwithstanding we have a most worthy minister — Dr. Appleton — on the other side of the river, yet his great age and his often indispositions prevent him from affording us that advice and instruction he otherwise willingly would, and which he is sensible that we often stand in need of, — for many times, when our friends are upon their death-beds, they have no minister either to pray with them or afford them advice or instruction in their dying moments. We are also deprived of having a discreet minister to set any example before, and instruct our children in the knowledge that is necessary to eternal salvation; and while we remain in this unsettled state we discourage many sober families from settling amongst us."

The following persons contributed the sums set against their respective names for the erection of the First Church of Brighton, in 1744. One of them, — Mr. Ebenezer Smith, — a liberal benefactor to the town, died in 1776, leaving, among other bequests, the parsonage estate at the foot of Rockland Street, and a sum of money to the church; and also bequeathing six acres of woodland to the school for the benefit of poor children, in place of the tax for firewood. The tower and porch of this house, which stood on the corner of Washington and Market streets, in front of the present edifice, were not added until 1794. Labor and materials were accepted from the subscribers in place of money, and the house was built without incurring debt. All town-meetings were held in it according to the New England custom: —

Daniel Dana £10	Abijah Learned . . . £20	Thomas Dana . . . £15
Benjamin Dana . . . 20	Noah Sparhawk . . . 20	Samuel Phipps . . . 20
William Brown . . . 20	Thomas Sparhawk . . 25	Lydia Stratton . . . 6
Ebenezer Smith . . . 40	Samuel Bridgham . . 40	Thomas Park . . . 5
William Dana . . . 20	Solomon Robbins . . 15	John Oldham 15
Benjamin Cheney . . 15	Nathaniel Cunningham 42	Francis Wells . . . 20
John Ellis 10	Josiah Brown 15	
Thomas Thwing . . 10	Joshua Fuller 5	

The church members on the south side of the river petitioned the church for dismissal, May 12, 1780, signifying their desire to be incorporated as a distinct church for enjoying the special ordinances of the gospel more conveniently by themselves. Their request was complied with, and they were incorporated Feb. 23, 1783. Rev. John Foster was ordained pastor, Nov. 1, 1784, the pulpit having for the previous forty years been supplied by various clergymen, chiefly from Cambridge.

In 1769 the old school-house built in 1722, a few feet to the east of the First Church, on land given for the purpose by Daniel Dana, being found insufficient to contain the scholars, and not worth repairing, was replaced by a new building. In 1772 each pupil was required to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* for firewood on entering school. In 1779 the school-house was, for the first time, kept in use through the summer, and a female teacher employed.

We close this period of Brighton's history with a brief mention of some of its remaining old-time mansions and their occupants.

First comes the Champney House, two hundred years old, on Washington Street, just beyond Oak Square. Here, in his eighty-third year, lives William R. Champney, of the fifth generation from Elder Richard. On this square formerly stood two immense oaks, the last of which, hewn down in 1855, was the largest and oldest white-oak tree in the State. It was twenty-five feet nine inches in circumference, and had probably passed its prime centuries before the settlement of New England. On Faneuil Street, which with Brook Street made the original Indian trail to the river, is the residence now belonging to Luther Adams, built about 1750 by Benjamin Faneuil, brother of the more famous Peter. Here also is the house built at a still earlier date by Charles Apthorp, latterly the estate of Gorham Parsons. Apthorp, a native of England, was paymaster and commissary of the British land and naval forces in Boston. His son, Rev. East Apthorp, a native of Brighton, was the founder and rector of Christ Church, Cambridge. The latter was rendered specially prominent by his controversy with Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, of Boston. On Price's view of Boston of 1743 is a magnificent house of great size and height and quaint architecture, with terraces and gardens, called "Captain Cunningham's seat." It was burned down in 1770 while occupied by John Dennie, a prominent loyalist. His friends generously contributing to his relief, it was at once rebuilt, and is now the estate and residence of David Nevins. The old Dana mansion stands on Washington, near Allston Street.[1]

Francis S. Drake

[1] For many of the facts given in this and the preceding chapter of Brighton's history the writer is indebted to Paige's *History of Cambridge*, and to Rev. F. A. Whitney's sketch of Brighton in S. A. Drake's *History of Middlesex County*.

CHAPTER XIV.

WINNISIMMET, RUMNEY MARSH, PULLEN POINT, AND CHELSEA IN THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

BY MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN,
Librarian of the Boston Public Library.

THE overthrow of the first charter by decree in Chancery, October, 1684, was consummated May 25, 1686, when the exemplified judgment was read in the presence of the outgoing and of the incoming Governments, under the presidency of Dudley. During this period between the threat and the blow, the inhabitants of the northerly precincts of Boston shared the prevailing apprehensions as to the malignant activity of Randolph. As they possessed but little property except houses and lands, the claim that the abrogation of the charter revested the title to these in the Crown was to them of the most appalling nature. With small hope of success, doubtless, they sought to avert this calamity by acquiring from those who had been the native proprietors of the soil a title older than that of the king; and there is still extant the original unrecorded deed of release,[1] dated April 9, 1685, from the widow, children, and grandchildren[2] of Sagamore George to Simon Lynde, for the use of the heirs of John Newgate, "of all that tract of land, meadows, and marshes situate and lying at or in Rumbley Marish aforesaid, containing about four or five hundred acres, be it more or less, commonly known by the name of Mr. Newgate's farme, and by him and his heirs and assigns possessed and occupied about fifty years past."

By a recorded deed from the same grantors, dated June 4, 1685, nearly all the remaining estates in the three precincts were released to their respective proprietors.[3] But, with the exception of the case presently to be referred to, I know of no legal proceedings affecting these proprietors, and distinctly referable to the abrogation of the charter.

[1] This deed, before referred to, is in the possession of Charles P. Greenough, Esq.

[2] In this deed, David, one of the grantors, is called the grandchild, and in the Boston deed, given in heliotype, in Vol. I. of this History, he is called the son and heir, of Sagamore George.

[3] Drake, in his *History of Boston*, does not accept the theory that these Indian titles were acquired as a basis on which to resist writs of intrusion by the Crown, or its new grantees, but regards them as endeavors in good faith to quiet Indian clamors. But there are some facts which tend to show that, in respect to several of the estates made the subjects of these releases, the Indian claims had been satisfied more than thirty years previously by the intervention of the General Court in behalf of Sagamore George. *Mass. Archives*, xxx. 26.

The case, as gathered from Elisha Cooke's petition for a writ of review, was as follows: In 1686, after the *quo warranto*,[1] but before the change of the government, Colonel Nicholas Paige and Anna his wife, a grand-daughter of Captain Robert Keayne, as heirs-at-law, brought actions against Elisha Cooke and others for certain real estate at Rumney Marsh and Boston, which, in 1663, they had acquired of the devisee under Keayne's will. The validity of this will was called in question by the heirs-at-law, but was sustained, "notwithstanding the plaintiffs continued the case to the last remedy of attainting the jury."

But upon the change of the government, in 1686, the Paiges brought their actions with better fortune;[2] not in review of the former judgment, however, but by *ejectione firmae* under fictitious names, — "a way of trial which," Cooke says, "this people were altogether unacquainted with, having never been practised in New England before." The defendants appealed from this new-fangled judgment, but in vain, and the Paiges were put in possession of the estates. Cooke is not to be understood as charging his ill fortune before the Court directly to the abrogation of the charter, but rather to the hostile disposition of the tribunal, under the new order, towards the friends of the old government; and evinced in this case by allowing the Paiges, after their failure in the customary modes of procedure, to begin again in a form of action not before known in the colony.

In February, 1702, Cooke and his associates petitioned the General Court for a special act granting them a review, and assigned as a reason for the long interval between the judgment and the petition, "that upon the happy revolution of 1689 one of your petitioners [Cooke himself] was by the Government sent for England to serve them there, in whose service he continued about three years, and was thereby hindered of recovering their rights during that government;" and that upon his return they brought their writ, but were thwarted by certain legislative acts of limitation. These, however, being disallowed by the king, they found their way cleared to seek a review by special act, which, after notice to Colonel Paige and his wife, was granted.

The destitute condition of servants and poor people in respect to religious instruction at Rumney Marsh,[3] as has been related, excited the commiseration of godly people in Boston as early as 1640, and some efforts were made in their behalf. Governor Bellingham, by his will dated in 1672,[4] gave, after the falling in of certain life interests, his whole estate

[1] Palfrey has pointed out the singular error, which had previously escaped notice, of those who laid the vacating of the charter to the result of the *quo warranto* rather than, as was the case, to the decree in chancery. Elisha Cooke, one of the prominent actors in these events, and afterward Chief-Justice of the Superior Court, seems not to have been aware of the facts.

[2] Sewall's *Diary*, under date of Aug. 5, 1686, says: "This day Capt. Paige hath a judgment for Capt. Keyn's Farm: Mr. Cook Appeals." Sept. 18, 1695, "Mr. Cook enters the lists with Col. Paige and sues for Capt. Keyn's Farm again." Vol. I., pp. 146, 413.

[3] Some time before the second charter this name came to stand for the three precincts collectively; and in that sense I shall hereafter use it, unless a more specific designation is required.

[4] Printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1860, p. 237.

in Winnisimmet to be an annual encouragement to some godly ministers and preachers, as should by his trustees be judged faithful to those principles in church discipline owned and practised in the First Church in Boston, whereof he declared himself to be a member. And he desired his trustees, first, that in convenient time a minister should be maintained, and a meeting-house built at Winnisimmet when sufficient should be received out of the rents; second, that lots for dwellers and inhabitants be given out, and conveniency of land to the minister's house; third, that four or six, more or less, young students should be brought up for the ministry, as the estate would bear; fourth, that something should be allowed yearly to any godly Congregational minister who should be willing to settle in that place.[1] But these benevolent intentions were frustrated by the setting aside of the governor's will in 1676. The matter was not allowed to rest, however; for in 1705 James Allen, surviving trustee and executor of Governor Bellingham's will, notwithstanding the former judgment of the General Court thirty years previously, petitioned the same body to reopen the case on the ground that the former judgment was erroneous: First, because the Court at that time had no jurisdiction of wills, but the County Court only; and, second, that the will was really and *bona fide* the last will and testament of Richard Bellingham, and was so proved to be, "and not all the English laws could set aside or control such a will. The maxim in law is, that the will of the giver must be observed; that faith and truth must be obeyed, and what the last will does say; and every man's a law to himself as to the disposition of his own estate and property." Equally cogent reasons on the other side were urged by the heirs-at-law, and they continued in possession of the Bellingham estate; and so religion continued to languish at Winnisimmet. The claim to the Bellingham estate at Winnisimmet, however, was not allowed to rest; for the people of Chelsea, with a few dissentients, seem to have believed their title to it good, and so they were advised by "three skilful lawyers," who, upon the papers submitted, were "unanimously of the opinion that the said town of Chelsea hath a good title to said estate for the purposes mentioned in said will, notwithstanding what has been done to nullify the same."

This was in 1757, more than fifty years after the adverse decision of the General Court referred to above. A committee was appointed to prosecute the claim of the town, but apparently without effect.

But the time was at hand when the people began to move in respect to a house of public worship. In 1706, at the March meeting of the town, Elisha Cooke, Elisha Hutchinson, Samuel Sewall, Penn Townsend, and Elder Joseph Bredham, or Bredon, were appointed a committee to consider, and make report at the next town-meeting, what they should think proper to lay before the town relating to the petitions of sundry of the inhabitants of Rumney Marsh about the building of a meeting-

[1] The foregoing is the petitioners' abstract of Governor Bellingham's will.

house there.[1] This subject was postponed from year to year, until Aug. 29, 1709, when it was "voted a grant of one hundred pounds, to be raised and laid out in building a meeting-house at Rumney Marsh;" and the committee of 1706, with the substitution of the name of Edward Bromfield for that of Joseph Bredham, were empowered to direct both as to the place and manner of erecting said meeting-house.[2]

The following entries are found in *Sewall's Diary*: —

"1710, July 10. Mr. Jno. Marion and I went to Rumney Marsh to the Raising of the Meeting House. I drove a Pin, gave a 5ˢ Bill, had a very good treat at Mr. Chiever's: went and came by Winnisimmet." "July 16. . . . Extream hot wether. Mr. Cook, Bromfield, and I goe to Rumney-Marsh to finish the Meeting House. Stowers is to make the windows. Got home well. *Laus Deo.* Several died of the heat at Salem."[3]

THE OLD MEETING-HOUSE.

"Mr. Chiever," who gave a treat to Sewall and his friends, was the Rev. Thomas Cheever, son of the famous school-master. He was born in 1658,

[1] *Town Records*, ii. 278.

[2] Ibid., 305.

[3] *Sewall's Diary*, ii. 283. It is supposed that this meeting-house, somewhat changed, is still standing; and if so, it is the oldest in the County of Suffolk. The view represents it as it appeared some years since, before its face was changed from the north to the west. The right and left entrances were to the galleries; one for colored men, and the other for colored women. There was another and probably older meeting-house, which stood a few rods westerly of the present edifice, and was standing as late as 1776.

graduated at Harvard College in 1677, began to preach in 1680, and was ordained at Malden, July 27, 1681. He continued to preach there until 1686, when he was dismissed, on the advice of an ecclesiastical council convened to consider certain scandalous words which he is said to have uttered. On leaving Malden, he took up his residence at Rumney Marsh, occupying, as is supposed, the Newgate House. There he probably preached occasionally, and certainly he taught school many years, until Oct. 17, 1715, when on the formation of the church he was chosen pastor, and continued in that relation until Dec. 21, 1748. He died at the age of nearly ninety-two years, Dec. 27, 1749.[1]

With considerable opposition, the Rev. William McClenachan was installed as colleague pastor of Mr. Cheever. This event was followed by the withdrawal, or dismission to other churches, of several prominent members. Notwithstanding this disaffection, the new pastor remained with his charge until Dec. 25, 1754, when, although the church voted unanimously not to dismiss him, he left them, and "was received, confirmed, and partook of the Lord's Supper, under the establishment of the Church of England, by the Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler," of Boston, and soon went to England.

The most noticeable event of his pastorate, set down in the records, was a vote, finally reached, "to relinquish the use of the present version of the Psalms in Divine Service, and for the future sing Doctor Watts' version." He is said to have equalled Whitefield for eloquence.

After several unsuccessful attempts to settle a pastor, on Oct. 26, 1757, Rev. Phillips Payson was ordained to that relation, and so continued until his death, Jan. 11, 1801, in the sixty-fifth year of his life and the forty-fourth of his ministry.

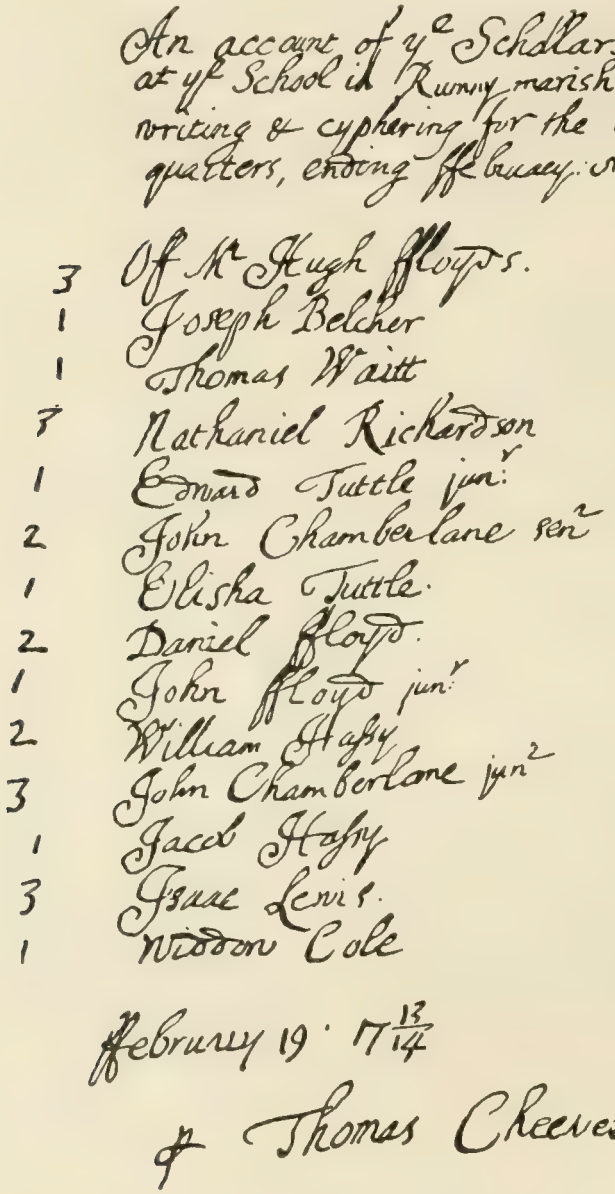
Phillips Payson — born at Walpole, Mass., Jan. 18, 1736, and graduated at Harvard College, 1754 — was a scholar and teacher, and as such was resorted to by many young men of Boston and other towns. He had among his pupils the sons of Dr. Joseph Warren, General William Heath, Governor James Sullivan, and Samuel Breck. During the stirring times of the Revolution he was active and influential. He participated in the events of April 19, 1775, by leading a party of his parishioners to West Cambridge, against Percy's relief party, and was soon after named in a commission to raise a company of minute men.[2] Dr. Tuckerman, his successor in the pastoral office at Chelsea, has written the following couplet on Payson's church records: —

> "Peace to the memory of a man of worth, —
> A man of letters and of virtue too."

[1] At the formation of the church, Cheever preached the sermon, and Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., was chosen moderator. Eight male members, including the pastor, constituted the church. The records of the church, which were kept by Mr. Cheever during the whole of his ministry, are still preserved, and are said to be among the most interesting and valuable of that class of works anywhere to be found.

[2] Aside from marriages, births, and deaths, there is only a single entry in Payson's church records between July 8, 1775, and April 25, 1782. He preached the election sermon for the year 1778, which was printed.

The history of schools in Rumney Marsh after its incorporation as a town, in 1739, is in no way remarkable; but the following incident, which



An account of y^e^ Schollars entred at y^e^ School in Rumny marish for reading writing & cyphering for the two last quarters, ending ffebruary: A: 1713/14

3	Of Mr Hugh ffloyds.
1	Joseph Belcher
1	Thomas Waitt
7	Nathaniel Richardson
1	Edward Tuttle jun:
2	John Chamberlane sen^r^
1	Elisha Tuttle.
2	Daniel ffloyd.
1	John ffloyd jun^r^
2	William Hasty
3	John Chamberlane jun^r^
1	Jacob Hasty
3	Isaac Lewis.
1	Widdow Cole

ffebruary 19: 17 13/14

p Thomas Cheever.

FACSIMILE OF CHEEVER'S RETURN OF SCHOLARS.[1]

is found in the Town Records of Boston, under date of March 11, 1701, is worth relating: —

"Some of the inhabitants of the north end of the town stood up and requested that they might have the liberty of a free school for the teaching to write and

[1] [The original of this return is in the manuscript collection of the writer of this chapter.— ED.]

cypher. It was voted in the affirmative, that the selectmen shall agree with a school-master for them, and order him his pay out of the treasury.

"The inhabitants of Rumney Marsh standing by, and seeing the town in so good a frame, also put in their request that a free school might be granted them to teach to read, write, and cypher. It being put to the town to know their minds, it was voted in the affirmative, with the proviso that did it appear to the selectmen that there were a reasonable number of children to come to the school, then the selectmen should agree with a school-master to teach the children to read, write, and cypher, for which service he should be paid out of the town treasury." [1]

This vote, however, led to no practical results until after eight years of patient waiting, when the citizens reminded the selectmen of the vote of the town in March, 1701. Whereupon they voted, Jan. 24, 1709, —

"That in case Mr. Thomas Cheever do undertake and attend the keeping such school at his house four days in a week weekly for the space of one year ensuing, and render an account with the selectmen once every quarter of the number of children or scholars belonging unto the said district which shall duly attend the said school, he shall be paid out of the town treasury after the rate of twenty pounds per annum for this service." [2]

This arrangement, with some changes of teachers and compensation, was continued until the incorporation of Chelsea as a distinct town.

Rumney Marsh contributed its quotas to the Indian wars, though few names or incidents have reached us. Hubbard narrates that —

"In the year 1677, about April the 7th, six or seven men were slain by the Indians near York, while they were at work two miles from the town, whereof one was the son of Lieutenant Smith of Winnisimmet, a hopeful young man, who went in his brother's room; yet his brother's turn was to come soon. . . . Five Indians paddled their canoes down towards York, where they killed six of the English and took one captive, May 19 following; and May 23, four days after, one was killed at Wells, and one taken by them betwixt York and Wells; amongst whom was the eldest son of Lieutenant Smith forementioned: his younger brother was slain in the same town not long before." [3]

In military affairs Rumney Marsh for many years was associated with the neighboring towns in Essex and Middlesex, in an organization called the "Three-County Troop." Under date of May 28, 1659, is the following entry in the General Court Records,[4] which fixes approximately the date of the formation of the company: "In ans^r to the request of y^e troopers lately raised in y^e countys of Essex, Suffolke, and Middlesex, for y^e Court's confirmation of theire officirs, the Court judgeth it meete to allowe and confirme Edward Hutchinson to be theire captaine." I find no list of the officers; but Oct. 15, 1673, Captain John Tuttle, a citizen of Rumney Marsh, was dismissed from service in that company at his own request; [5]

[1] *Town Records*, ii. 233.
[2] *Selectmen's Records*, i. 177.
[3] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 631–33.
[4] Vol. IV., Part I., p. 369.
[5] *Col. Records*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 567.

and in 1674 another citizen, Cornet William Hasey, was appointed lieutenant of the troop. In the war of 1676 by the United Colonies, ten men, "to be well fitted with long arms," were to be raised from the Three-County Troop, to rendezvous at Concord.

This company retained its organization until March 12, 1690, when, at a General Court held at Charlestown, it was ordered that —

"The train soldiers inhabiting the lands belonging to the town of Boston lying to the eastward of Winnisimmet Ferry, together with Noddle's Island and Hog Island, are forthwith to nominate meet persons for their commission officers, and present them to this Court for their allowance. And the Three-County Troop is hereby dismissed."

In pursuance of the above order, Major Elisha Hutchinson directed William Ireland, clerk, to warn all male persons above the age of eighteen years within the new district to meet, on the second of June, at Lieutenant Smith's, at Winnisimmet, completely armed, to nominate officers. I find no return to this warrant; but next month the General Court "ordered that sixty of the four hundred soldiers appointed to be raised by order of this Court be put under the command of Captain John Floyd,[1] and forthwith posted at Portsmouth, in East Hampshire, for the further enforcement and strengthening of that post, to be improved against the common enemy, as they shall be ordered."

During the war for Independence the citizens of Chelsea rendered good service to the cause, both at home and on other fields. Rev. Phillips Payson, their settled minister, showed zeal and capacity in civil and military affairs; and Captain Samuel Sprague was a spirited and valuable officer. The farmers, either in their own military organization, or as members of companies formed in the neighboring towns, supplied their full quotas of troops.

While the Regulars were on their retreat from Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775, protected by reinforcements under the command of Lord Percy, a detached party who were carrying stores and provisions were attacked at Menotomy by Rev. Phillips Payson, leading a party of his parishioners whom he had hastily gathered on the alarm. One of the Regulars was killed and some were taken prisoners, together with arms and stores, without loss to the attacking party.[2]

[1] Captain John Floyd was a citizen of Rumney Marsh, and his house, of which a view is found in the first volume of this History, is still standing. He was at the Eastward as late as January, 1693, and from his correspondence and other documents in the State Archives he appears to have been an able and intelligent officer.

[2] The tradition is, that when Percy's brigade, on their way through Roxbury, reached the Cambridge bridge, they found the planks removed, and so were obliged to pass over on the string-pieces. His wagons of provisions, however, were detained until the planks were replaced; and then, while attempting to rejoin their party, they lost their way in Cambridge. They inquired their way, but were misdirected of course, and the train of provisions fell into the hands of the company led by Payson, and directed by a negro who had seen service. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 19, 1858.

At the State House is a muster-roll of a company in Chelsea, under command of Captain Samuel Sprague, which entered the service on April 19, 1775, and continued until their discharge, — generally on the 16th of May, — containing the names of twenty-eight men. On the same day, and under the command of the same officer, a company of militia was formed, which was likewise discharged on the 16th of May. This company consisted of fifty-two men.

Before the expiration of the service of the last-mentioned company, Captain Sprague had enlisted another company, comprising inhabitants of Chelsea and other towns, for the term of three months, which was attached to Colonel Baldwin's regiment.

Under date of April 24, 1775, the Committee of Safety forbade the inhabitants of Chelsea and Malden to fire upon or otherwise injure any seamen belonging to the navy under the command of Admiral Graves, unless fired upon by them, until they should receive orders from the Committee or the general of the forces.

Two days later these orders were countermanded, and the inhabitants of these towns were desired to put themselves in the best state of defence, and exert themselves in such manner as, under the circumstances, their judgments directed.[1] In Committee of Safety, May 3, it was voted to raise two companies in Chelsea and Malden, for the defence of the coast of those towns; and that Captain Benjamin Blaney and Captain Samuel Sprague be furnished with beating orders for the purpose.[2]

On the 4th of the same month the Committee resolved, as their opinion, that all the live stock should be taken from Noddle's, Hog, and Snake Islands, and from that part of Chelsea near the sea coast, and driven back; and that the execution of this business should be committed to the Committee of Correspondence[3] and Selectmen of Medford, Malden, Chelsea, and Lynn; and that they should be supplied with such a number of men as they should need from the regiment then at Medford. On the 22d they resolved to recommend these measures to the Provincial Congress,[4] to be immediately acted upon; and that the Commissary-General should be directed to supply twenty-five men of Captain Sprague's company, stationed at Chelsea.

Of the various accounts of the events to which these resolutions led, I have selected that which is found in the State Archives:[5] —

"On the 27th instant, as a party of the Massachusetts Forces, together with a party of New Hampshire Forces, in all about 600 men, were attempting to bring off

[1] *Journal of Provincial Congress*, pp. 522, 523.

[2] In the original draft of this vote, the names of Rev. Phillips Payson and Rev. Mr. [Peter] Thacher were inserted instead of Blaney and Sprague. *Mass. Archives*, vol. cxlvi. p. 20.

[3] The Committee of Correspondence, elected May 30, 1775, consisted of Rev. Phillips Payson, Thomas Pratt, Captain Samuel Sprague, Samuel Watts, Samuel Floyd, Daniel Pratt, Joseph Green, James Stower, and Jonathan Williams. *Chelsea Town Records*, p. 190.

[4] Chelsea was represented in the Provincial Congress successively by Hon. Samuel Watts and Deacon John Sale.

[5] Vol. CXLVI. p. 131. There are many facts and traditions of interest respecting this affair which cannot be included in the space allotted to me for this chapter.

the stock upon Hog Island, and about 30 men upon Noddle's Island were doing the same, when about a hundred Regulars landed upon the last mentioned island, and pursued our men till they got safely back to Hog Island. Then the Regulars began to fire very briskly by platoons upon our men.

"In the mean time an armed schooner, mounting four 6-pounders and twelve swivels, with a number of barges, came up to Hog Island to prevent our men leaving said island. But to no purpose. After this she attempted to return back to the place where she was stationed at Winnisimmet, and five or six minutes would have secured her. But our men put in a heavy fire of small arms upon several barges which were towing her back, — for there was little wind, and flood tide; and two 3-pounders coming to hand that instant began to play upon them, and soon obliged the barges to quit her and carry off her crew. After which, fire was set to her, although the barges exerted themselves very vigorously to prevent it. She was burnt upon the ways of Winnisimmet Ferry.

"We have not lost a single life, although the engagement was very warm from the armed schooner, an armed sloop that lay within reach of small arms, from one or two 12-pounders on Noddle's Island, and from the barges which were all fixed with swivels. Hog Island was stript of its stock; and some was taken from Noddle's Island by our forces. Two or three persons only of our men were wounded, but not mortally. How many of the enemy were killed and wounded we cannot ascertain. Since which we have got into our hands all in the schooner that was not destroyed by fire."

General Putman, Colonel Stark, and Dr. Joseph Warren are said to have been at Chelsea at this time, either as actors in or witnesses of the event.

The battle of Bunker Hill was witnessed by many from the heights where now stands the United States Marine Hospital, and the smoke and cinders of burning Charlestown were driven as far as Chelsea.

In July the people of Chelsea were thrown into a state of alarm by the coming from Boston, by the way of Winnisimmet Ferry, of persons affected with the small-pox. On the 29th of the month, Washington, in consequence of information received respecting this matter, wrote a letter, which resulted in an informal meeting of members of the House of Representatives on Sunday, and the appointment of a committee to repair to Chelsea and take measures to guard the inhabitants against the infectious disease, and at the same time to relieve the poor people brought over and already suffering from it.

During the siege of Boston Chelsea formed the extreme left of the line of circumvallation; and on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Washington stands the house of Robert Pratt, which occupies the site of an earlier house at which Washington lunched when inspecting the lines.

In the winter of 1775–76, Gerrish's regiment, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Baldwin, was stationed at Chelsea; and at the State House is a rude drawing of the barracks occupied by the troops.

Before the close of the first century the precincts of Rumney Marsh and Brookline experienced the inconvenience of their remoteness from

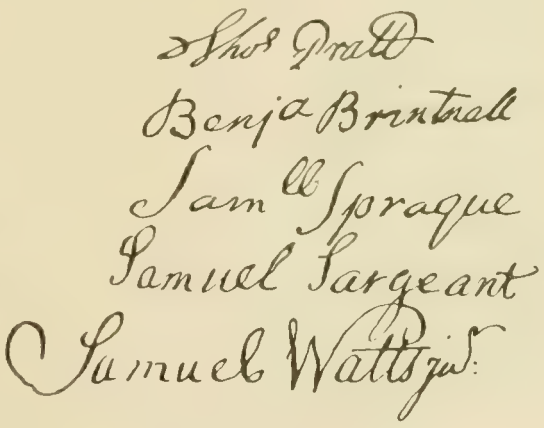
the centre of the town; and in town-meeting held March 14, 1699, it was voted that each should have liberty to choose an assessor to act with the selectmen for the making of their own rates. This choice was to be exercised on their first training day, and afterwards to be confirmed by the town.

January 31, 1735, twenty-three of the principal inhabitants petitioned the selectmen for the insertion in the warrant for the next town-meeting, in March following, an article to see if the town would be willing to give to Rumney Marsh "their just share and proportion of the revenues belonging to the town; and if they would refund what they had received more than they had expended for their special use and service for thirty years last past, in order for their supporting their own public charges, and then if the town would sett them off therefor."

This petition was referred to a committee, to consider and report at the annual meeting in March next, 1736. Their report was that the petitioners, at the hearing, gave no satisfactory reasons why the petition should be granted; and added: "We find they are a very industrious people, growing in their substance and estates, and too valuable a member to be severed from the body."

In 1738, at the March meeting, the subject of a separate town government was renewed by petition, and was referred as before, and with the same result, to a committee. Discouraged in their attempts to persuade the town to a voluntary relinquishment of a portion of their territory and inhabitants, the inhabitants of Rumney Marsh appealed directly to the General Court, by petition dated May 31.

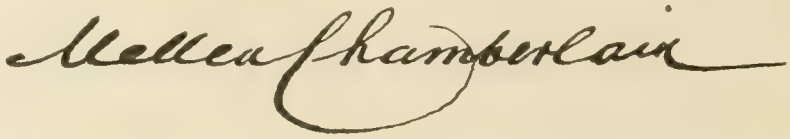
To this petition, notice of which to the town was ordered, there was strenuous but vain opposition, for by act which passed Jan. 8, 1739, the new town was incorporated; and Hon. Samuel Watts was directed to assemble the freeholders for organization into a separate municipality.



SELECTMEN, 1764.

Agreeably to this warrant, the inhabitants of the town of Chelsea met at the "New Meeting House," on the first Monday of March, 1739, chose Hon. Samuel Watts as moderator, elected town officers, and entered upon the usual town legislation. During the remainder of the provincial period there were but few incidents to be noted by the historian, and nothing which falls within the limits of this sketch, with the possible exception of an unsuccessful attempt to have Noddle and Hog Islands added to their territory. But it may be said, generally, that

the people of Chelsea shared, according to their numbers, in those expeditions which led to the overthrow of French domination in North America. And during the years 1774 and 1775, while the storm was gathering which was to break at Lexington and Concord, the inhabitants were in full sympathy with the patriot cause. The town itself, as appears from its records, was not behind other communities in adopting those measures made necessary for the maintenance of civil government when that of the Crown was destroyed or impaired. Samuel Sprague, Samuel Sargent, and Samuel Watts were the delegates in the County Convention which met at Dedham in September, 1774; and the town voted supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing for the soldiers. As has been seen, on the breaking out of hostilities, the people were prompt to act, and continued to show zeal and perseverance throughout the war.



CHAPTER XV.

THE PRESS AND LITERATURE OF THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD. 1692–1770.

BY DELANO A. GODDARD,
Editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser.

THE name of Richard Pierce appears in the imprint of several productions of the press in Boston after Mr. Sewall's retirement in 1684. Thomas speaks of him as "the fifth person who carried on the printing business in this place." His work was mainly for the ministers and booksellers of the town. It is not, however, as a printer of sermons that his name is preserved, but as the printer of the first newspaper attempted in America. The title of this daring venture was *Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick;* and it bore the date Sept. 25, 1690. One number only was printed, and the only copy known to be in existence is preserved in the Colonial State-Paper Office in London.[1] It was printed on the first three sides of a small folded sheet of seven by eleven inches, "by R. Pierce for Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee House." It was intended to print the *Publick Occurrences* regularly once a month, or oftener if a "glut of occurrences" called for a more frequent publication. This also, like Mr. Green's news-letter, was designed to correct false reports. The publisher further hoped it might "do something toward the curing, or at least the charming, of the spirit of lying" which seemed to be prevalent, and at the same time furnish materials for directing the thoughts of his readers, and assisting their business and negotiations. The contents of this

[1] This copy is reprinted, from title to colophon, in the *Historical Magazine*, 1857, p. 238, and also in Hudson's *History of Journalism*, p. 44. See also *Sewall Papers*, ii. 332; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1876, p. 239. Before its appearance news of general interest had passed from hand to hand in the form of news-letters, or from mouth to mouth as matter of common report. In this way many disturbing rumors became current. To stop these false reports, Samuel Green, Jr., who had before been known as a writer of news-letters, printed one of them experimentally in 1689, with the title, *The Present State of the New-English Affairs*, which is reprinted in the *New Hampshire Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1866, and in the *Andros Tracts*, iii. 15. It contained an extract from a letter written by Increase Mather, then in England in the interest of the new charter, to Simon Bradstreet, Governor; also an extract from a London print, and portions of a letter from I. Mather to his son — both concerning the mission he had in hand. This sheet had none of the attributes of a newspaper, and the experiment was not repeated. A copy of it is preserved in the *Massachusetts Archives*, xxxv. 83.

modest paper seem quite innocent through the haze of nearly two centuries; but it was then regarded with stern displeasure by the authorities. The General Court denounced it as a pamphlet printed contrary to law, and "containing reflections of a very high nature," and at once forbade "anything in print without license first obtained from those appointed by the Government to grant" it. This ended the first adventure, and the name of the printer disappears from view.

Benjamin Harris, associated with Pierce in this enterprise, had a printing-house in Cornhill or its neighborhood from 1690 to 1694, and his imprint is common in the books of that time. In spite of his connection with the condemned *Publick Occurrences*, he appears two years later as "printer to his Excellency the Governor and Council," and in 1692–93, by express authority of the Governor, he printed the new charter of William and Mary, and the acts and resolves of the Province for the first three or four sessions. He soon after returned to London.[1]

Early in 1690, Bartholomew Green, fourth son of Samuel Green of Cambridge, set up a printing-office in Boston; but his presses and types were hardly in place before the great fire of that year consumed them. The single number of *Publick Occurrences*, printed a few weeks later, mentioned as "one of the considerable circumstances in the calamities of this fire" that "the best furnished printing-press of those few that we know of in America was lost, — a loss not presently to be repaired." In two years, however, Mr. Green, having secured a fresh outfit, repeated the experiment and established the first permanent and successful press on the peninsula. His printing-house was in Newbury Street, now Washington, near the corner of Avon Street, a site which he and his successors continued to occupy until the Revolution.[2] Mr. Green, after his father's death in 1702, became for a time the printer for the college, — making ample reprisals for the business sent over the river while the printing monopoly was held in Cambridge. The name of Bartholomew Green is associated with many of the best books printed in America for more than a third of a century; but he is chiefly remembered as the first printer, and afterward the proprietor and editor of the first newspaper established on the continent. It was called *The Boston News-Letter*, and was "published by authority."[3] The first number

[1] "He had been a brisk assertor of English Liberties, and once printed a book with that very title. He sold a Protestant petition in King Charles's reign, for which he was fined five pounds; and he was once set in the pillory, but his wife (like a kind Rib) stood by him to defend her husband against the mob. After this (having a deal of mercurie in his natural temper), he travelled to New England, where he followed book-selling, and then coffee-selling, and then printing, but continued Ben Harris still, and is now both book-seller and printer in Gracechurch Street, as we find by his London Post." John Dunton, *Life and Errors*, London, 1705.

[2] [See the Introduction to this volume.—Ed.]

[3] [This and other facsimiles of early Boston newspapers in this chapter are taken from copies in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and are reduced in size. I know of but three copies of No. 1. This in the Historical Society is defective at the edge, as the plate shows; and others are in the American Antiquarian Society, and in the N. Y. Historical Society. Hudson says the file in this last depository is the only complete one known, but the librarian informs me that it only extends from No. 1 (April 17, 1704) to No. 209 (April 19, 1708), and lacks Nos. 27, 138, 139, 140, 141. — Ed.]

N. E. Numb. 1.

The Boston News-Letter.

Published by Authority.

From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704.

London Flying-Post from *Decemb.* 2*d. to* 4*th* 1703.

LEtters from *Scotland* bring us the Copy of a Sheet lately Printed there, Intituled, *A Seasonable Alarm for* Scotland. *In a Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to his Friend in the Country, concerning the present Danger of the Kingdom and of the Protestant Religion.*

This Letter takes Notice, That Papists swarm in that Nation, that they traffick more avowedly than formerly, & that of late many Scores of Priests and Jesuites are come thither from *France*, and gone to the North, to the Highlands & other places of the Country. That the Ministers of the Highlands and North gave in large Lists of them to the Committee of the General Assembly, to be laid before the Privy-Council.

It likewise observes, that a great Number of other ill affected persons are come over from *France*, under pretence of accepting her Majesty's Gracious Indemnity; but, in reality, to increase Divisions in the Nation, and to entertain a Correspondence with *France*: That their ill Intentions are evident from their talking big, their owning the Interest of the pretended King *James* VIII. their secret Cabals, and their buying up of Arms and Ammunition, wherever they can find them.

To this he adds the late Writings and Actings of some disaffected persons, many of whom are for that Pretender, that several of them have declar'd they had rather embrace Popery than conform to the present Government, that they refuse to pray for the Queen, but use the ambiguous word Sovereign, and some of them pray in express Words for the King and Royal Family; and the charitable and generous Prince who has shew'd them so much Kindness. He likewise takes notice of Letters not long ago found in Cypher, and directed to a Person lately come thither from St. *Germains*.

He says that the greatest Jacobites, who will not qualifie themselves by taking the Oaths to Her Majesty, do now with the Papists and their Companions from St. *Germains* set up for the Liberty of the Subject, contrary to their own Principles, but meerly to keep up a Division in the Nation. He adds, that they aggravate those things which the People complain of, as to *England's* refusing to allow them a freedom of Trade, &c. and do all they can to foment Divisions betwixt the Nations, and to obstruct a Redress of those things complain'd of.

The Jacobites, he says, do all they can to perswade the Nation that their pretended King is a Protestant in his Heart, tho' he dares not declare it while under the Power of *France*; that he is acquainted with the Mistakes of his Father's Government, will govern us more according to Law, and endear himself to his Subjects.

They magnifie the Strength of their own Party, and the Weakness and Divisions of the other, in order to facilitate and hasten their Undertaking; they argue themselves out of their Fears, and into the highest assurance of accomplishing their purpose.

From all this he infers, That they have [illegible] of Assistance from *France*, otherwise they would never be so impudent; and he gives Reasons for his Apprehensions that the *French* King may send Troops thither this Winter, 1. Because the *English* & *Dutch* will not then be at Sea to oppose them. He can then best spare them, the Season of Action beyond Sea being over. 3. The Expectation given him of a considerable number to joyn them, may encourage him to the undertaking with fewer Men [illegible] but send over a sufficient number of Officers with Arms and Ammunition.

He endeavours in the rest of his Letter to answer the foolish Pretences of the Pretender's being a Protestant, and that he will govern us according to Law. He says, that being bred up in the Religion and Politicks of *France*, he is by Education a stated Enemy to our Liberty and Religion. That the Obligations which he and his Family owe to the *French* King, must necessarily make him wholly at his Devotion, and to follow his example, that if he sit upon the Throne, the three Nations must be oblig'd to pay the Debt which he owes the *French* King for the Education of himself and his Family, Entertaining his supposed Father and Family. And since the King must restore him by force, if ever he be restored, he will see to levy his own Debt before those Troops leave us. The Pretender being a good Proficient in the *Romish* Schools, he will never think himself sufficiently aveng'd, but by the utter Ruin of the Protestant Subjects, both as Hereticks and Rebels. The late Queen, his pretended Mother, in cold Blood when she was *Queen of Britain* to turn the West of *Scotland* into a huge Grave, will be then for doing so by the greatest part of the Nation; and, no doubt, is at Pains to have her pretended Son educated to her own Minute. That he says, it were a great Madness in the Nation to take a Prince bred up in the horrid Schools of Ingratitude, Persecution and Cruelty, and full of Rage and Envy. The *Jacobites*, he says, both in *Scotland* and at St. *Germains*, are impatient of their present Straits, and knowing that their circumstances cannot be much worse than they are at present, are the more inclinable to the Undertaking. He adds, That the *French* King knows there can be a more effectual way for himself to attain Universal Monarchy, and to ruine the Protestant Interest, than by setting up the Pretender on the Throne of Great *Britain*, he will in all probability attempt it; and tho' he should be perfectly sure the Design would miscarry in the close, he could not but reap some Advantage by imbroiling the three Nations.

From all this the Author concludes it the Interest of the Nation, to provide for Safety, and says, that as many have already taken the Alarm, and are furnishing themselves with Arms and Ammunition, he hopes the Government will not only allow it, but encourage it, [illegible] on ought all to app[illegible]

was for the week from Monday, April 17, to Monday, April 24, 1704.[1] The imprint at the bottom of the reverse page reads: "Boston, printed by B. Green, sold by Nicholas Boone at his shop near the old Meeting-house." It was founded by John Campbell, postmaster, and was printed weekly on a small folio sheet. The early numbers were most unpromising. Extracts from the *London Flying Post* concerning the pretender James VIII. of Scotland, two or three arrivals from the nearer ports, the death of two eminent citizens, the appointment of a judge of the admiralty and his deputy, the text of a sermon which the Governor had ordered to be printed, and the publisher's advertisement soliciting business were all it contained. Campbell[2] was not a brilliant genius. He wrote little, and that awkwardly, and with effort. His patrons were few and sparing, and he wrestled with them continually on account of their delinquencies. The London newspapers were then in the early summer of their prosperity, and the *News-Letter* was largely dependent on them, though it copied little of their enterprise or spirit.[3] The more important State-papers issued by the home government were regularly printed. The progress of European wars and the great events of the world, after much delay, were recorded with tolerable regularity. Comparatively slight account was made of domestic occurrences. Two or three advertisements, the principal arrivals and clearances, and now and then a remarkable incident in this or a neighboring village, sufficed for the news of a continent. When, after his exclusive possession of this field for fifteen years, a second newspaper was established, and then a third, Campbell regarded the intruders with extreme aversion, and quarrelled with them to the end. In the fierce controversy of 1721, caused by the effort to introduce inoculation for small-pox, the *News-Letter* took bold ground in its favor. But in disputed questions generally, and especially in those long fatal to good understanding between the royal governors and the people, Campbell himself took no part, even if he recognized their existence. He had no scruples, however, about printing rancorous and abusive letters on one side or the other, which served to keep the community in a fever of agitation. He had the instincts and the prudence of a soldier of fortune, and never even by accident indulged in an

[1] "April 24, 1704. I went to Cambridge to see some books on the Revelation, and there met with Mr. Pignet. Went into Hall and heard Mr. Willard expound Rom. 4, 9, 10, 11, and pray. I gave Mr. Willard the first *News-Letter* that ever was carried over the River. He shew'd it the Fellows. I came home in company with Mr. Adams." — *Sewall Papers*, ii. 100.

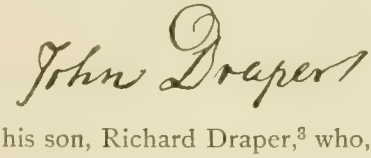
[2] He was a Scotchman by birth, and a bookseller. While the freedom of printing was restrained he had sometimes written news-letters for the information of leading persons in New England. Nine of these letters, consisting in great part of occurrences abroad gathered from ships arriving in Boston and from various sources, written from April to October, 1703, to Governor Fitz-John Winthrop, of Connecticut, are now in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See *Proceedings*, March, 1867, p. 485, where they are printed; one of them is given by Hudson.

[3] [The Editors of the *Sewall Papers*, iii. 84, are led to infer from an entry of the diarist — "1716, May 23. The Lieut.-Governor asked the Council's advice about a paragraph taken out of the *Flying Post*, printed by Fleet" — that Thomas Fleet, who came to Boston about 1712, and set up a printing-office, may have occasionally issued a broadside of this title, even before the *News-Letter* had a regular rival. — ED.]

expression which could ruffle the sensibilities of that greater soldier of fortune, Governor Joseph Dudley, then playing an important part in the affairs of the Province.

Campbell was removed from the post-office in 1719,[1] but continued to publish the *News-Letter* until 1722, when it passed into the hands of Mr. Green, the printer. The new publisher entered upon his work with a profound sense of its value and importance. He early announced his purpose to print, besides the foreign and domestic news, articles on the state of religion in the world, in which he solicited the co-operation of the most eminent men. He desired also to make his paper useful as a history of Nature, and to this end he sought the assistance of ingenious gentlemen in all parts of the country. He had no taste for conflict. He would strive, he said, "to oblige all his readers by publishing those transactions only that have no relation to any of our quarrels, and may be equally entertaining to the greatest adversaries." He often gave to his account of remarkable incidents a religious application, or an impressive moral. He died Dec. 28, 1732. His successor, after stating that Mr. Green had much of that primitive Christianity which had always been the distinguishing glory of New England, mentioned also his "eminency for a strict observing the Sabbath; his household piety; his keeping close and diligent to the work of his calling; his meek and peaceable spirit; his caution of publishing anything offensive, light, or hurtful; and his tender sympathy to the poor." Green was printer for the Governor and Council of Massachusetts forty years, and during the greater part of that time the most eminent and successful printer in America.[2]

Mr. Green was followed by his son-in-law, John Draper, in whose hands the *News-Letter* grew in reputation and influence. For thirty years it was identified with the best interests of the town and the Province. Draper was an industrious, painstaking, and scrupulous journalist, and served the public with religious fidelity. He died in 1762, transmitting the charge to his son, Richard Draper,[3] who,



[1] [In August of this year, Campbell says, in an appeal to his readers, referring to his occasionally issuing full sheets instead of half sheets, that "he cannot vend three hundred at an impression." — Ed.]

[2] The printing of the *News-Letter* was transferred, from 1707 to 1711, to John Allen, who had opened a printing-office in Pudding Lane, now Devonshire Street. Before this time he had been associated with both Green and Harris, and his name appears in the imprint of several books printed early in the century. It was the custom of master printers, when their business was on a small scale, instead of hiring those who had served a regular apprenticeship as journeymen, to admit them as special partners in the work, and to draw a portion of the profit. In this way James, the Indian printer, was associated with Bartholomew Green, in printing an edition of the Psalter in 1709 in the Indian and English languages, and occasionally with other master printers who needed his special services. [See Dr. Trumbull's chapter on "The Literature in the Indian tongue," in vol. i. — Ed.] Timothy Green, a nephew of Bartholomew, and grandson of Samuel of Cambridge, had an office at this time in Middle now Hanover Street, where he printed and sold books. Thomas, *History of Printing*, i. 104–5.

[3] In May, 1768, the *Gazette* and *News-Letter*, and the *Boston Post-Boy* made a partnership of convenience, one half of each paper being identical, and called the *Massachusetts Gazette, Published by Authority;* the other half bearing the

though in feeble health, was esteemed the best compiler of news in his day. He was remarkable for the delicacy of his mind and the gentleness of his manners.[1] In the great controversy then coming on he strongly supported the royal cause, and added the King's arms to the title of his paper, as a sign of his devotion. He published the *News-Letter* till 1774, when he died, leaving it to his widow, who managed it in person with the assistance of a young man named Boyle. He sympathized with the rising revolution, and was soon forced to retire, being succeeded by John Howe,[2] who conducted the *News-Letter* till the British troops left Boston, and the paper ceased to exist. It was published without interruption seventy-two years. In its later years it was devotedly loyal to England, and came to be thoroughly hated in the colony. The ablest loyalist writers contributed to its pages, employing argument, ridicule, satire, and denunciation in support of their cause. It was the only paper printed in Boston during the siege, and it defended all the acts of the British troops.

The second newspaper established in Boston, bearing the date Dec. 14–21, 1719,[3] was published by William Brooker, who had succeeded Campbell as postmaster. The facsimile is of one of the earlier numbers. It was printed weekly, by James Franklin, on a half-sheet of printing foolscap, enlarged to a whole sheet after a time, one page being often left blank. The head of the sheet was illustrated by engraved cuts on either side of the title, one representing a ship of awkward design, the other a postman sounding his horn, and mounted upon a horse at full speed. The appearance of a rival to the *News-Letter* caused much agitation, and the inhabitants had their first taste of an unsavory controversy. Philip Musgrave succeeded Brooker in a few weeks both as postmaster and publisher, and Franklin, the printer, was displaced by Samuel Kneeland, who had opened an office the year before in Cornhill. In 1726 Thomas Lewis became postmaster, and the *Gazette* passed into his hands. Henry Marshall succeeded him as postmaster and publisher the following year, with Bartholomew Green, Jr., as printer. Marshall died in office in 1732, and John Boydell became postmaster and publisher, with Kneeland again as printer. Boydell conducted the paper with excellent judgment and ability until his

name of each paper respectively, and remaining under the separate control of its own proprietor. This arrangement continued a year and a half. Thomas, *History of Printing*, ii. 27.

[1] Sabine, *Loyalists*, ii. 387.

[2] Boyle was a printer and bookseller on Marlboro' now Washington Street, near Bromfield Street. He lived till 1819, highly respected by the community. Howe went with the British troops to Nova Scotia, where he made a fortune and established a family, which has borne an honorable and distinguished name in the history of that Province. Mrs. Draper retained the ownership of the *News-Letter* to the end. She was a devoted loyalist, and is remembered in Trumbull's *McFingal*. She left Boston with the British troops, and received a life-pension from the British government.

[3] [The following day, December 22, the first American newspaper established outside of Boston appeared in Philadelphia, — the *American Weekly Mercury*. — Ed.]

NEW-ENGLAND: N°. 98.

THE Boston Gazette

Published by Authority.

From MONDAY October 2. to MONDAY October 9. 1721.

By His Excellency

SAMUEL SHUTE Esq;
Captain General and GOVERNOUR in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New England*, &c.

A Proclamation for a General

THANKSGIVING.

FOrasmuch as amidst the various awful Rebukes of Heaven, with which we are righteously afflicted, in the Contagious and Mortal Sickness among us, especially in the Town of Boston; *The long and immoderate Rains, which have been so hurtful to the Husbandry and Fishery; And the threatning Aspect of Affairs with Respect to our Frontiers: We are still under the highest and most indispensible Obligations of Gratitude for the many Instances of the Divine Goodness in the Favours vouchsafed to us in the Course of the Year past; Particularly, For the LIFE of our Gracious Sovereign Lord the KING, Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of* Wales *and their Issue, and the increase of the Royal Family; The Preservation of His Majesty's Kingdoms and Dominions from the terrible and desolating* Pestilence, *which hath for so long a time been wasting the Kingdom of France; And the happy Success of His Majesty's Wise Counsils for Restoring and Confirming the Peace of* Europe; *For the Continuance of our valuable Privileges, both Civil and Ecclesiastical; and the Divine Blessing upon this Government in their Administrations; Particularly, In succeeding the Methods taken to prevent the Insults of the Eastern Indians; For giving so great a Measure of Health within this Province, and Moderating the Mortality of the* Small Pox, *so that a great Number of Persons are Recovered from that Distemper; And for granting us so comfortable a former Harvest, and so hopeful a Prospect of the latter:*

I *Have therefore thought fit with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, to Order and Appoint* Thursday *the Twenty sixth Instant, to be Observed as a Day of Publick* THANKSGIVING *throughout this Province, strictly forbidding all Servile Labour thereon, and exhorting both Ministers and People in their respective Assemblies on the said Day, to offer up humble and sincere* THANKS *to Almighty* GOD, *for His many Favours, as aforesaid, and for many other Blessings bestowed on a sinful People.*

Given at Boston, the Eighteenth Day of *September*, 1721. And in the Eighth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord GEORGE, by the Grace of GOD of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland*, KING, Defender of the Faith, &c.

By Order of the Governour, with Advice of the Council.
J. Willard, Secr.

S. SHUTE.

GOD Save the KING.

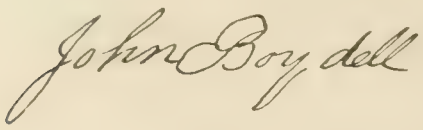
The following Advices from Foreign Parts are taken from the Weekly Journal of July 22.

Letters from France still are very full of the Preparations making for the Congress of Cambray, and of bringing the long Contention between Spain and the Allies, to a speedy Conclusion. However, notwithstanding the great Hurry they seem just now to be in upon this Head, they do not even yet tell us, when this so much expected Treaty is to begin, nor let us into the Reason for its being delayed, so that we are much in the dark about this Affair; and considering the uncertain Situation of Things, if we should continue so for some time longer yet, it would be no manner of Surprize to us.

We can really see nothing in our Accounts, that can afford us any Satisfaction as to the Plague in France; for tho' much has been pretended this Week to the contrary, it does not appear to us to have abated any thing of its former Fury, as with much Assurance has been given out. If the Violence of it has been less in one Part, it has, as was said in our last, been for want of fresh Objects to prey upon; and the Fury with which it has broke out anew, in the Course of its dreadful Progress, has made it sufficiently evident, that upon the whole, the Devastations continue equally great to what the Distemper ever occasioned since it came to its Height. And indeed if we consider the sure Footing it has got, the vast Number of People and Places infected, and allow the Contagion to be of so malignant a Nature as it has all along been represented to us, 'twill be much more unexpected, as 'tis really more improbable, to find it abating, and growing less, during the violent hot Weather which is now in France, than to hear that it proceeds in the same outrageous Manner it has already done, till after the Summer Season is over, and the Cold sets in to check its Advances.

The

death in 1739. He was greatly esteemed by the community. From 1716 until his death he held various offices of trust, all of which "he discharged with such singular diligence, integrity, and goodness that this community never lost a more useful and valuable member than he was in his degree and station."[1] The *Gazette* was printed for his heirs until 1741, when it became the property of Kneeland and Green, and was united with the *New England Weekly Journal*, which they had already well established. Of the founders and early publishers of the *Gazette* very little is known. The newspaper fell into their hands, not because they were especially qualified to carry it on, but as an attachment to the post-office. The means of distributing papers were altogether too limited to make it an object for any one but a very rash or a very bold man to venture alone in this unpromising field.



The New England Courant, the third newspaper in Boston, first appeared Aug. 17, 1721, issued from the office of James Franklin, in Queen now Court Street.[2] It was printed weekly on a half-sheet crown printing paper, and led a short and stormy life. Franklin, the elder brother of Benjamin Franklin, began business in Boston in March 1716, with press and type brought from London, where he had served his apprenticeship. He printed pamphlets for booksellers, and was the first printer of *The Boston Gazette*. Offended by the loss of that position, and "encouraged by a number of respectable characters who were desirous of having a paper of different cast from those then published," he began to print *The Courant* at his own risk, — his venerable father and many of his friends remonstrating against it as a most rash experiment. The community at that time was in a highly inflamed condition. The people were pitiably poor, and they were divided into nearly equal parties as to the causes of and the remedy for their poverty. Governor Shute had for four or five years been vainly struggling to enforce his prerogative, and had succeeded in provoking an obstinate opposition on the part of the representatives.[3] "In the memorable year 1720," says Governor Hutchinson, "the contests and dissentions in the government rose to a greater height than they had done since the religious feuds of 1636–37." Religious and social disputes also arose among the people, dividing them by a different line; and last of all came the inoculation controversy, which the terrors of the small-pox then raging did nothing to assuage.

[1] *The Boston Gazette*, Dec. 17, 1739.

[2] [See the Introduction to this volume.—ED.]

[3] His commission as Governor instructed him, among other things, to "provide by all necessary orders that no person have any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet, or other writing whatsoever be printed without his special leave and license first obtained." In the session of 1719, the House having made answer to the Governor on some point in controversy, and having refused his repeated request that it should be withheld from the press, he declared that having "the power of the press" he would prevent the publication which they designed. But the Attorney-General advised him that there was no law investing him with that authority, notwithstanding the article in his instructions which presumed it to exist. He could not maintain the pretension; the answer was published in the *News-Letter*; and the liberty of printing was thenceforward established in Massachusetts. Palfrey, *History of New England*, iv. 405.

THE [No 80

New-England Courant.

From MONDAY February 4. to MONDAY February 11. 1723.

The late Publisher of this Paper, finding so many Inconveniencies would arise by his carrying the Manuscripts and publick News to be supervis'd by the Secretary, as to render his carrying it on unprofitable, has intirely dropt the Undertaking. The present Publisher having receiv'd the following Piece, desires the Readers to accept of it as a Preface to what they may hereafter meet with in this Paper.

Non ego mordaci distrinxi Carmine quenquam,
Nulla venenato Litera onusta Joco est.

LONG has the Press groaned in bringing forth an hateful, but numerous Brood of Party Pamphlets, malicious Scribbles, and Billingsgate Ribaldry. The Rancour and bitterness it has unhappily infused into Mens minds, and to what a Degree it has sowred and leaven'd the Tempers of Persons formerly esteemed some of the most sweet and affable, is too well known here, to need any further Proof or Representation of the Matter.

No generous and impartial Person then can blame the present Undertaking, which is designed purely for the Diversion and Merriment of the Reader. Pieces of Pleasancy and Mirth have a secret Charm in them to allay the Heats and Tumors of our Spirits, and to make a Man forget his restless Resentments. They have a strange Power to tune the harsh Disorders of the Soul, and reduce us to a serene and placid State of Mind.

The main Design of this Weekly Paper will be to entertain the Town with the most comical and diverting Incidents of Humane Life, which in so large a Place as *Boston*, will not fail of a universal Exemplification: Nor shall we be wanting to fill up these Papers with a grateful Interspersion of more serious Morals, which may be drawn from the most ludicrous and odd Parts of Life.

As for the Author, that is the next Question. But tho' we profess our selves ready to oblige the ingenious and courteous Reader with most Sorts of Intelligence, yet here we beg a Reserve. Nor will it be of any Manner of Advantage either to them or to the Writers, that their Names should be published; and therefore in this Matter we desire the Favour of you to suffer us to hold our Tongues: Which tho' at this Time of Day it may sound like a very uncommon Request, yet it proceeds from the very Hearts of your Humble Servants.

By this Time the Reader perceives that more than one are engaged in the present Undertaking. Yet is there one Person, an Inhabitant of this Town of *Boston*, whom we honour as a Doctor in the Chair, or a perpetual Dictator.

The Society had design'd to present the Publick with his Effigies, but that the Limner, to whom he was presented for a Draught of his Countenance, deceived (and this he is ready to offer upon Oath) Nineteen Features in his Face, more than ever he beheld in any Humane Visage before; which so raised the Price of his Picture, that our Master himself forbid the Extravagance of coming up to it. And then besides, the Limner objected a Schism in his Face, which parts it from his Forehead in a strait Line down to his Chin, in such sort, that Mr. Painter protests it is a double Face, and he'll have *Four Pounds* for the Portraiture. However, tho' this double Face has spoilt us of a pretty Picture, yet we all rejoiced to see old *Janus* in our Company.

There is no Man in *Boston* better qualified than old *Janus* for a *Courranteer*, or if you please, an *Observator*, being a Man of such remarkable *Opticks*, as to look two ways at once.

As for his Morals, he is a chearly Christian, as the Country Phrase expresses it. A Man of good Temper, courteous Deportment, sound Judgment; a mortal Hater of Nonsense, Foppery, Formality, and endless Ceremony.

As for his Club, they aim at no greater Happiness or Honour, than the Publick be made to know, that it is the utmost of their Ambition to attend upon and do all imaginable good Offices to good Old *Janus* the Courranteer, who is and always will be the Readers humble Servant.

P S. Gentle Readers, we design never to let a Paper pass without a Latin Motto if we can possibly pick one up, which carries a Charm in it to the Vulgar, and the learned admire the pleasure of Construing. We should have obliged the World with a Greek scrap or two, but the Printer has no Types, and therefore we intreat the candid Reader not to impute the defect to our Ignorance, for our Doctor can say all the *Greek* Letters by heart.

~~*His Majesty's Speech to the Parliament*~~, October 11. *tho' already publish'd, may perhaps be new to many of our Country Readers, we shall therefore insert it in this Day's Paper.*

His MAJESTY's most Gracious SPEECH to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday *October* 11. 1722.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am sorry to find my self obliged, at the Opening of this Parliament, to acquaint you, That a dangerous Conspiracy has been for some time formed, and is still carrying on against my Person and Government, in Favour of a Popish Pretender.

The Discoveries I have made here, the Informations I have received from my Ministers abroad, and the Intelligences I have had from the Powers in Alliance with me, and indeed from most parts of Europe, have given me most ample and current Proofs of this wicked Design.

The Conspirators have, by their Emissaries, made the strongest Instances for Assistance from Foreign Powers, but were disappointed in their Expectations: However, confiding in their Numbers, and not discouraged by their former ill Success, they resolved once more, upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of my Government.

To this End they provided considerable Sums of Money, engaged great Numbers of Officers from abroad, secured large Quantities of Arms and Ammunition, and thought themselves in such Readiness, that had not the Conspiracy been timely discovered, we should, without doubt, before now have seen the whole Nation, and particularly the City of *London*, involved in Blood and Confusion.

The Care I have taken has, by the Blessing of God, hitherto prevented the Execution of their mischievous Projects. The Troops have been incamped all this Summer; six Regiments (though very necessary for the Security of that Kingdom) have been brought over from *Ireland*. The States General have given me assurances that they would keep a good Body of Forces in readiness to march

The *Courant* came upon the community at this time with fresh elements of discord. It was a small, ill-looking sheet, paid little attention to news, and made no account of advertising;[1] but letters and essays satirizing or assailing those who were highest in public esteem were heartily welcomed. Franklin, and the "respectable characters" behind him were not especially interested in political questions, but they entered with satisfaction into social disputes of a much more aggravating character. There had long been much restlessness under the severe censorship on the part of the clergy over individual opinions and conduct; and the *Courant* gave the signal for rebellion. Not satisfied with entering a protest, it assailed the most honored names and the most deeply cherished opinions without modesty, and with gross exaggeration. It was assisted by a club of writers called by some the "free thinkers," by others the "hell-fire club."[2] Some of their essays showed much ingenuity, humor, and good sense; but the greater number were of a very common order, and only attracted attention by their coarseness and audacity. Such a journal at such a time could hardly expect a peaceful career. One extreme was followed by another. Dr. Increase Mather, then in his eighty-second year, denounced it, in "an advice to the Publick," as "a cursed libel" inviting some awful judgment upon the land.[3]

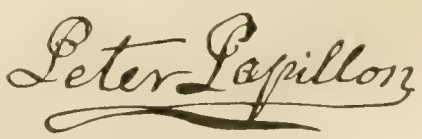
Benjamin Franklin, then a boy of sixteen, began his renowned career under these cloudy auspices, — stealthily contributing to the *Courant* the first perishable effusions of his youthful pen, and giving to the publication the cover of his name when it became necessary for his brother to evade the orders of the court. Twice the elder brother was arraigned for contempt; the first time he was imprisoned four weeks in the common jail;[4] the second time he was forbidden to print anything whatever until it had been supervised by the Secretary of the Province.[5] This caused so much incon-

[1] No files of the *Courant* are preserved. "The only copies of it that I have been able to find — except a very few fugitive sheets — are in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. They are all bound in one volume, and the file is far from being perfect." — Buckingham, *Specimen of Newspaper Literature*, i. 49. [We can judge somewhat of Franklin's assaults on the *News-Letter* from Campbell's retorts, and these are printed in Hudson's *Journalism*. — ED.]

[2] The names of the members of this club were faithfully kept secret. Matthew Adams is mentioned in Benjamin Franklin's autobiography as a frequenter of the printing-office, and an occasional contributor. Dr. William Douglas was undoubtedly another. He had a quarrel of his own at that time with Cotton Mather, in regard to inoculation, and was the most energetic exponent of the views which the *Courant* held on that subject.

[3] Thomas, *History of Printing*, ii., 32, 33. [Mather's "advice" was printed in the *Gazette*. It is reprinted in Hudson's *Journalism*, 67, and in Buckingham, i., 53. — ED.]

[4] [The offence which finally brought down the weight of the authorities was a mere intimation in his paper of June 11, in a communication, that the Massachusetts government was dilatory in sending an armed vessel, which had been placed under the command of Captain Peter Papillon, in search of pirates who were then



infesting the coast. Jeremiah Bumstead's diary records Papillon's sailing the next day, June 12. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1861, p. 195. It was also on the 12th that the Council took the matter up, and on the 20th, on a petition from the prisoner, they gave him the liberty of the prison yard. — ED.]

[5] This was July 5. The General Court, which had effectually destroyed the pretensions of the royal governor to the "power of the press," was not yet ready to surrender its own. The history of these repeated prosecutions is given in Thomas's *History of Printing*, ii. 32–38.

NUMB.

The NEW-ENGLAND
Weekly JOURNAL;

Containing the moſt Remarkable Occurrences Foreign & Domeſtick.

Monday March 20th. 1727.

IT would be needleſs to mention here the particular Reaſons *for Publiſhing this Paper; and will be ſufficient to ſay, That the* Deſign *of it is, with Fidelity and Method to Entertain the Publick every* Monday *with a Collection of the moſt Remarkable Occurrences of* Europe, *with a particular Regard from time to time to the preſent Circumſtances of the Publick Affairs, whether of Church or State. And to render this Paper more Acceptable to its* Readers, *immediate care will be taken (and a conſiderable progreſs is herein already made) to ſettle a Correſpondence with the moſt knowing and ingenious Gentlemen in the ſeveral noted Towns in this and the Neighbour-Provinces, who may take particular Care ſeaſonably to Collect and ſend what may be Remarkable in their Town or Towns adjacent worthy of the Publick View; whether of Remarkable Judgments, or Singular Mercies, more private or public; Preſervations & Deliverances by Sea or Land: together with ſome other Pieces of Hiſtory of our own, &c. that may be profitable & entertaining both to the Chriſtian and Hiſtorian. It is likewiſe intended to inſert in this Paper a Weekly Account of the Number of Perſons* Buried, & Baptiz'd, *in the Town of* Boſton; *With ſeveral other Things that at preſent can only be thought of, that may be of Service to the Publick: And ſpecial care will be taken that nothing contrary thereto ſhall be inſerted.*

Thoſe Gentlemen therefore whether in Town *or* Country, *who are inclined to Encourage and take this Paper, may have it left at their Houſes in the Town of* Boſton *or* Charlſtown, *or Seal'd up, Directed & Convey'd as they ſhall Order, giving Notice at the Printing-Houſe in Queen-Street* Boſton.

The Price of the Paper *to thoſe that live in the* Town *will be* Sixteen Shillings *per Year, and* Twenty Shillings *if Seal'd, &c. and to be paid Quarterly.*

☞ This may ſerve as a Notification, that a Select number of Gentlemen, who have had the happineſs of a liberal Education, and ſome of them conſiderably improv'd by their Travels into diſtant Countries; are now concerting ſome regular Schemes for the Entertaiment of the ingenious Reader, and the Encouragement of Wit & Politeneſs; and may in a very ſhort time, open upon the Publick in a variety of pleaſing and profitable Speculations.

(From the LONDON JOURNAL, *Octob.* 15.)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE laſt Letters from the North left our Fleet in its old Situation before Revel: But as it had taken in great Quantity of Proviſions; as the Britiſh Admiral had returned Thanks to Prince Menzikoff for all Civilities; and as the Seaſon is far advanced; it was ſuppoſed the Admiral would in a few Days put himſelf in a ſailing Poſture. They had a great Storm lately in the Sound, by which ſome Ships were caſt away, and others damaged; but we don't hear of any Miſchief done by it in the Baltic.

There is nothing new from our Fleets in the Mediterranean and the Weſt Indies; only that Admiral Hoſier ſuffers no Ships to go in or come out of Portobello without a ſtrict Examination, the Spaniards having landed their Treaſure, conſiſting of about 30 Millions of Pieces of Eight, and carried it 10 Leagues up into the Country. Mean time they ſeem to be in extream Want of this Treaſure at the Spaniſh Court, becauſe they have ſent to the Chamber of Commerce at Seville to borrow 200000 Pieces of Eight till the Admiral of the Plate Fleet; and they ſay they muſt have the Money, tho' they Pawn the King's Revenues for it. At the ſame time his Grace the Wax-chandler is as profuſe at Ildephonſo, as if he was Maſter of the wealth of Potoſi: He has already melted down a great Part of his Lady's Portion in Balls and Entertainments at Caramanchel; and tho' the late Duke of Ormond, the late Earl Marſhal, and others of the Pretenders Adherents, who ſtill flatter themſelves that the Court of Spain will undertake ſomething in their Favour, are daily urging him to be gone to Rome; he ſays he can't go till he has received the reſt of his Lady's Portion. The King of Spain has diſmiſs'd the Marquis of Grimaldo, leaving him the Salary of Secretary, which is 2000 Piſtoles a Year, and ordered him to retire to Madrid. The King has alſo ſent Bermudas, his Father Confeſſor, to the Jeſuits College, as having no further Occaſion for his Service, tho' it was but five Hours before that he confeſs'd him. The Marquis de la Paz is now ſole Secretary for Foreign Affairs; and Don Joſeph Patinno is not only Secretary of the Marine and the Indies, but Preſident, Superintendant and Secretary of the Finances. Another of the Duke de Ripperda's Clerks has been taken into Cuſtody with his Papers, but the Duke himſelf continues very quiet.

London, Octob. 15.

They write from Amſterdam of the 9th Inſtant, N. S. That the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company there have declared they will Sell in the Months of November and December next, the Goods laſt arrived from the Eaſt-Indies, and ſome Part of what formerly remained in their Hands, viz. 407,464 l. of Sugar, 371,200 l. of Salt Petre, and 25,454 l. of Cowries, which is all that they have in Europe of thoſe three Commodities.

Philo

venience that from February 1723 his name disappeared; and the *Courant* purported to be "printed and sold by Benjamin Franklin, in Queen Street," from that time till it ceased to exist, four years later.[1] The younger brother, however, whose later renown has reflected a wholly unmerited lustre upon this enterprise, shook the dust of the town from his garments a few weeks after the change was made, and sought a more promising field for his talents in Philadelphia. He had not been at any time on friendly terms with his brother, and the new arrangement, which was in no respect to Benjamin's advantage, was followed by fresh quarrels and a most fortunate separation. The atmosphere of the Queen Street printing-office was demoralizing, if not debasing. Franklin himself, in his autobiography, places a moderate and very just estimate on his own literary efforts at this time. The estimation in which his sensible father held them may be inferred from the advice he gave to the hopeful son on his second departure for Philadelphia, — "to avoid lampooning and libelling, to which he thought I had too much inclination."[2] The *Courant* was not wanting in ability, and as a protest against prevailing narrowness and bigotry it might have been of some service. But it was aggravating in temper, unjust to the authorities, misrepresented the clergy, and was on the wrong side of many public questions.[3]

The *New England Courant* had scarcely passed out of view when the fourth[4] newspaper appeared on the 20th March, 1727, "printed by S. Kneeland, at the printing-house in Queen Street," and bearing the title, *The New England Weekly Journal, Containing the most remarkable occurrences, Foreign and Domestick.* It was first printed on a half-sheet of foolscap, but was enlarged to a full folio sheet after the fourth number. The essays of the *Spectator*, the *Tattler*, and the *Guardian* were already well known among reading people, and young and ambitious writers were imitating their form, and something of their spirit, with much ingenuity and success. During its first year the *Weekly Journal* contained a large number of such essays addressed to the unknown editor, who took the name of Proteus Echo, Esq.[5] They were on moral and social rather than political

[1] [The annexed fac-simile (reduced) is of the first number issued with Benjamin's imprint, which appeared on the reverse of the single sheet, of which the front side is here given. It shows, however, the announcement of the change of publisher. This number was reprinted in old-style type, at the time of the dedication of the Franklin Statue in 1856, and distributed from a printing car in the procession. — Ed.]

[2] Franklin, *Autobiography* (Bigelow's edition), p. 121.

[3] When the *Courant* was suspended in 1727, James Franklin went to Newport and established the *Rhode Island Gazette*, the first newspaper in that colony.

[4] [New York had less than two years before established its first newspaper, the *New York Gazette*, published October 1725, by William Bradford; and in the year after (1728), Benjamin Franklin started the second newspaper in Philadelphia, the *Universal Instructor*, soon afterwards called the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Maryland had just started her first paper at Annapolis, the *Maryland Gazette*. — Ed.]

[5] The first of these Essays, in which the writer gives an account of himself, is reprinted in Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, i. 91–93, where it is spoken of as not inferior in easy and quiet humor to those in which Steele, Addison, and Mackenzie introduced themselves to the readers of the *Tattler*, *Spectator*, and *Mirror*. These Essays had no title; but they were introduced after the fashion of the time by a motto, usually taken from a Latin poet. "Sunt quibus in plures jus est transire figuras" (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*) served as the introduction to a style of newspaper-writing quite superior to anything that had yet appeared in the Province.

topics, of a light, graceful, and sometimes humorous character. The community read them with a pleased interest, which afforded an agreeable relief from the vexatious wrangling in which the newspapers had been long engaged. In one of these early essays the author, in the vein of the *Spectator*, sketched the members of "the Society" who were to contribute them, naming them the Honorable Charles Gravely, Esq., "for many years a merchant of considerable eminence in the Province, who had traded for many thousands of pounds in wit and eloquence;" Mr. Timothy Blunt; Mr. Christopher Careless; Mr. Will. Bitterly; and "the wonderful Mr. Honeysuckle, the blossom of our society, and the beautiful ornament of literature." "I might add," he said, "the character of two divines who sometimes do us the honor to sit with us half-an-hour, and improve us with their excellent conversation. But these gentlemen are above the reach of my pen to do them justice. Their lives are regular and exemplary; their learning solid and profound; and in the pulpit they command the attention of their audience with the gracefulness of their air, the musick of their voices, and the noble majesty of their eloquence. These gentlemen will have no inconsiderable hand in these weekly entertainments." Tradition has never conjectured to whom these characters belonged, if indeed they were not entirely imaginary. But the two divines might have stood for the Rev. Thomas Prince, then in the prime of life, and the Rev. Mather Byles, who though still young was an active spirit in the undertaking, with a very promising literary reputation. One of the essays, on the subject of Terror, written soon after the Great Earthquake, and credited to him, attracted much attention.[1]

Mr. Byles's poems on the death of King George I. and on the accession of King George II. first appeared in this series of essays. The style was ex-

[1] Dr. Belknap quotes, in his *Sacred Poetry*, from the hymn to "The God of Tempest," with which the Essay closes, as follows:—

THE GOD OF TEMPEST AND EARTHQUAKE.

Thy dreadful power, Almighty God,
Thy works to speak conspire;
This Earth declares thy fame abroad
With water, air, and fire.

At thy command in glaring streaks
The ruddy lightning flies,
Loud thunder the creation shakes,
And rapid tempests rise.

. . . . . .

O Jesus! haste the glorious day,
When thou shalt come in flame,
And burn the Earth and waste the Sea
And break all Nature's frame!

Come quickly, blessed hope, appear!
Bid thy swift chariot fly;
Let angels warn thy coming near,
And snatch me to the sky!

Around thy wheels in the glad throng
I 'd bear a joyful part,
All Hallelujah on my tongue,
All rapture in my heart.

Mr. Byles published in the *Weekly Journal* a poem on Governor Burnet's arrival, which opens thus:—

"While rising shouts a gen'ral Joy proclaim,
And ev'ry tongue, O BURNET, lisps thy name;
To view thy Face, while crowding Armies run,
Whose waving Banners blaze against the Sun,
And deep-mouth'd Cannon, with a thund'ring roar,
Send thy Commission stretch'd from Shore to Shore."

This is tame compared with the following:—

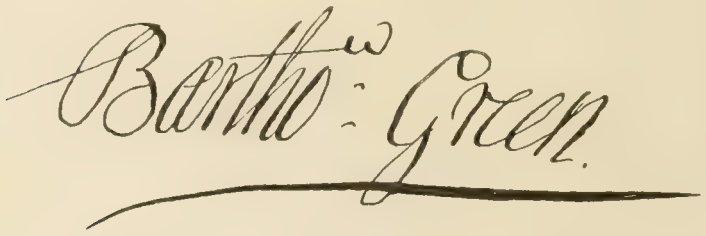
"Welcome, Great Man, to our desiring eyes!
Thou Earth! proclaim it; and resound, ye Skies!
Voice answering Voice, in joyful Concert meet,
The Hills all echo, and the Rocks repeat;
And Thou, O BOSTON, Mistress of the Towns,
Whom the pleased Bay with am'rous Arms surrounds,
Let thy warm Transports blaze in num'rous Fires,
And beaming Glories glitter on thy Spires;
Let Rockets, streaming, up the Ether glare,
And flaming Serpents hiss along the Air," etc.

See Drake, *History of Boston*, 581–82; and Kettell, *Specimens of American Poetry*.

travagant, the flattery overwhelming, the rhetoric fanciful and gorgeous. These essays, mainly in prose, had, however, much literary merit. During the third year, 1729, a new series appeared, and were attributed in great part to Governor Burnet. They were less showy and entertaining than the first, and in a more sober mood. Little attention was paid at this time to the news of the day. Judge Danforth and Mather Byles are credited by Mr. Thomas as the principal editors of the *Journal*, and correctors of the press. In 1741 the *Gazette* was united with the *Weekly Journal*, and thenceforward the two papers were published as one by Kneeland and Green until 1752, a period of thirty-three years from the establishment of the *Gazette*, and twenty-five years from that of the *Journal*. Thomas Prince was among the friends and counsellors of the *Journal*, and an occasional contributor. To his influence is traced the cordial support which the *Journal* gave to Whitefield during his visits to New England. It was the most creditable journal that had yet been printed in North America, and its influence in the country was always pure and wholesome.[1]

Jeremiah Gridley, afterward Attorney-General of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, founded the *Weekly Rehearsal* in the early autumn of 1731. It was first printed on a half-sheet of printing foolscap, and so long as his connection with it lasted it was more purely literary in its character than any of the journals that preceded it. It was printed by "J. Draper for the author," Mr. Gridley furnishing for each number, during the first six months, a moral or entertaining essay filling one half the paper. These were occasionally varied by selected essays from the best available sources. The original essays were written in a more elaborate and ambitious style than

[1] Samuel Kneeland, "the ancient and respectable printer," apprentice of Bartholomew Green, was long time printer to the Governor and Council. He printed many books on political and literary subjects. His four sons were printers. He died Dec. 14, 1769, aged 73 years, sustaining to the end the character of an upright man and a good Christian. Timothy Green, Jr., great grandson of the Cambridge printer, was associated with Kneeland from 1726 to 1752, when he removed to Connecticut. Bartholomew Green, Jr., another of this multitudinous family, during the same period printed several books on his own account, and was associated with most of the leading printers. [In the *Mass. Archives*, "Military," vii. 294, is the following petition, which is likewise in the Journals of the House: "Wednesday, Jan. 4, 1748: A petition of Bartholomew Green, of Boston, showing that in the year 1744, and long before, he was in the printing business; but that from a disposition to serve his Majesty and native country, he entred with the Expedition against Louisbourg as a lieutenant in the train of artillery; that he thereby put himself out of good business, which he cannot recover again; he therefore prays this House would take his case under consideration, and bestow upon him the office of Doorkeeper to the General Court, which is now vacant by the death of Mr. Richard Hubbard." The petition was referred to the next General Court. The family connection of the Greens is noted in *Sewall Papers*, i. 324. He removed in 1751 to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he died in a few weeks at the age of fifty-two years. — ED.]



newspaper readers were then accustomed to, and showed careful study and appreciation of the group of English writers who, earlier in that generation, added so much to the permanent wealth of our literature. They were

MASTER JOHN LOVELL.[1]

especially designed for "learned and polite" readers, and gave to the *Rehearsal* an exceptionally high character.

Thomas Fleet became proprietor of the *Rehearsal* in April, 1733, announcing in his first number that he would continue to seek "the entertainment of the Polite and Inquisitive part of Mankind." Gentlemen of leisure and capacity were invited to contribute, the only condition being that they should not be "over-long," and should be "confined within mod-

[1] This cut follows a portrait by Nathaniel Smibert, hanging in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. John Lovell, master of the Latin School for forty years, 1734–75, was a contributor to the *Rehearsal*. He was regarded as a pleasing and elegant writer, and delivered the first address in Faneuil Hall, — a funeral oration on Peter Faneuil, afterward published. [See Mr. C. C. Smith's chapter on "The French Protestants in Boston," in the present volume. — Ed.]

esty and good manners," a rule which he pledged himself never to transgress. The *Rehearsal* was discontinued, or rather transformed, August, 1735, having been printed nearly four years, and having maintained good credit to the last.

Ellis Huske, who succeeded Boydell as postmaster in October, 1734, failing to persuade him to give up the *Gazette*, started a new journal called the *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*. It was printed — on a small quarto sheet at first — regularly for twenty years, but seems to have left little trace of its influence. It was mainly filled with news copied from the London journals, and took little or no part in the disputes and interests of the town and province. Huske was appointed deputy-postmaster for the colonies.[1]

The *Rehearsal* was followed without interruption by the *Boston Weekly Post*, the same in everything but the name, and printed in the evening rather than in the morning. Thomas Fleet was still the proprietor, and apparently the writer of most of its articles. He had much original wit, with which he constantly enlivened his advertising as well as his news columns. He was also a more enterprising collector of news than his contemporaries had been. Thomas remarks that his journal was "the best newspaper then published in Boston." He had his own views of passing events, but his columns were freely opened to writers of the most diverse opinions, who were allowed to fight one another with great, and at times indecent, freedom. Once or twice he incurred the displeasure of the authorities. But the Government was no longer so sensitive and exacting as in the times of Dudley and Shute, and nothing came of their warnings.[2] He had no liking for the clergy, and regarded Whitefield as a public nuisance. The friends as well as the enemies of Whitefield, nevertheless, had impartial access to his columns. The comet of 1744 was the occasion of much spirited writing for both press and pulpit,

[1] John Bushell, for a time printer of the *Post-Boy*, was a native of Boston and began business in 1734. He was afterward of the firm of (Jonas) Green, Bushell, and (John) Allen. They printed chiefly for booksellers. Jonas Green printed a grammar of the Hebrew tongue, by Judah Monis, professor of Hebrew at Cambridge. The type belonged to the college, and was long preserved in the Museum at Cambridge. Green went to Philadelphia and was associated there with Bradford and Franklin. Thomas, *History of Printing*, i. 350, 360.

[2] Thomas, *History of Printing*, ii. 253, gives the following: "At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Tuesday the 9th day of March, 1741.

"Whereas there is published in the Weekly Paper called the Boston Evening Post, of yesterday's date, a paragraph in the following words: 'Last Saturday, Captain *Gibbs* arrived here from *Madeira*, who informs, that before he left that Island, Captain *Dandridge*, in one of his Majesty's ships of forty Guns, came in there from England, and gave an Account, that the Parliament had called for all the Papers relating to the War, and 'twas expected that the Right Honorable Sir *Robert Walpole* would be taken into Custody in a very few Days. Captain *Dandridge* was going upon the *Virginia* station to relieve the valiant and vigilant Knight there, almost wore out in the Service of his Country, and for which he has a Chance to be rewarded with a *Flag*,' — which Paragraph contains a scandalous and libellous reflection upon his Majesty's Administration, and may tend very much to inflame the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects here and disaffect them to his Government, —

"Therefore, *Ordered*, that the Attorney-General do, as soon as may be, file an information against *Thomas Fleet*, the Publisher of the said Paper, in his Majesty's Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Gaol Delivery, in order to his being prosecuted for his said Offence as Law and Justice requires.

"*W. Shirley*."

"Copy Examin'd, per *J. Willard*, Sec."

in prose and verse, though Fleet himself did not share in the apprehensions of some of his contributors.[1]

Fleet was conspicuous among the printers of the eighteenth century. His printing-house on Pudding Lane, now Devonshire Street, was first opened in 1712. He printed pamphlets, sermons, ballads, and books for nearly half a century. In 1713 he moved his business to a spacious and handsome house in Cornhill, where he erected the sign of the "Heart and Crown." The house served as a home for his family, offices for his book and newspaper printing, and for an auction room, where in the evening, when the labors of his busy day were ended, he sold books, household goods, wearing apparel, and whatever else was looked for at a country auction. He died in July, 1758, aged 73 years.[2] His sons, Thomas and John, succeeded to his business and continued the *Evening Post* till April, 1775, when the disturbed state of the country compelled them to abandon it. It was spirited, enterprising, and independent to the last, whigs and tories, patriots and royalists, meeting in its pages on equal terms.

FLEET'S SIGN.

The first number of the *Independent Advertiser* was issued in January 1748, by Rogers and Fowle, on a half-sheet crown folio, the head embellished with a homely cut, representing Britannia liberating a bird confined by a cord to the seal or arms of France. The opening address, in unusually direct and spirited English, showed that the writer had a definite purpose and intended to fulfil it. The original writing was chiefly political, in the form of essays, relating directly to the leading interests of the province and the times. These essays were contributed by an association of gentlemen having no pecuniary interest in the enterprise, of whom Samuel Adams, then a young man of twenty-six years, was one. They were forcibly and earnestly written, and had marked influence upon public opinion.[3] The journal lived but two years.[4]

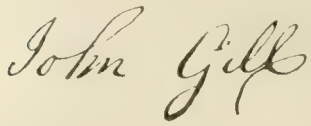
[1] Buckingham, *Reminiscences*, i. 141–43.

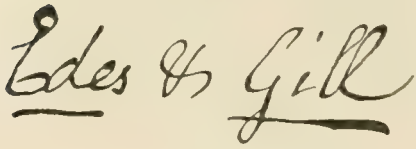
[2] Fleet was a native of Shropshire, England. While working as a journeyman at Bristol, he showed some disrespect to Sacheverel, then on a "tour of triumph" through that part of England, and it became necessary for him to leave the country. He escaped in a vessel bound for Boston, where he arrived in 1712. T. Crump was associated with him in printing some of his earlier books, and printed a few on his own account, but made no great mark.

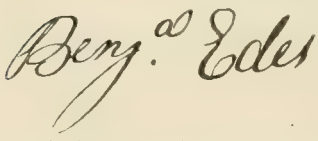
[3] Wells's *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, i., 15, 16, where extracts from his contributions are given.

[4] Rogers and Fowle were at this time the leading printers of the colony. They had been six years together, and won high reputation for accurate and thorough work. They printed and published the *American Magazine* from 1743 to 1746. They were the first successful manufacturers of ink in America. They printed for Daniel Henchman the first English impression of the New Testament in America. In 1750 they dissolved partnership, and *The Advertiser* was discontinued. Rogers began business on his own account in 1723, printing principally for booksellers. Two or three years after leaving Fowle, his house, printing-office, and types were

Samuel Kneeland, after dissolving his partnership with Green, started, in January, 1753, a new journal, called the *Boston Gazette or Weekly Advertiser*, on the foundation of the *Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal*. It was printed in Queen Street, weekly the first year, without name of printer or publisher. It had no original contributions, but gathered the news diligently from all available sources, and had a good advertising support. It was printed for two years and two months, when the provincial stamp-tax put an end to it. It was succeeded the month following by the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, the third newspaper of the name in Boston, published by Benjamin Edes and John Gill, in King (State) Street. They removed soon afterward to the office in Queen Street (corner of Court and Franklin Avenue), and printed on a whole sheet, — which had now become the prevailing custom. Samuel Adams and other gentlemen who had been interested in the *Independent Advertiser* gave the new *Gazette* their support and encouragement, and assisted in making it the organ of the Revolution, during which it exerted a great influence and won a most honorable renown. Its history and that of its patriotic founders belong to that period, and will be reserved for another chapter.







destroyed by fire. He lived in reduced circumstances till the autumn of 1775, when he died, at the age of seventy years. Daniel Fowle served his apprenticeship with S. Kneeland. On leaving Rogers he set up an office in Ann (North) Street, where he printed and sold books on a small scale. In July, 1755, a pamphlet made its appearance in Boston, of which Fowle was suspected to be the printer, and on that suspicion was subjected to severe treatment. The pamphlet was entitled *The Monster of Monsters: a true and faithful Narrative of a most remarkable phenomenon lately seen in this Metropolis; to the great Surprize and Terror of His Majesty's good Subjects; humbly dedicated to all the Virtuosi of New England:* By Thomas Thumb, Esq. This *allegorical* monster appears to have been an excise law, which was on its passage through the House of Representatives. It was said to have made its first appearance in an Assembly of Matrons, where it was received with great favor, and great pains taken to make others admire it. A number of speeches were reported as having been made by the ladies of the assembly; but whether the speeches bore any resemblance to the discussions in the House of Representatives is quite doubtful. But the House chose to make an application of the remarks to several of its members, and

"*Resolved*, That the pamphlet entitled *The Monster of Monsters* is a false, scandalous libel, reflecting upon the proceedings of the House in general, and on many worthy members in particular, in breach of the privileges thereof.

"*Ordered*, That the said pamphlet be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman, below the Court House, in King Street, Boston, and that the Messenger of the House see the same carried into execution.

"*Resolved*, That the Messenger of the House do forthwith take into custody, Daniel Fowle, of Boston, Printer, who they are informed was concerned in printing and publishing the said pamphlet, and that the Speaker issue his warrant for that purpose." — Buckingham, *Reminiscences*, i. 159.

Fowle was arrested and confined for a time in the common jail. After his release he gave a full account of his confinement and sufferings in a pamphlet called *A Total Eclipse of Liberty*. Disgusted with his treatment here, he went to Portsmouth, N. H., where he established, in 1756, the first printing-office in that section of the State, began the publication of the *New Hampshire Gazette*, was made printer to the Government, and lived much respected and honored until 1787, when he died at the age of seventy-two years.

THE NUMB. 50.

Boſton GAZETTE, OR COUNTRY JOURNAL

Containing the freſheſt Advices Foreign and Domeſtick.

MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1756.

To the PRINTERS, &c

I Really think you Printers are the moſt miſchief making Set of Men in the World—Why can't you content yourſelves with publiſhing Sermons and other good Books: ſuch as the common People may be allowed to read But you muſt meddle, like Fools, with Things which only a few Folks have any Right to concern themſelves about— You diſcover your MALIGNANCY *to the Publick in dwelling upon ſuch Subjects, as tend to give us great Pain and Diſquietude— had you given us the Hiſtory of true Patriots and Heroes— of well-laid Plans, of glorious Atchievements and ſucceſsful Campaigns— of Battles fought with Honour and Victory to ſwim, it would have been pleaſant to us— but alas! you juſt mentioned Louiſbourg, and ſaid no more— or had you only told us ſome merry Tales, they would have pleaſed us, provided they had no Meaning— but your Subjects have been ſo grave and melancholy, that we are in Danger of a fit of the Spleen— Do you pretend to find Fault with Generals! Intolerable Inſolence! Conſider, Do you know what Damage you do? What Jeſt might not be made to appear under bad Colours, if you ſhould be ſo mad about as to publiſh all the Feelings you are pleas'd to ſuſpect of them? And* conſider the Hardſhip of condemning People upon BARE SUSPICION!

Well, you had fair Warning of all this, to my Knowledge, ſome Months ago— I perceiv'd you had an Itch at SCRIBBLING, *and I was afraid you would ſet our C—a P—t & N—g—a Ex——rs on an odd Light to the World; and therefore I publiſhed in the* Evening Poſt, *the Letter from the Roman General, wherein I endeavour'd to diſcover, that no Body had any Buſineſs to inquire into the Conduct of Generals, but themſelves and a few more— And you ſee I ſpoke the Sentiments of every Body elſe, for notwithſtanding the Pother you made to promote an Enquiry into ſome late Affairs, all are deaf to your Clamours, and none attempt an Enquiry——— I am glad you are diſappointed— I hope for the Country's Sake, we ſhall go on with Ex—m (juſt as we have done) for two Years to come, if there is Occaſion— I am of the Mind it is the only Way left to ſave us from Ruin——— by this Means we ſhall all be employed, and there will be Plunder enough ſomewhere, to pay us— but if you go on to print about our Generals— and are ſo ill-natured as to ſet them in Contraſt with your* HENRY's, *your* MARLBOROUGH's *your* PEPPERRELL's, *&c— I fear no Man we like, will go with us— Stop your* PRESS *then,—forbear to print any more about Generals— leave off Politics and print only* Sermons—*but ſtay—let me ſee—* SERMONS?—*no—you muſt not print* Sermons—*unleſs they are firſt inſpected, by Perſons capable of inſpecting: For ſome Gentlemen who make Sermons, think they have a Right—nay—they have of late aſſerted that they ought ex Officio, "to blow the Trumpet in Zion," and tell even Generals their Duty and their Faults— I have too great a Regard to the Cloth to pronounce this Arrogant, neither will I— for they quote Scripture for it— they tell me you can't print a certain Book in this Country, Cum Privilegio—and ſo there is no Danger as that Head— but as you have got into the Way of Printing, it will be in your Power to give the People the outſide of it to Spite of the World, unleſs you can be prevented by ſeizing Sermons.*

Hiſtory is another pernicious Subject, which yet you have preſum'd to deal out to us—Why, Don't you know that Hiſtory treats of Wars, of Generals, and of Armies?— Theſe Hiſtory Writers have a bluſt Way too— If a General has been a C—d or ſo, they won't ſcruple to tell the World of it— You muſt not print Hiſtory then—leſt you ſhould do more Miſchief than even your ſelves are aware of— Do you venture to ask what Miſchief? I'll tell you— The common People have of late got a mighty Knack at conjuring— they will apply the moſt ridiculous Characters to the moſt reputable Perſonages—and e contra— you know what I mean— If you ſhould give us the Hiſtory of a true Hero, they will take upon them to ask, Who is meant by this? If of a G—d —a T—ſor, or the like— Who is meant by that? And ſo they will keep gueſſing and gueſſing, and applying and applying, till they fancy they hit right, and do ſome Folks a great deal of Harm

I am of the Mind, that not only the Preſs, but the SPEECH *of People too, at this Juncture ought to be reſtrain'd—Great Miſchief may be done by that Freedom of Speaking, as they call it— I was t'other Evening in Company, where a Gentleman took the Liberty to talk of Generals He told us that* BRADDOCK *was an experienced and brave Commander— there he was indeed unfortunate, but no Blame could be juſtly imputed to Him or his Officers— He took Notice of the Progreſs he made to Du Queſne, and the great Difficulties that attended his March— having reach'd within a few Miles of the Fort, by the 9th of July, they'd had exceeding Mountains untrod before, and had not the Advantage of Water-Carriage.— He particularly obſerved, that this General took proper Care, to get a Supply of Proviſions for his Army in Seaſon, and was never without a Sufficiency of the beſt— In ſhort, he gave it as his Opinion, that* BRADDOCK *was an honeſt Man, and hoped that other Generals might be as honeſt as he —— He led us from Du Queſne to Oſwego, and told us the exact Diſtance from that Fort to Albany; and from thence to Lake George.— He then began to enlarge upon ſome Matters of great Importance, with ſo much Warmth and Fervency, that I was even frighted— I was diſturb'd in my Reſt the whole Night after, and could not help cenſuring myſelf, and fearing leſt I ſhould incur the Diſpleaſure of my Friends for being preſent in ſuch Company, that I do not remember that I ſlept at all Like the whole Evening!*

Your's, &c

PHILADELPHIA, March 4.

We hear that 8 Men, 5 of whom had formerly deſerted from the French, and are either Frenchmen, or Germans that ſpeak French, have deſerted from the Regulars quarter'd at Faſton The Country is deſired to look out ſharp for them, and endeavour, to apprehend them

NEW-YORK, March 8.

We hear from the Walkil, in Orange County, that on Friday the 28th of laſt Month, one Morgan Owens was ſhot and ſcalpt there by three Indians, who the Day before were ſeen and known in that Neighbourhood to be the River Indians.—It ſeems Owens had juſt gone out of a Houſe a few Minutes before, in which he left one Salas Hulſe, who hearing three Guns go off, took up his Gun and went out; he had not gone far, before he ſaw the Indians making towards him, but none of their Guns loaded, he had room to run; the Indians being afraid to follow till they had loaded again accordingly he poſted into a Swamp where he hid himſelf, and ſaw his Purſuers paſs cloſe by him in ſearch of him, but happily miſs'd ſeeing him:—Soon after the Indians leaving the Swamp, he came out, and made the beſt of his Way to ſome Settlements; and a Number of the Inhabitants ſoon after went out in Purſuit of them.

We alſo hear from Goſhen, that the Inhabitants of a Place called Little Britain, in New-Jerſey, near the Place, to the Number of 70 Men, gathered together on Monday laſt, and went out with their Arms and 7 Days Proviſions, againſt the Indians, determined to kill and deſtroy every one they met with.

HALIFAX, February 25.

There is Advice in Town, That Capt. Milton, who ſail'd from Chignecto ſome Time ago with a Cargo of French Neutrals, in order to tranſport them to ſome other Place, was, in their Paſſage, overcome by the French, thro' the Treachery of ſome of his People, who carried her into St. Mary's Bay, where they lay near a Month, after which they carried her into St. John's, where they burnt the Veſſel, and deliver'd the People into the Hands of the Indians.

A Frenchman lately taken Priſoner by Capt. Lewis's Party of Rangers, informs, That a Schooner from Boſton, —— maſter, bound to Annapolis-Royal, on board which Capt. Lucas, Martin, and 8 private Men of the Royal Train of Artillery in this Place were Paſſengers, having put into a ſmall Harbour, by Reaſon of bad Weather, in the Night Time a Number of Indians in Canoes boarded and took the Veſſel and made Priſoners of the Men; but what they have done with them we have not yet heard.

BOSTON, *March* 15.

On Wedneſday laſt the Great and General Court or Aſſembly of this Province was adjourned to the 30 of this Month

Capt. Metcalf was to ſail from Halifax the Day after Capt Jenkins, who arrived here laſt Monday in 14 Days from that Place; on Tueſday 7-Night they ſaw a Sloop, which they ſuppoſ'd to be Metcalf's, make Signals of Diſtreſs, but as the Wind blew very hard it was impracticable to give them any Aſſiſtance.

Yeſterday Afternoon, Capt Trefrey arrived here in five Days from Halifax, the Papers are not yet come to Hand. He informs, that a Day or two before he ſail'd, a Fire broke out there at one Picket's Houſe, which entirely conſum'd that and ſeveral adjoining Building, the Loſs ſuſtain'd computed to be £ 2000 Sterling. He alſo informs, that Capt Percy and one other Tranſport which went from hence to bring up our Soldiers, were arrived there As Capt. Trefrey brings no Account of Capt Metcalf, mentioned above, us fear'd he is either blown off, or founder'd.

This Morning arrived here in three Days from Halifax, General WINSLOW.

Since our laſt, ſeveral Fires have broke out in Town, but by the Activity of the People, none of them got to ſuch a Height, as to do any conſiderable Damage.

We have an Account from ſeveral Towns to the Eaſtward, that laſt Thurſday, between 3 & 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon, there war a ſmall Shock of an Earthquake ſenſibly felt by a Number of Perſons in each Place.

The PETITION.

ARTFUL Painter, by this Plan
Draw a Female if you can.
Paint her Features bold and gay,
Caſting Modeſty away;
Let her Air the Mode expreſs,
And fantaſtick be her Dreſs;
Cock her up a little Hat
Of various Colours, this and that;
Make her Cap the Faſhion new,
An Inch of Gauze or Lace will do;
Cut her Hair the ſhorteſt Dock;
Nicely braid her Forehead Lock;
Put her on a Negligee,
A ſhort Sack or Shepherdee
Ruffled up to keep her warm,
Eight or Ten upon an Arm;
Let her Hoop extending wide
Shew her Garters and her Pride.
Her Stockings muſt be pure and white,
For they are ſeldom out of Sight.
Let her have a high heel'd Shoe,
And a glittering Buckle too;
Other Trifles that you find,
Make quite Careleſs as her Mind.
Thus equipp'd ſhe's charming Ware
For the Races or the Fair.

Monday laſt being the annual Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of this Town, JOHN PHILLIPS, Eſq; was choſen Moderator, and the following Perſons to ſerve in the reſpective Offices hereafter mentioned for the Year enſuing, viz.

Town-Clerk; Ezekiel Goldthwait, Eſq;

Select-Men; Mr. Samuel Grant, Mr. Thomas Hill, Joſhua Henſhaw, Eſq; Capt Joſeph Jackſon, Mr. Thomas Cuſhing, Capt. Samuel Hewes, and Mr. John Scollay

Town-Treaſurer; Mr. David Jeffries

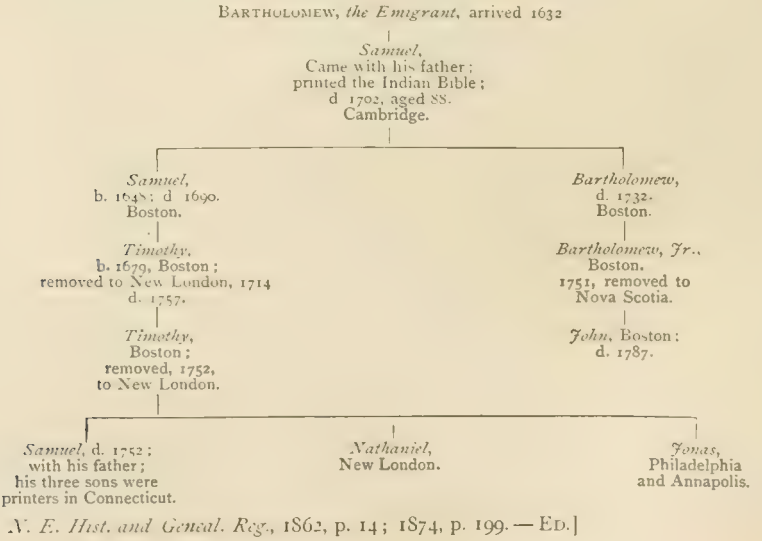
Overſeers of the Poor, The Honourable Jacob Wendell, Eſq. Col John Hill, Daniel Henchman, Eſq; Mr Edward Bromfield, the Hon. Andrew Oliver Eſq. John Phillips, Eſq; Mr. Iſaac Walker, Exchanger Storer, Eſq; Mr John Barret, Capt Nathaniel Greenwood, Mr Royal Tyler, & Mr Thomas Fluker

Tuſcicus-Lottery Tickets, which is to be drawn the ſecond Tueſday of *May* next, are to be ſold by the Printers hereof.

The *Boston Weekly Advertiser* was first issued August 22, 1757, by Green and Russell, "for the purpose of collecting from time to time the newest and best intelligence." It was to be open to any gentlemen who would favor the publishers with "Pieces of Speculation, provided they were wrote with Decency and Public Peace." The news was well looked after, but "pieces of speculation," and indeed original contributions of any kind, were conspicuously absent. In a few years the *Advertiser* took the name, by combination or substitution, of the *News-Letter*, *Post-Boy*, and *Massachusetts Gazette*, with which it was in alliance more or less intimate. Its circulation was not large; but the paper was well printed, and was on most friendly terms with other journals, interchanging advertisements, news, types, and titles with a freedom hitherto unknown. Messrs. Green and Russell were appointed printers to the British Commissioners, used the seal of the government as a part of their title, and loyally sustained all the measures of the Government. In 1773 Messrs. Green and Russell were succeeded by two young printers, Mill and Hicks, who enjoyed the special favor of the Crown officers. They brought fresh spirit into its columns, and employed able writers on the government side, as the crisis matured. This brought to their journal reputation and influence, which were at their highest when the war closed its career. It was printed for twenty-eight years.

John Green the printer, son of Bartholomew Green, Jr., was the last of the descendants of Samuel Green, of Cambridge, who followed the trade and kept to the traditions of his family. He died, greatly respected, in November, 1787.[1] Joseph Russell, his partner, had a good reputation as a printer, but he won especial celebrity as an auctioneer, by his quick wit, his kindly manners, and his devotion to his calling. Nathaniel Mill is

[1] [This Green family is so associated with printing in Boston, in its early days, that it is worth while to make clear the relationship of the several members: —


Bartholomew, *the Emigrant*, arrived 1632
Samuel, Came with his father; printed the Indian Bible; d 1702, aged 88. Cambridge.
Samuel, b. 1648; d 1690. Boston.
Bartholomew, d. 1732. Boston.
Timothy, b. 1679, Boston; removed to New London, 1714 d. 1757.
Bartholomew, Jr., Boston. 1751, removed to Nova Scotia.
Timothy, Boston; removed, 1752, to New London.
John, Boston: d. 1787.
Samuel, d. 1752; with his father; his three sons were printers in Connecticut.
Nathaniel, New London.
Jonas, Philadelphia and Annapolis.

See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1862, p. 14; 1874, p. 199. — Ed.]

chronicled as a sensible and genteel young man, who had principal charge of the printing after Green and Russell retired. John Hicks, his partner, began life as a zealous Whig, and was supposed to have had a part in the Boston Massacre. His father was one of those who went out to attack the British troops returning from Concord to Boston on the 19th of April, and was one of the first who fell. Young Hicks, however, was soon won over to the British side, and went with the army to Halifax, where he acquired wealth and position. He returned late in life to Massachusetts, and died on his farm in Newton. Both Mill and Hicks were proscribed and banished.[1] They conducted their paper with spirit and vigor. Writers of eminent ability and judgment contributed to it. The patriots charged, with probable truth, that officers of the British army were in its service. Hicks followed the army first to Halifax, afterward to New York, steadily advocating its fortunes. While in New York he still printed for the royalists, and had an interest in the *Royal American Gazette*.

The most ambitious attempt at newspaper printing yet made on this continent was begun by two Scotch printers, Mein and Fleming, Dec. 21, 1767. The *Boston Chronicle* was issued on Newbury Street, weekly at first, on a whole sheet quarto, in the style of the *London Chronicle*. The contents were chiefly selected from foreign papers, and the best English writers. Collins's Oriental eclogues, Shenstone's pastorals, Goldsmith's poetry, and the writings of John Wilkes were first made known through its columns to American readers. Here also appeared the once celebrated letters of John Dickinson, the "Pennsylvania Farmer," the prophet of the Revolution. The *Chronicle* acquired by its enterprise and handsome appearance a sudden and unlooked-for popularity. But during the second year Mein gave great offence to the populace and to the leading Whigs, by his intense toryism. Those whom he assailed did not care to submit, and he found it expedient to leave the country, never to return. Fleming continued the *Chronicle* in the name of the firm, in a more placable spirit; but the offence was never pardoned; subscribers fell away, and the paper was suspended June 25, 1770. After the suspension Fleming printed books on his own account until 1773, when with his family he sought the more congenial atmosphere of his own country. During its second year the *Chronicle* was printed every Monday and Thursday, and was the first newspaper in New England printed oftener than once a week.

During the greater part of the time covered by this review, the press was regarded with extreme jealousy. It was not until 1755 that the old restrictions practically ceased to exist. The titles, *News-Letter*, *Gazette*, *Courant*, *Chronicle*, *Journal*, indicated their original purpose. They were intended mainly to collect and spread abroad current information. The printers and publishers had for a time no purpose beyond. They were not men of mark in the community, and they had no thought of extending their influence by this method. Such original contributions as they made were, in the main,

[1] Sabine, *Loyalists*, i. 534.

personal, trivial, and mercenary. If the editor was moved to express an opinion on important affairs, he was apt to disguise it in the form of a letter purporting to be addressed to him by another person, either for the purpose of giving it additional importance, or of avoiding responsibility. By degrees actual correspondents claimed attention, and many of them from 1730 to 1776 wrote with great dignity and power. But the managers of the press, so far as they were known, commanded no special consideration, either from the practical or the scholarly men in the community. Yet, humble as its beginnings were, the press of the eighteenth century was honest, sincere, laborious, and during the later years of the period under review was inspired with a wise and earnest public spirit.[1]

There is little to be said of the magazines before the Revolution.[2] The *Boston Weekly Magazine*, first printed March 2, 1743, by Rogers and Fowle,

VIEW OF BOSTON, 1743.

had no reason for being, and expired in four weeks. It was largely reprinted from the London magazines, some of them of recent date, extracts from the newspapers, and such miscellany as was available.

The *Christian History*, begun at the same time (March 5, 1743), had a more definite purpose. It was printed every Saturday, in numbers of eight octavo pages each, for two years, and contained accounts of the great revival, following the first visit of Whitefield to this country, and reports of

[1] The language of the press was often elevating and prophetic, as it portrayed what a great country, rich in all the fountains of human felicity, would be with union and a free constitution. Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, p. 166.

[2] Benjamin Franklin published in Philadelphia, in 1741, the first magazine in this country, called *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations in America*. It had for its frontispiece the coronet and plume of the Prince of Wales, with the motto *Ich Dien*. It was published only six months. It contained prose essays, original poems, and extracts from new books.

religious progress throughout the English-speaking world. Thomas Prince, Jr., was the publisher, and the Rev. Thomas Prince, his father, its largest contributor. It is now highly prized by collectors and antiquaries for its biographical and personal sketches, and by investigators and scholars for its clear and just representation of an important phase of the life and spirit of that period. No accurate record of the time can be written without the help of the *Christian History*.

The *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* was set afloat the same year, Oct. 20, 1743. It contained 45 octavo pages, and was published monthly, by Samuel Eliot and Joshua Blanchard, and printed by Rogers and Fowle, in Court Street.[1] Jeremy Gridley, lately released from the *Rehearsal*, employed his ingenious and brilliant pen in its editorship. It was a creditable enterprise, and was designed to furnish intelligent readers with the best thought and literature. It was in imitation of the *London Magazine*, and lived three years and four months.[2]

The *New England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, the first number issued Aug. 3d, 1758, was printed irregularly, and with little purpose. It was carelessly made, and only three or four numbers were printed. Benjamin Mecom, a nephew of the Franklins, was the publisher and printer. He had a house in Cornhill where he printed pamphlets and sold books on a small scale. He had many eccentricities, one of which was a habit of wearing a powdered bob-wig, ruffles, and gloves, even while working at his press, — a habit which led the printers of that day to give him the name of "Queer Notions," borrowed from one of the departments of his magazine.

The *Censor*, begun Nov. 23, 1771, and continued during the following year, was a weekly publication, entirely political, designed to defend the British rule in America. It was printed by Ezekiel Russell, in Marlboro' Street.[3] Lieut.-Governor Oliver, Dr. Benjamin Church, and other loyalists were its leading writers. The first number reprinted from the *Massachusetts Spy* the then famous letter of Mucius Scævola (Joseph Greenleaf) attacking Governor Hutchinson, and answered it with vehemence and spirit. In succeeding numbers the controversy was prolonged with increasing bitterness, and at last became intensely personal. The articles were written with great ability, and were unquestionably inspired by the officers of the Crown. But the sentiment of the community was too hot for such an enterprise, and it was suspended before the close of its first year.[4]

The *Royal American Magazine, a Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement*, was begun, after elaborate preparation, in January, 1774. It was published by Isaiah Thomas for a few months, and then passed into

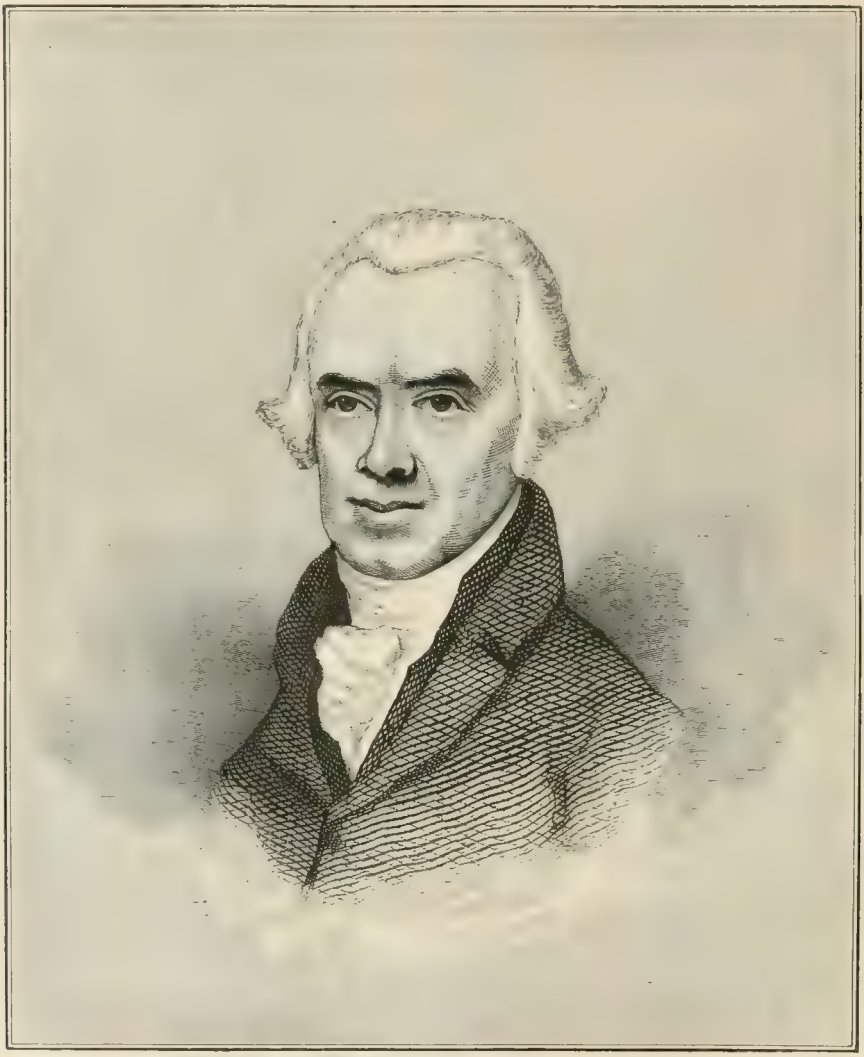
[1] [The titlepage of vol. i. has a view of Boston, which is given herewith (p. 408), this engraved part of the title being a copper plate. — Ed.]

[2] Drake, *History of Boston*, pp. 667, 668.

[3] Russell was a rolling stone among printers; and with the exception of the *Censor*, which doubtless made a greater sensation than he had counted upon, he did nothing specially worthy of record.

[4] As the *Censor* languished, its printer made an effort to convert it into a newspaper; but neither printer nor writers could give it any lasting vitality. Thomas, *History of Printing*, ii. 71, 72.

the hands of Joseph Greenleaf,[1] who sustained it with difficulty until April following.[2] Its original contributions do not now seem specially instructive or entertaining; but they were quite unobjectionable in sentiment, and covered a great variety of interests. The magazine took no part in the



ISAIAH THOMAS.

[1] Mr. Greenleaf was a resident of Abington, and a justice of the peace. Having marked talent as a popular writer, he came to Boston and gave it to the service of the *Massachusetts Spy*, then just started by Isaiah Thomas. The authorities paid him the compliment of annulling his commission. Dismissed from the magistracy in his old age, he resorted to printing for a livelihood.

[2] [The fifteen numbers which were published contained twenty-four plates, engraved by Paul Revere and J. Callendar, including portraits of Hancock and Samuel Adams, and a folding view of the town of Boston, given herewith slightly reduced. This view of the town must not be confounded with other engravings by Revere, described in Mr. Bynner's chapter. Hutchinson's *History* was in part published with this magazine (pp. 1–152). *Brinley Catalogue*, No. 1698. — Ed.]

FROM THE ROYAL AMERICAN MAGAZINE, 1774.

political discussion then engrossing the public attention, and soon to be transferred to the field of battle; but it contained able dissertations on the cardinal virtues, prophecies of the future of America, discourses on the life and death of persons once famous but now forgotten, and a great variety of original and selected poetry.[1]

Nothing like a guild of writers or a literary class was known in America at the time of the second charter, nor for many years after. Such contributions as were made were in the line of professional duty, or were the forced product of very rare intervals in professional labor. There were no accessible collections of books in the country, and there was no book-buying class.[2] Military, political, and social disturbances had impoverished the country. Harassed by Indian wars for nearly forty years; harassed by French invasion; harassed, in spite of their constant loyalty, by vexatious restraints on the part of the Crown; harassed by domestic disputes of various kinds; harassed also by prevailing poverty,—there was little opportunity or inducement to cultivate letters, or to keep pace with the literary progress of the world. Superstition, too, had come like a plague, and added to the general desolation. Under the most hopeful circumstances, there would have been slight chance for enlightened literature when many otherwise intelligent people believed that bewitched persons were struck dumb at the sight of the Assembly's *Catechism* and Cotton's *Milk for Babes*, but were restored to speech by certain forbidden Popish and Quaker books which had escaped the sharp eye of the official censor.[3]

Of educated men, however, there was no lack. The schools and the college were doing their best. Physical science had earnest votaries and disciples. The interest created by the Royal Society in London was early communicated to New England. Increase Mather formed a society for the study and investigation of natural history; and his son, who took the universe for his province, collected and published *The Last Discoveries in Nature, with Religious Improvements*. Governor Dudley and Paul his son added to many other accomplishments an intelligent interest in these pursuits, and contributed to the Philosophical Transactions. Catching the spirit of the time, Bartholomew Green, the printer, on taking charge of the *News-Letter*, though he was neither an explorer nor a student, announced that he would

[1] Other printers of this period who were constantly adding to the stock of native literature, but had no connection with the periodical press, were Daniel and John Kneeland, who printed almanacs, psalters, and spelling-books for the trade; William McAlpine, a Scotchman, who also bound and sold books on a small scale; Seth Adams, the post-rider; Nathaniel Davis, and perhaps others equally worthy of mention.

[2] "Boston had not far from a thousand houses and seven thousand inhabitants, being much the most considerable place on the continent. Other principal commercial and fishing towns were Salem, Charlestown, Ipswich, Newbury, and Scituate. The people were farmers, woodmen, fishermen, and merchants. With rare exceptions they were all poor. No kind of business was flourishing; scarcely, it seemed, could there be a more disheartening state of things." — Palfrey, *History of New England*, iv. 136, 137.

[3] [It was doubtless with a certain complacent hilarity that Fleet at one time got hold of some bales of Papal bulls and indulgences which were taken by a cruiser during the Spanish war, and brought into Boston. He used them to print ballads on, the reverse being blank. Buckingham, *Reminiscences*, i. 142. — Ed.]

extend his paper to a History of Nature, to the end that it might serve in some degree for the Philosophical Transactions of New England, as well as for its political and religious history. Classical scholars, masters in theology and metaphysics, were in much larger proportion than they are now. The clergy were the most widely cultivated men in the community. They were the only professional writers, and gave the early printers their chief employment. Their contributions, so greatly in excess of those from all other sources, gave to the earlier books of the provincial, as of the colonial, period a rather dismal and depressing character. But with advancing years and the multiplication of interests, books came to be marked by a purer style, a broader spirit, and a more elevated and aspiring character. This was especially true when, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, thinking men shared more and more in the intellectual activity of the world. In freedom of thought, as well as in natural science and theology, in history and philosophy, and in the science of government, nowhere were more devoted and earnest scholars to be found.

Undoubtedly the change would have come sooner but for the excessive predominance of the clergy. Great as their abilities were, they were little inclined to the currents in which English thought and culture were then flowing. The remarkable literary revival of Queen Anne's reign was little observed or felt here. The earliest catalogues of books make little mention of the writers who were at that time giving imperishable glory to our language. The library of Harvard College in 1723 had not yet been illuminated by Addison or Bolingbroke, or Dryden, Pope, Prior, Steele, Swift, or Young. Locke had made a great name in English philosophy, but his books were not sought for here. The earliest edition of Shakspeare in the library was that of 1709, and the earliest of Milton was of 1720. Bishop Hooker, Sir William Temple, and Jeremy Taylor were there, and traces of their stately and magnificent style appear now and then in the best of the religious and controversial writing of the province. There also were Bacon, Barrow, Baxter, and Burnet; Chillingworth, Clarendon, Clarke, and Cudworth; Hale, Harrington, Hollingshead, and Herbert; Lightfoot, More, Selden, Newton, and Raleigh; Sherlock, Stillingfleet, Stow, and Usher. The book-sellers had not begun to advertise their wares, except those of home production, and those were chiefly theological. John Dunton's venture in 1686 is described as consisting of "books of a class adapted to the Puritans;" but no list of them is given. He himself says, in his *Life and Errors:* "The Books I had were most of them Practical, and well suited to the genius of New England; so that, my Warehouse being opened, they began to move apace."[1] Mr. Palfrey mentions

[1] That he had books of a different description appears from a note on a previous page, where, describing his female friends and acquaintances in Boston, Dunton says: "The next is Mrs. H ——, who takes as much state upon her as would have served six of Queen Elizabeth's countesses; and yet she is no Lady neither, unless it be of pleasure; yet she looks high, and speaks in a majestic tone, like one acting the Queen's part in a Play. . . . She was a good Customer to me, and whilst I took her money I humored her pride, and paid her (I

a catalogue of books on all the arts and sciences, printed in 1734 for T. Cox, bookseller, "at the Lamb on the South Side of the Town House," containing eight hundred titles, and comprising a fair collection of standard English books.[1] Here were Dryden's *Æneid*, with his plays and miscellaneous poems; Pope's *Iliad;* the collected writings of Locke and Addison; Butler's *Hudibras;* Swift's *Miscellanies*, and the *Tale of a Tub;* the *Tatler* and *Guardian*, — but not the *Spectator*. Shakspeare and Milton were also wanting. Theology was represented by Patrick, Barrow, South, and Sherlock; History, by Burnet, Clarendon, and Kennett; Poetry and the Drama, by Prior, Otway, Shadwell, Vanbrugh, Rowe, and others now forgotten; and there were a few copies of Congreve, Wycherley, and Mrs. Behn.[2]

The native literature of this time, such as it was, properly begins with the Mathers, father and son. During the first thirty years under the new charter they were the most prolific writers in America, if not in the world. Increase Mather was (1692) at the height of his reputation and influence. Surprising the learned doctors of Cambridge, in his seventeenth year, by a Latin oration fiercely assailing the philosophy of Aristotle;[3] preaching his first sermon with acceptance in his father's pulpit on his nineteenth birthday; minister of the North Church in Boston at the age of twenty-five, and for sixty years afterward, taking part in all the greater affairs of the province, and in all the vital interests of its new society, — Increase Mather had, in his fifty-second year, come to be the most powerful individual force in America.[4] His printed works cover almost every subject, occasional or permanent, concerning the time in which he lived. He was educated to the full capacity of his teachers, and in many things surpassed them. He had fair original powers of intellect, and "appalling capacity" for physical and mental endurance. His style was in the main clear, direct, energetic, and on great occasions powerful and uplifting.[5] The year of his return

blush to say it) a mighty observance. The chief books she bought were Plays and Romances; which to set off the better she would ask for books of *Gallantry*." — John Dunton, *Life and Errors*, pp. 110, 111.

[1] Palfrey, *History of New England*, iv. 384.

[2] The rapid progress, however, in the art of printing from the beginning of the eighteenth century tended to stimulate literary productiveness of every kind. The Boston printers from 1692 to 1750 executed by far the greater part of the books published in America, consisting not only of original American publications, but of important European works, chiefly theological. Church libraries and private collections began early to be formed, and were continued during the entire century. Miller's *Retrospect*.

[3] "His Latin oration at Commencement was so vigorous an assault upon the philosophy of Aristotle that President Chauncy would have stopped him, had not the Cambridge pastor, Jonathan Mitchell, — a man of great authority, — cried out, in intercession: 'Pergat, quaeso, nam doctissime disputat!'" — Tyler, *History of American Literature*, ii. 67.

[4] [Mather published in March, 1700, his *Order of the Gospel Professed and Practised* by *the Churches of Christ in New England Justified*, which was printed by Bartholomew Green. "Sundry Ministers in New England" sought to answer him in *Gospel Order Revived;* and they state that the press in Boston "is so much under the aw of the reverend author whom we answer, and his friends, that we could not obtain the printer there to print" their sheets, and so it was issued in New York. It heralded, however, hand-bills and pamphlets, some of them by Cotton Mather, vindication and recrimination, which all served to prepare the way for a greater freedom of the press. — ED.]

[5] "His discourses were eminently practical and direct, abounding in historical illustrations,

from England with the charter, and the ninth year of his presidency, he was made Doctor of Divinity by Harvard College. It was the first doctorate conferred by the university, and for eighty years he had no successor. He was both patriarch and prophet, priest and servant of his people.

The number of his printed publications is variously given. Mr. Sibley has an accurate reproduction of one hundred and sixty-two titles.[1] His more elaborate works were: *Remarkable Providences*, 1684; *Cases of Conscience*, 1693;[2] *Angelographia, a Discourse Concerning the Nature and Power of the Holy Angels*, 1696; *The Order of the Gospel Vindicated*, 1700; *Concerning Earthquakes*, 1706. The rest consisted in great part of sermons, controversial pamphlets, and essays on the practical and religious interests of New England.

Cotton Mather was passionately devoted to books from his earliest youth. He began to preach at eighteen, though, like his father, he had disputed learnedly with the doctors before that time. He read with extraordinary rapidity, and absorbed as he read. He collected all kinds of literature, and his library came to be the largest private collection in America. He wrote in Latin, Spanish, and once or twice in Iroquois, as well as in English, and was familiar with Greek, Hebrew, and French. His printed works are legion. The printing-press from 1685 till his death in 1728 groaned under the demands he made upon it. Sprague's list of his publications comprises three hundred and eighty-two titles, which Mr. Haven has expanded to four hundred and twelve.[3]

The most noted work from his laboratory, and the first book written in America that can be called in any sense great, was the *Magnalia Christi, or Ecclesiastical History of New England*,[4] a grotesque jumble of occur-

sometimes quaint, sometimes highly eloquent. They show much learning and thought, but more than all a sincere and ardent piety. One might be tempted occasionally to smile at marks of credulity and instances of what, to our modern taste, seems grotesque in a sermon; but a feeling deeper than that smile expresses would be the total effect of a careful and candid perusal of any one of his discourses, — a feeling of respect for the profound sincerity that pervades it, and the godly fear under which it was evidently written." — Dr. Chandler Robbins, *History of the Second Church*, pp. 27, 28.

[1] Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Harvard University;* Thomas, *History of Printing*, ii. 317–97; and Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 156, 157.

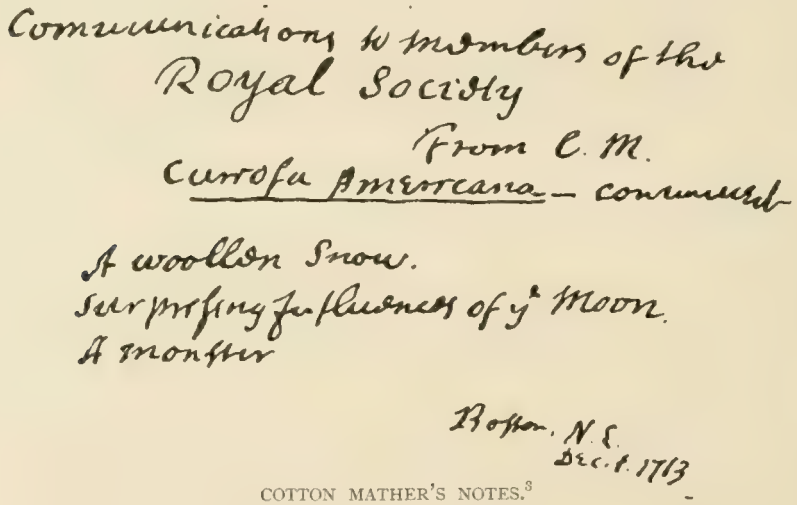
[2] One of the cases of conscience which interested Dr. Mather, and greatly agitated the churches of New England, was whether a man might marry his deceased wife's sister. The ministers of Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester, Dr. Mather at their head, answered this question in 1695 (as the English parliament answers it to this day) in the negative, publishing their judgment and the argument in a printed tract of eight pages: *The Answer of Several Ministers to that Case of Conscience whether it is Lawful for a man to Marry his Wife's own sister.* 12mo., pp. 8, Boston: Printed by Bartholomew Green. The answer is signed by Increase Mather and eight other ministers. The General Court, at the May session following, passed a law "to prevent incestuous marriages," one provision of which was that every person offending against it "shall forever after wear a Capital I, of two inches long and proportionable bigness, cut out in cloth of a contrary color to their cloathes, and sewed upon their upper garments in the outside of their Arm, or on their back in open view." This law suggested the leading incident of Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*.

[3] Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, p. 194; Thomas, *History of Printing*, Ed. 1874, pp. 325–415; Samuel Mather, *Life of Cotton Mather*.

[4] *Magnalia Christi Americana, or the Ecclesiastical History of New England, from its first planting in* 1625 *to the year* 1698. *In seven books.* London, 1702, folio. [See Introduction to Vol. I. — Ed.]

rences, biographies, and incidents of every kind, in which the chaff of gossip and superstition, and the pure wheat of history are poured out together with direful volubility. The *Magnalia* was first published in London, and copies of this edition are highly prized by collectors and librarians. Next in celebrity to the *Magnalia* are the *Memorable Providences* (1689), and *The Wonders of the Invisible World, or Observations, Historical and Theological, on the Nature, Number, and Operations of the Devils* (1692), published in the heat of the witchcraft delusion, and often referred to as one of the chief encouragements of that strange folly.[1]

Better than either of these large and notorious books were many of his less ambitious undertakings. *Bonifacius, an Essay on Well-Doing*, is mentioned by Franklin as largely directing his conduct through life, and doing much to make him a good citizen of the world.[2] His *Curiosa Americana* commended him for membership of the Royal Society, regarded by him as one of the great honors of his life. It was from the philosophical transactions of this Society that Cotton Mather first discovered the advantages of



COTTON MATHER'S NOTES.[3]

inoculation for small-pox; and his publication of them first led Dr. Boylston to examine the subject, and was the beginning of that famous controversy in which Dr. Mather, Dr. Colman, and other clergymen successfully confronted the physicians and public opinion in defence of the new practice, with dignity, sagacity, and a certain sort of eloquence. *Manuductio ad Ministerium, or Directions to a Candidate entering the Ministry*, though overlaid with characteristic faults of style, is full of good counsel, and marks the point to which the learning and criticism of the time had risen. His printed works, like his father's, were mainly tracts, sermons, or controversial

[1] [See Mr. Poole's chapter. — Ed.]

[2] *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, x. 83.

[3] [This is the heading of the manuscript preserved, with other papers, by Cotton Mather, in a volume in the Cabinet of the Historical Society. It also shows three of the titles from the list of contents. For other contents of this MS. volume see Mr. Poole's chapter. — Ed.]

pamphlets.[1] He left also a great mass of manuscript, which few persons now living have had time or inclination to read. The manuscript of *Biblia Americana*, or The Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament illustrated, is now in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as are also portions of his diary. No other writer in America has been the subject at once of so much praise and so much censure. His vanity, pedantry, and credulity were his undoing.[2]

Samuel Mather inherited the precocious vitality of his father and grandfather. He had an active though not an original mind. His best known books are *The Life of Cotton Mather*, 1729; *Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in New England;* sermons and discourses on the death of Cotton Mather, Queen Caroline, Thomas Hutchinson, and a few others; *The Sacred Minister*, a poem in five parts, respecting his qualifications for the ministry, and his life and death in it, by Aurelius Prudentius Americanus, 1773, and some historical and biographical memoirs. He was the last of a famous race, and with him the name disappears from our annals. He inherited a taste for collecting books, and cultivated it to the end. He directed by his will that his "valuable library and manuscripts" should be kept as they were, till one of his sons became a settled minister. That time never came. His "French Works" were, by the same instrument, given to his son, whom he afterward disinherited for adhering to the Crown.[3]

Nearly contemporary with Increase Mather was Samuel Sewall, the light of his generation. His strong intellect and noble soul would have won distinction in any age. In this sombre time they shone bright and clear. He was educated at Cambridge and entered the ministry. Coming into possession of a large fortune by his marriage with Hannah, daughter of John Hull, a goldsmith in Boston, he turned his attention to business and public affairs. He was successively member of the Board of Assistants and of the Council, Judge of the Supreme Court, and at the same time Judge of Probate for Suffolk County, holding both these later offices till old age and infirmity disqualified him. The witchcraft trials were the most serious incidents of his official life. He shared at the time in the prevailing belief in that sad folly; but, unlike his stern associates, he early came to see the terrible mis-

[1] *North American Review*, Jan. 1818, vi. 255–72. Samuel Mather, *Life of Cotton Mather*. Thomas Prince's and Joshua Gee's Funeral Sermons

[2] "In regard of literature or acquaintance with books of all kinds, I give the palm to Dr. Cotton Mather. No native of this country, as I imagine, has read so much, or retained so much of what he has read. There were scarcely any books written, but he had somehow or other got sight of them. His own library was the largest by far of any private one on this continent. He knew more of the history of this country from the beginning to this day than any man in it, and could he have conveyed his knowledge with proportionate judgment, and the omission of a vain show of much learning, he would have given the best history of it." — Dr. Chauncy to Dr. Stiles, Boston, May 6, 1768. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, x. 154, 156.

[3] "My old friend, Mrs. Crocker, dead many years since, was daughter of Samuel Mather, and had many of his books, of which not a few derived value from former possession by *Cotton* and even *Increase;* and through her Isaiah Thomas obtained several very scarce works for his Antiquarian Society at Worcester. The kind-hearted old lady aided Dr. Eliot, and almost everybody else, with recollections of the days of old." — Mr. James Savage to Rev. William B. Sprague, D.D., Boston, October 27, 1854.

take he had made, and offered the remarkable confession, which, as it stands in our official records, bears most touching evidence to the purity and elevation of his character.[1] His gifts and charities were worthy of his great nature. To spread the gospel among the Indians, to mitigate the hardships of slavery, to relieve poverty and misfortune, equally enlisted his interest. His chief books included *The Selling of Joseph*, a powerful tract against slavery in America; *Phænomena Quædam Apocalyptica*, a striking essay toward a description of a new Heaven and a new Earth, containing the remarkable aspiration on which Whittier's *Prophecy of Samuel Sewall*[2] was founded; *Tabitha Curwin, an Invitation to Women; Proposals touching the Accomplishment of Prophecies*, and several pamphlets.

The gentle and aspiring soul of Samuel Sewall is revealed in all that remains of his writing. He gave to a generation somewhat perverse in other things an example of the graces of life, and the beauty of modest and sincere thought. He was a great collector of printed and written works, almanacs, pamphlets, books, and manuscripts now widely scattered. His Diary, the best social record of the forty years covered by it, has been published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in its *Collections*.

Samuel Willard was one of the renowned preachers and writers of this generation. He was a minister of the Old South Church from 1678 to 1707, and President of Harvard College the last six years of his life.[3] His great work, the *Body of Divinity*, consisted of two hundred and fifty lectures, preached during twenty years of active ministry, in exposition of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. They were collected and edited nearly twenty years after his death by his successors, Joseph Sewall and Thomas Prince. It was the first miscellaneous folio volume published in America, and the largest book on any subject printed here, up to that time. In this large work Mr. Willard treats of the obligation of the Sabbath, the doctrine of divorce, the lawfulness of interest for money, and discusses many controverted theological points. During his life many of his regular and occasional sermons were printed and widely read. They were doctrinal and

[1] *Sewall's Diary*, i. 445.

[2] "As long as Plum Island to guard the coast,
As God appointed, shall keep its post;
As long as a salmon shall haunt the deep
Of Merrimack river, or sturgeon leap;
As long as pickerel swift and slim,
Or red-backed perch, in Crane Pond swim;
As long as the annual sea-fowl know
Their time to come and their time to go;
As long as cattle shall roam at will
The green, grass meadows by Turkey Hill;
As long as sheep shall look from the side
Of Oldtown Hill on marishes wide,
And Parker river and salt-sea tide:
As long as a wandering pigeon shall search
The fields below from his white-oak perch,
When the barley-harvest is ripe and shorn,
And the dry husks fall from the standing corn;
As long as Nature shall not grow old,
Nor drop her work from her doting hold,
And her care for the Indian corn forget,
And the yellow rows in pains to set, —
So long shall Christians here be born,
Grow up and ripen as God's sweet corn!
By the beak of a bird, by the breath of a frost
Shall never a holy ear be lost;
But husked by Death in the Planter's sight,
Be sown again in the fields of light!"
— *The Prophecy of Samuel Sewall*, by John G. Whittier.

[3] "By his *Printed Works* He has Erected himself a *Monument* that will Endure when the *Famed Mausoleums* of the World shall Moulder down and be buried in their own Ruines. . . . He was a Judicious Textuary, — like *Apollos*, a man mighty in the Scriptures. His common public discourses were a demonstration of this, but especially his *Judicious* and *Elaborate* commentaries, which remain as a lasting Monument of his skill." — *Funeral Sermon*, by Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton.

expository; funeral sermons and election sermons; sermons for times of civil peril or of great spiritual interest, written in the somewhat formal style of the period, but always clear, logical, earnest, and enlivened at infrequent intervals with passages of noble eloquence.[1]

The Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, colleague of Dr. Willard from 1700 to 1707, and minister there till his death in 1717, published several occasional sermons and discourses. After his death these were collected and printed. *A Brief account of the State of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, left in manuscript, was added to them, and appeared in 1727, — the first volume of sermons published in America. Mr. Pemberton was zealous and popular, learned in many directions, and wanted nothing but vigorous health to have made him famous.[2]

It may be well, in passing, to mention some of the books not written in Boston which still hold a place in the meagre literature of this period, and were read with deep emotion by the passing generation. The story of Mary Rowlandson, of Lancaster, — a touching and pathetic narrative of her captivity among the Indians, and her restoration, — first printed in Boston in 1682, was many times reprinted. *The Redeemed Captive*, another thrilling story of Indian captivity, by the Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield, appeared in Boston in 1706, and was one of the exciting books of the season. *Entertaining Passages relating to Philip's War*, by Thomas Church, of Plymouth, — a valuable contribution, — was first printed in 1716, and has been reprinted, with additions, again and again. *The History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians*, by Samuel Penhallow, Chief-Justice of New Hampshire, a graphic narrative of Indian warfare, was published in 1726, and was the source from which many later histories have been drawn. Samuel Niles, of Braintree, author of several books of theology and church polity, and of a narrative in verse of the reduction of Louisburg, left in manuscript a voluminous history of the Indian and French wars, for which he could find no printer. The manuscript was buried in old trunks for nearly a century, when it came to light among the relics of the late Dr. Freeman.[3]

More distinguished than any of these was the Rev. William Hubbard, of

[1] The religious literature of this time (1700–09) was enlivened by a vigorous and learned controversy between Increase Mather and Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, on "The Order of the Gospel," — Stoddard maintaining that all baptized persons, not scandalous in life, might lawfully partake of the Communion, though knowing themselves to be destitute of true religion. See funeral sermons by Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Colman, and William Hatfield. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*.

[2] "He had a great natural capacity, a large and comprehensive genius, and by hard study and great industry had amassed a rich treasure of learning. I suppose few in these corners of the earth have been better acquainted with books and men." — Dr. Joseph Sewall, *Funeral Sermon*. After his death a catalogue of his library, to be sold at auction at the Crown Coffee House, July 2, 1717, was printed, "and may be had gratis at the shop of Samuel Gerrish, bookseller, near the Old Meeting-house," showing 1,000 lots. It is "perhaps the first instance in New England of a printed catalogue of books at auction." *Brinley Catalogue*, No. 1669.

[3] It is printed in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 154–279; and 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 309–589. Some of the books in this paragraph have been further described in the notes to Colonel Higginson's chapter in this volume, and in the note in Vol. I. p. 327.

Ipswich, whose *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England* was first printed in Boston in 1677, and was licensed and printed in London the following year. He also left in manuscript a *General History of New England*, from the discovery to 1680, for which the times were not worthy. He waited more than a century for a publisher. His manuscript was submitted to the General Court, and a gratuity of fifty pounds was awarded to him. This manuscript, also in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, was first published in its Collections in 1815, and again in 1848.[1] Mr. Hubbard died in 1704, at a great age. His learning was extensive and varied, his style was simple, modest, and clear. His publications were not numerous. The last — his *Dying Testimony to the Order of the Churches* — written jointly with Mr. Higginson, of Salem, was printed in Boston just before his death.

In 1697 Governor Simon Bradstreet, "the youngest of all the Assistants who came over with the first charter,"[2] and the last survivor of those who came in 1630, died at Salem. Three years before (1694) Joshua Scottow had published *A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony*,[3] and dedicated it to Governor Bradstreet, "as the only Surviving Antiquary of us Nov-Angles, the Prime Secretary and Register of our Civil and Sacred Records, and the Bi-fronted Janus who saw the Closure of the Old, and the Overture of this New Albion World." Mr. Scottow was a merchant of much respectability, nearly contemporary with the Governor, and during his early life took an active interest in all the affairs of the town. But he grew despondent as he grew in years; the change of dress, manners, and social customs from those of the first generation seemed to him the sure presage of destruction, and he poured out his sorrow in a book of lamentations called *Old Men's Tears for their own Declensions*, first printed in 1691, and reprinted in 1745, probably as a curiosity.[4]

Ezekiel Cheever, the schoolmaster, passed away in August, 1708, at a great age. Besides his labors as a teacher of the children of nearly three generations, he published a book on *Latin Accidence*, of which there were twenty editions. It was long an authority in the whole country, and as late as the beginning of this century was in high credit as one of the best books for children in the rudiments of Latin.[5] He published also an essay on the Millennium, or Scripture prophecies, which was somewhat less sought after, though he was a devout Christian and an able champion of the faith.[6]

[1] The manuscript of the *History of New England* passed through many perils after Mr. Hubbard's death. Upon a hint from the General Court, he caused to be made a more legible copy than the original, which came at last into the hands of Governor Hutchinson, who used it freely in his own historical labors. See Introduction to Vol. I. p. xvii.

[2] Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, ii.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 97.

[4] Edward Ward visited Boston in 1699, and wrote a book, after his return to England, full of outrageous scandal, which made some commotion at the time, and is occasionally remembered now, like Mr. Scottow's lamentation, as a curiosity. Pope knew the fellow well, and pilloried him in the *Dunciad*.

[5] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 66.

[6] "Venerable not merely for his great age (ninety-four), but for having been the schoolmaster of most of the principal gentlemen in Boston who were then on the stage. He is not the only master who kept his lamp longer lighted than otherwise it would have been, by a supply

Robert Calef, merchant, gave to literature, in 1700, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, — a collection of wild phenomena, calculated to win the admiration of the most incredulous,— which he proceeded ruthlessly to discredit by a remarkable array of rebutting testimony and ingenious reasoning. It was directed with sharp satire against the belief in witchcraft, and especially against the credit and standing of the eminent men who had been deluded by it. Dr. Increase Mather, then President of Harvard College, paid it the unmerited honor of burning it in the college yard. Cotton Mather also wrote a pamphlet denouncing it.[1] Calef and the younger Mather survived their bitter animosities more than a quarter of a century; and near the close of their lives stood side by side in the inoculation controversy, which for the time provoked hostilities hardly second in bitterness to those of the witchcraft period.

William Douglas, the Scotch physician and historian, began his practice in Boston (1718) a little before this social convulsion. He was a man of strong prejudices, and the magistrates and the clergy were especially odious to him. Having some literary tastes, with a craving for notoriety, he wrote much for the newspapers, and was a lively pamphleteer. He was a bitter foe of Cotton Mather and Dr. Boylston in their championship of inoculation, and fought them to the end. His acknowledged writings at that time bear so striking a resemblance to some of the anonymous contributions to James Franklin's newspaper on the same subject as to make it probable that he was one of the "respectable characters" who composed Franklin's club of "Couranteers." Besides his medical writings, Dr. Douglas published in numbers a *Summary or Historical Account of the British Settlements in North America* (Boston, 1749–1753). It is an untrustworthy narrative, and was incomplete at the time of his death. He was a man of extensive reading and varied information, heavily overcast by prodigious egotism, and a morose and ugly spirit.[2]

Thomas Brattle, merchant, contributed papers to the Royal Society on astronomical subjects, and was a liberal patron of letters and learning. He also wrote an intelligent *Account of the Delusion called Witchcraft*, which

of oil from his scholars." — Hutchinson, *Mass. Bay*, ii. 175, 176.

> "A mighty tribe of well-instructed youth
> Tell what they owe to him, and tell with truth.
> All the eight parts of speech he taught to them
> They now employ to trumpet his esteem.
> *Magister* pleased them well because 't was he;
> They say that *bonus* did with it agree.
> While they said *amo*, they the hint improve,
> Him for to make the object of their love.
> No *concord* so inviolate they knew
> As to pay honor to their master due;
> With *interjections* they break off at last,
> But *ah* is all they use, *wo* and *alas!*"
>
> Rev. Cotton Mather.

[1] "Calef, by his narrative, gave great offence, having censured the proceedings at a time when in general the country did not see the error they had been in; but in his account of facts which are so evidenced by records, he appears to have been a fair relator." — Hutchinson, *Hist. of Mass. Bay*, ii. 54. [Mr. Poole has characterized this and other books of the witchcraft times, in his chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] "The town of Douglas in this State was so called to perpetuate the name and deeds of William Douglas, M.D., of Boston, originally from Scotland; educated there, a famous physician in his day, and who also wrote a history of New England in two volumes, a proprietor and considerable benefactor." — Whitney, *Hist. of Worcester County*, 203. [There is a notice of Douglas in Tyler's *American Literature*, ii. 151. — Ed.] Governor Hutchinson also points out many errors in his history.

was left in manuscript and printed long after his death.[1] The name of Matthew Adams[2] survives in the annals of this time as that of the first literary friend of Franklin. He was by trade a mechanic, with a taste for books, which the young printer borrowed freely and read diligently. Mr. Adams himself sometimes indulged a passion for writing, and was a contributor to the *Courant* and the *Weekly Journal*. His essays were not wanting in merit, but they died with the occasion for which they were written. The political tracts of Elisha Cooke — the younger of the stalwart republicans of that name, who made the seat of the royal governors, from Dudley to Belcher, a thorny one — deserve to be mentioned in the annals of this period.[3]

Jeremiah Dummer, one of the most highly educated men in New England, made a brilliant but ephemeral reputation at the beginning of his career.[4] He published, in 1704, *A Discourse on the Holiness of the Sabbath Day*, with an admiring preface by the elder Mather, whose predictions of the glory of its author were not fulfilled. He also published in his youth several learned theological books in Latin, but he was never appreciated here at the high value his admirers placed upon him. He went to England in 1707, where he fell from grace through his intimacy with the frivolous and dissolute circle surrounding the court of Queen Anne in its last days. Yet he was still useful as the agent of Massachusetts from 1710 to 1721; and his essay (London, 1728), *A Defence of the New England Charters*, won for him the gratitude of that and later generations.[5]

Benjamin Colman, the first minister of Brattle-Street Church, and for nearly half a century (1701–1747) one of the famous preachers of the Province, published a great number and variety of sermons. He wrote with remarkable grace and facility; the General Court often called upon him to draft special letters on the affairs of the colony; and the clergy looked to him when they had occasion to address the king or his ministers. Dr. Cooper gives him the high credit of contributing more than any other clergyman of that day to elevate the literary character of the New England pulpit.[6] Dr. Colman was a good citizen as well as a clergyman, and had no

[1] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 61–79; Quincy, *Harvard University*, i. 410, estimates Brattle's character.

[2] Franklin, *Autobiography* (Bigelow's edition), p. 107.

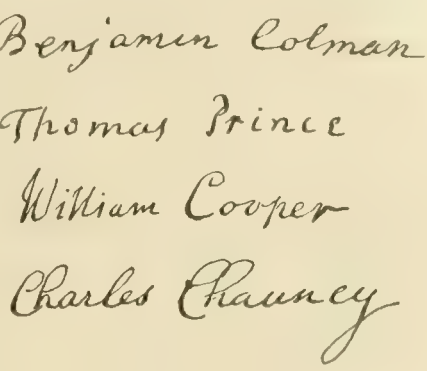
[3] Judah Monis, for nearly forty years (1722–1760) Hebrew instructor at Harvard College, published in 1735 a Hebrew grammar, the first on the continent, printed in Boston by Jonas Green, from the Hollis types, and "sold by the author at his house in Cambridge." Of the number sold there is no record; but scholars held the book in high esteem. [There is among the manuscripts in the Historical Society one inscribed: "Jonathan Belcher his grammar, Composed by Rabbi Judah Monis. A.D. 1725."—Ed.]

[4] "Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, a native of Boston, but an inhabitant of London the greater part of his life, Mr. John Bulkley, minister at Colchester, Conn., and Mr. Thomas Walter of Roxbury, I reckon the three first for extent and strength of genius and powers New England has yet produced. Mr. Dummer I never saw, that I remember, but entertain this thought of him from the character I have had of him from all quarters. Few exceeded him in England, perhaps, for sprightliness of thought, ease, delicacy, and fluency in speaking and writing." — Dr. Chauncy to Dr. Stiles, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, x. 155.

[5] [See Tyler, *American Literature*, ii. 116. His family connections are traced in *Sewall Papers*, iii. 53. — Ed.]

[6] "Though his manner of preaching was distinguished for persuasiveness, he sometimes — especially in his appeals to an ungodly world —

hesitation in participating in civil affairs. He stood loyally by Dr. Boylston in his contest for inoculation; he was the channel through whom Holden and Hollis gave their large favors to the college; he resisted with all his might the animosities growing out of the Whitefield revivals; and, in a word, threw his influence into the scale for the public good whenever there was opportunity. His funeral sermons, of which he printed a large number, are remarkable for their clearness and strength, and for what is more rare in funeral literature, — their truthfulness. He sometimes turned aside from worthier labors to express himself in rhyme. Two or three specimens only remain. Of these, one on "Elijah's translation," occasioned by the death of the reverend and learned Samuel Willard, has much rhythmical skill, and is refined in thought and expression.[1]



SIGNATURES, 1739.

Benjamin Wadsworth, minister of the First Church, President of Harvard College, a man of sound and serious rather than of brilliant parts, printed thirty or more sermons on occasional or conventional pulpit topics. He confined his studies to theology, and was not a man of extensive erudition or much acquainted with the sciences. "The general opinion was that he was better fitted for the pastorate of the church than to be ministering to the school of the prophets."[2] He was a singular contrast to his successor, President Holyoke, who entertained so profound a distrust of the printers, that, during the thirty-two years of his presidency, he left almost no printed trace of his existence.

Nor should we pass wholly by the less illustrious contributors to theological literature, — James Allen, forty years minister of the First Church, a stalwart defender of the ancient order of the New England churches as expounded by Dr. Mather; Thomas Bridge, also of the First Church, "distinguished for integrity, piety, diligence, modesty, and moderation;" Peter Thatcher, minister of the North Church, "a man of strong and masterly genius;" the pious and worthy John Webb; William Cooper, minister of Brattle Street, a zealous and impressive preacher,[3] and Samuel, his son; Timothy Cutler, rector of Christ Church, endowed with native gifts of a very high order, to which he added profound and varied learning; being esteemed the best Oriental scholar ever educated in America,[4] and also

rose well nigh into a son of thunder; and there are passages in some of his printed sermons which, for impressiveness and power, and awful solemnity, are almost unrivalled." — Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 226.

[1] *The Life and Character of the Reverend Benjamin Colman, D.D.*, by his son-in-law, the Rev. Ebenezer Turell, of Medford. [See Dr. McKenzie's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

[2] Eliot, *Biographical Dictionary*.

[3] "Death, judgment, and eternity were the subjects of his preaching." — Eliot, *Biographical Dictionary*.

[4] "He had more knowledge of the Arabic than any man in New England before him except President Chauncy and his disciple, the first Mr. Thatcher." — *Rev. Dr. Stiles*.

a master in logic, metaphysics, philosophy, theology, and ecclesiastical history;[1] Joshua Gee, the indolent though persistent Calvinist;[2] "the good Dr. Sewall," who seemed to breathe the air of heaven; Thomas Foxcroft, fervent and zealous, and one of the most notable contributors to the Whitefield controversy; and Dr. Chauncy, his colleague, minister of the First Church sixty years (1727–1787). Dr. Chauncy made a profound impression upon the literature and life of New England. Sixty or more of his sermons, — a few of them extended into volumes, — remain. He was devout, learned, and much inclined to controversy. His style was severely plain. He hated affectation; emotional religion did not interest him; enthusiasm excited his suspicion. He wrote and published much against Whitefield and the revivalists. Later in his ministry, he resisted by argument and appeal the introduction of bishops into the colonies by the British government.[3] The exciting controversy over the introduction of the bishops, in the time of Governor Shute, enlisted the best minds in the province, and gave a marked impulse to the literary spirit. Besides Dr. Chauncy, Dr. Mayhew[4] of the West Church, Dr. Caner of King's Chapel, and the leading theologians in other towns and colonies took part in it. Andrew Eliot, long a minister of the new North Church, published, in 1774, near the close of his active service in the ministry, a volume of twenty practical discourses, funeral sermons, election and thanksgiving sermons, Dudleian and Thursday lectures,[5] all distinguished for their sound sense and with many graces of thought and style. He had always been much averse to printing; but, as he said in sending to the printer a sermon preached at his son's ordination, "turned fool in his old age." He took a prominent and aggressive part in the Episcopal controversy, and was a friend and correspondent of many learned men.

[1] "He was a very eminent preacher. He wrote in a style strong, argumentative, and eloquent. With great powers of mind and extensive learning, he united a zeal which flamed." — Allen, *Biographical Dictionary*.

[2] Prince, *Christian History*.

[3] *Memorials of the Chaunceys, including President Chauncy, his ancestors and descendants;* By William Chauncey Fowler.

[4] "The very reverend Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, graduated 1774, settled in Boston, of a noble genius, acquainted with the best learning, a most laborious student, a polite writer, a strong defender of the rights and liberties of the State and Church, and notwithstanding his different sentiments from me, I esteem him a truly pious, benevolent, and useful man." — Rev. J. Barnard, in 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, x. 168.

[5] The Thursday lecture, dating from the ordination of the Rev. John Cotton in 1633, was continued with occasional interruptions, and. through many trying vicissitudes, until 1775, the siege then interrupting. On occasions of special joy or sorrow, and in times of great popular commotion, it was made a day of thanksgiving or of fasting, and the topics were chosen accordingly. The Rev. R. C. Waterston in his lecture Dec. 14, 1843, says: —

"Here stood the patriarch Wilson, the first pastor of Boston. Here Cotton pleaded with holy faith and fervor. Here were the voices of Norton, and Bailey, and Wadsworth, and Bridge, and Allen, and Mather often heard. Here did the venerable Davenport preach, who was invited in connection with Cotton to the great assembly of divines at Westminster. Here Oxenbridge paused in this very lecture to be carried to his death-bed. Here also labored Eliot and Lathrop, Hooper and Langdon. Here stood Chauncy in the defence of the faith, the bold and consistent advocate of the principles of the Reformation. Here, in later days, was heard the voice of Buckminster; and here too have we listened to those who have so recently departed, — Channing and Ware and Greenwood. Oh, that once more those inspiring voices might be heard at this altar!" See Vol. I. p. 515. [See Dr. McKenzie's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

During this period the clergy of some of the neighboring parishes were employing the Boston press to excellent purpose. In 1710 there was printed in Boston *The Churches' Quarrel Espoused*, written by John Wise, the famous Ipswich minister, a mighty man of God. It was an eloquent, learned, and witty answer to *Questions and Proposals*, a work issued some years before, presumably by the Mathers, and designed to establish the will of the clergy as supreme over the laity in all the churches of New England. Seven years later, in a work entitled *A Vindication of the Government of the Churches of New England*, Mr. Wise pursued the subject in a broader field and with much eloquence, striking with all the force of his great intellect a blow for liberty of thought as the true basis of all ecclesiastical as well as of all civil government. It was one of the great literary achievements of this generation. Sixty years later, when the revolution was impending, the prophetic voice of John Wise was still heard through the lips of sagacious men whom his books inspired.

Two ministers who filled a marked and honorable place in this century remain to be mentioned, — Thomas Prince and Mather Byles. Thomas Prince shares with Cotton Mather the reputation of being the most learned man in New England in the eighteenth century. He far surpassed all the Mathers in the method, accuracy, and usefulness of his writings. His publications began with his settled ministry in his thirty-first year (1718). He had travelled extensively in Europe and acquired a wide knowledge of men, of books, and of the world. For half a century his literary labors continued without cessation. He printed upward of fifty separate publications, consisting of discourses on surprising natural phenomena, on occasions of public crisis or misfortune, on the life and character of men and women whose memory was worth preserving, and other occasional papers, — all luminous with the spirit and life of the time. Drake pays him well-merited praise in saying that "nothing came from his pen that does not now possess historical value."[1] He wrote at the same time for the *Christian History*, the *New England Weekly Journal*, and other periodical publications, through which his active intellect and public spirit exercised great influence upon current opinion.

His chief work was *The New England Chronology*,[2] — an unfinished work, beginning with a minute chronology of the world from the creation of Adam to the death of Queen Elizabeth and the accession of James the Scotchman to the throne of England, followed by a faithful history of English settlement in America from that time (1602–3) to Aug. 5, 1633. His intention was to continue the annals to his own time; but the history, issued in

[1] Samuel G. Drake's *Memoir of Thomas Prince*. See also W. H. Whitmore's "Life and labors of Thomas Prince," in *North American Review*, October, 1860.

[2] *A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals*. By Thomas Prince, M.A. Boston: Printed by Kneeland and Green for S. Gerrish. MDCCXXXVI. [The Boston names which can be picked from the list of subscribers appended to this work show pretty nearly the limit of the book-buying part of the community. The family connections and inherited stations of these subscribers have been traced in successive volumes of the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* — ED.]

fragments, was not well enough received to encourage him to pursue the task. The first volume, bringing the history to 1630, was published in 1736.[1] It was continued twenty years later to the date above given, and the whole was republished in 1826. Though wanting in proper historical perspective and proportion, the work was undertaken and prosecuted in the true historical spirit.[2] Mr. Prince was a close student and diligent explorer in theology, philosophy, and literature, as well as in general history. His last work, or rather recreation, done in the intervals of his manifold labor, was a revisal of the New England Psalms in metre, which, in the words of Dr. Eliot, reveals his acquaintance with the Oriental languages, but not a glow of fancy nor the least glimmer of genius. "A man may be a good historian and no poet."[3]

Mr. Prince has still another claim to affectionate remembrance. He has been well called the Father of American Bibliography.[4] Even while at school he began to make his remarkable collection of books and papers relating to the civil and religious history of New England, which continued to grow in magnitude and value until his death. The Mather family and Governor Hutchinson alone approached him in the extent and variety of their books and manuscripts. He had two distinct libraries, — the South Church collection and the New England library, — and by his will bequeathed both to the Old South Church; the former to be kept in its library forever in the care of one of the pastors, the latter for the benefit of such persons interested in history and public affairs as the pastor and deacons for the time being might think worthy to use it. Both collections fared hardly after his death. Stored in a neglected loft under the belfry, exposed to the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day; decimated by the ravages of war, and worse than decimated by the curiosity and cupidity of more peaceful times, — they were in a fair way to disappear from the face of the earth, when, in 1814, a portion of the New England library, with several valuable manuscripts, were placed in the custody of the Historical Society, and the rest of the collections were removed for safe keeping to the house of the minister. Both parts are now reunited in the keeping of the Boston Public Library.

[1] [The Journal of the House of Representatives, under date of Jan. 12, 1736, records Mr. Prince's visit to the Legislature, and his giving to the house his first volume, "which at no small expense and pains I have composed and published for the instruction and good of my country." — Ed.]

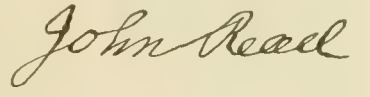
[2] "Of the New England Chronology, so far as it extends, there has been no difference of opinion. It is distinguished for its accuracy and caution. . . . It is a work of the greatest utility, and almost necessary to one who would form an intimate acquaintance with the history of the first planting of New England." — *North American Review*, October, 1826, p. 463–65.

[3] Nathan Prince, younger brother of Thomas, and "the greater man of the two," as Dr. Chauncy wrote to Dr. Stiles, was noted for a time in our literary annals. He was especially learned in mathematics and natural philosophy. His eccentric and wayward habits led to his separation from the college and the loss of his professorship, and clouded his later life. See a letter in the *Cotton and Prince Papers*, No. 34; and Quincy, *Harvard University*, ii. 30.

[4] Winsor's Introduction to the *Catalogue of the Prince Library*. "During this period of our colonial history, the Mather family and Governor Hutchinson are alone to be compared with Prince as collectors of books and manuscripts."

Mather Byles was too wayward and eccentric a genius to make a very permanent impression, though he had remarkable literary gifts, and a fancy which in his earlier years knew no bounds. Besides his essays and poems in the *New England Weekly Journal,* he published sermons on special occasions, and maintained intimate relations with the scholars and literary men of both hemispheres. Dr. Watts was a most friendly correspondent, and sent him his works as fast as they were printed. Pope was delighted with his vivacity and genius, and gave him a luxurious copy of the Odyssey. Lord Lansdowne, who also affected a taste for letters, was fascinated by his writings, and formed a close friendship with the brilliant and witty New Englander. He early obtained eminence in the pulpit, and in spite of his literary interests and the sharpness of his tongue, he maintained cordial relations with his church until the Revolution separated them, Dr. Byles taking the losing side. The traditions of his overflowing wit are now the most vivid part of his reputation, and doubtless do less than justice to his piety, ability, and learning.

The new charter and the changes it involved in all judicial proceedings made the study of law a necessity; but the profession of law was very slowly established. Men of learning and genius saw little chance for reputation or influence in so unpromising a field. One of the first to make the trial was John Read, a great man, whose name deservedly holds a high place among New England worthies. His contributions to literature are limited to a Latin Grammar,[1] printed in 1734, and a few political essays.[2] But the example and stimulus of a life like his was worth to literature more than libraries of books. James Otis spoke of him as "the greatest common lawyer the country ever saw." John Adams styled him "that great Gamaliel," and William Brattle compared him to Justinian as "a reformer of the law and the pleadings."[3]



Jeremiah Gridley, like his great contemporary Read, studied theology and general literature to qualify himself for the pulpit. But the bar offered a field of greater activity for his daring and fearless spirit. In the pursuit of his profession he was not content with a "pitiful accuracy," but went up to first principles and "placed the science upon the immutable foundations of truth and justice." He became one of the most eminent lawyers of the Province, especially on account of his extensive and accurate learning. He wrote with ease and elegance; but after his early and brilliant venture as a journalist he published little. At the bar his speech was rough, his manner hesitating but energetic, and his words forcible and emphatic.[4] His emi-

[1] *Sketch of the Life of the Hon. John Read, of Boston.* By George B. Reed.

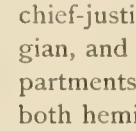
[2] 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii.

[3] "Distinguished for genius, beloved by the votaries of literature, reverenced by the contemporary patriots of his country, the pride of the bar, the light of the law, and chief among the wise, the witty, and the eloquent." — Knapp, *Biographical Sketches of Eminent Lawyers*, etc.

[4] Eliot, *Biographical Dictionary;* Knapp, *Biographical Sketches;* Buckingham, *Reminiscences;* Washburn, *Judicial History of Massachusetts*, which gives full sketches of the courts and lawyers of the province.

nence and learning made his office a favorite place of resort for students of talent and ambition. James Otis, Oxenbridge Thacher, William Cushing, and Benjamin Pratt, afterward Chief-Justice of New York, were among those who received their first impulse toward a great career under his instruction.

Robert Auchmuty, father and son, were learned lawyers, and left a distinct and honorable impress upon their age. Paul Dudley, afterward chief-justice, was a learned naturalist and theologian, and wrote and published books in both departments. His scholarship was recognized in both hemispheres, and he was elected to the Royal Society at a time when such an election was a distinction. Thomas Newton, Dudley's successor as attorney-general, was for many years one of the principal lawyers of the Province, and acquired great influence. He collected the best law library then known on the continent.[1] These were followed in the next generation by Otis, Thacher, Quincy, Adams, Dana, Sullivan, Lowell, and many more, who added to the volume of knowledge from their own great acquirements, or from the standard authorities in English law. The professional men of the generation preceding the Revolution, with their wide knowledge of public law and politics, and their familiarity with civil history, contributed immeasurably as they rode their circuits, as well as in the communities illuminated by their lives and conversation, to the growth of that sentiment of liberty which sustained the colonies when the time came for the great issue to be tried.



Provincial poetry, even the best of it, is sad reading at this day. Yet it was once greatly admired, and like much antique art is not wholly uninteresting now. The poems of Anne Bradstreet were reprinted again and again during the two generations following her death; and Michael Wigglesworth threw the light of his baleful dark lantern far into the next century. The pious strains of John Wilson, John Cotton, Urian Oakes, and John Rogers were slowly dying away, when Cotton Mather and several of his contemporaries sought to perpetuate them through the inspirations of their degenerate muse. Following them came Joseph Green and a company of wits who deemed everything like pretension or sanctimony a fair object of satire, and made victims of the most respectable characters of their time. Governor Belcher fared hardly at their hands, and members of the legislature and the clergy, notably Dr. Byles, were repeatedly vexed by their sharp

[1] "Lawyers' libraries were then limited. Fifty or one hundred volumes at most were deemed a considerable collection. Whatever books they had were, of course, English books, and they were very few in number. Coke's *Institutes* were a high authority. Blackstone's *Commentaries* were unknown. Brownlow's *Entries* and Plowden's *Commentaries* and *Reports* were the books on which the father of James Otis was bred to the law." — Washburn, *Judicial History of Massachusetts*, 196, 197. The inventory of John Read's law books, made after his death in 1749, beginning with Coke's *Entries*, and ending with a Greek and Hebrew Bible, contained only forty-three titles, and the value was less than two hundred pounds. [In the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1858, p. 75, a list of Francis Brinley's books, 1713, shows sixty titles of law books, besides his miscellaneous library. He was a judge and resided partly in Rhode Island and partly in Boston, where he died in 1719, aged eighty-seven, and is buried in King's Chapel yard. — Ed.]

and coarse wit. Little is left, however, of Green and his contemporaries, except scraps of poetry, epigrams, and acrostics, printed in the magazines of the day, and revived from time to time as curiosities.[1]

John Adams, preacher and poet, was fortunate in having a large circle of friends who strewed his path to an early grave with all the flowers of compliment. His worthy uncle, Matthew Adams, who survived him and wrote his eulogy, described him as master of nine languages, and conversant with the most famous Greek, Latin, French, and Spanish authors, as well as with the noblest English writers. His admirers, a few years later, collected his poems in a small volume, the only record we now have of them, containing paraphrases of the Scriptures, the whole book of Revelation in heroic verse, translations from Horace, and several original pieces. He died before the promise his friends saw in him was justified.[2] Mather Byles coquetted with poetry from his youth, though he left little of value. While he lived, however, he enjoyed a great reputation as a poet, at home and abroad.[3] Jane Turell, daughter of Dr. Colman and wife of the Rev. Ebenezer Turell, of Medford, was remarkably endowed. Her genius was held in the highest estimation, and was commemorated in a pathetic memoir prepared by her husband soon after her death.[4] She began to write poems in her early childhood, and read under her father's direction at the same time history, divinity, philosophy, and political literature. In many lines of intellectual activity she came to be accomplished far beyond the habit of her time. The memoir by her husband preserves several of her poems, as well as of her letters to her father and other relatives, which display intense feeling and remarkable powers of expression.[5]

[1] Kettell, *Specimens of American Poetry;* Knapp, *Biographical Sketches of Men of Letters.* [Take this for an example of Green' epigrammatic point, written when there was a commotion in 1748, over granting the site of the schoolhouse to afford ground for enlarging King's Chapel: —

"A fig for your learning! I tell you the town,
To make the Church larger, must pull the school down.
'Unhappily spoken!' Exclaims Master Birch,
'Then learning it seems stops the growth of the Church!'"

Green lived on School Street, just above the "Cromwell's Head." A portrait of him by Copley is owned by the heirs of the Rev. W. T. Snow. Tyler, *American Literature*, ii. 48. — ED.]

[2] [Paul Dudley recorded of him: "A very ingenious scholar; but for some time before he died much distempered in his brain, so that his candle went out in a snuff. The character given of him in the newspaper is extravagant." *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan. 1861, p. 58. — ED.]

[3] *Poems on Several Occasions;* by Mr. Byles, 1736; *A Collection of Poems*, by Several Hands; Boston, 1744; Kettell, *Specimens of American Poetry.*

[4] *Memoir of the Life and Death of the Pious and Ingenious Mrs. Jane Turell, . . .* chiefly collected from her own Manuscripts; Boston, New England; Printed in the year MDCCXXXV.

[5] She is thus commemorated by Professor Wilson: —

"*North.* — Nearly a hundred years after the birth, and nearly forty after the death, of Anne Bradstreet, there was born in Boston Jane Colman, daughter of a clergyman who was a school companion of Cotton Mather. At eleven she used to correspond with her worthy father in verse. On entering her nineteenth year she married a Mr. Turel, of Medford ——

"*Shepherd.* — How can ye remember names in that wonderfu' way, Sir? . . . . ye forget naething.

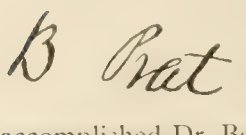
"*North.* —— and died, James, in 1735, at the age of twenty-seven, 'having faithfully fulfilled those duties which shed the brightest lustre on woman's name, — the duties of the friend, the daughter, the mother, and the wife.'

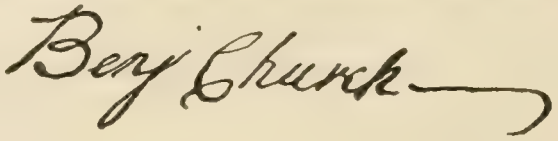
"*Shepherd.* — Hae ye ony o' her verses by heart, Sir?

"*North.* — A paraphrase of a Psalm you know well.

"*Shepherd.* — I ken weel a' the Psalms.

Benjamin Pratt, long a member of the Suffolk bar, a man of unusual acquirements and eloquence, wrote poetry which was highly prized.[1] He was a student of the learned Judge Auchmuty, whose accomplished daughter he married. More eminent than any of these was the versatile and accomplished Dr. Benjamin Church. He had rich literary gifts, and contributed to current publications essays in politics, philology, and science. But he was chiefly known, outside of his profession in which he acquired eminence, by his occasional poems. While his sympathies were on the popular side, he wrote admirable patriotic verses.[2] Occasional allusions in the writings of those who have been named, show that they were more or less familiar with the contemporary English poets. Francis Knapp, of Watertown, is credited with a poetical address to Mr. Pope, on his "Windsor Forest," dated June 7, 1715, beginning: —





> "Hail, Sacred Bard! a muse unknown before
> Salutes thee from the bleak Atlantic shore;
> To our dark world thy shining page is shown,
> And Windsor's gay retreat becomes our own."[3]

Dr. Watts was also well known in America, and was a friend and correspondent of Dr. Colman, Governor Belcher, Dr. Byles, and others.[4]

"*North.* — The following flows plaintively: —

From hearts oppress'd with grief did they require
A sacred anthem on the sounding lyre;
Come now, they cry, regale us with a song, —
Music and mirth the fleeting hours prolong.
Shall Babel's daughter hear that blessed sound?
Shall songs divine be sung in heathen ground?
No! Heaven forbid that we should tune our voice
Or touch the lyre while slaves — we can't rejoice!
O Palestine, our once so dear abode!
Thou once wert blest with peace and love of God;
But now art desolate! a barren waste!
Thy fruitful fields by thorns and woods disgraced
If I forget Judea's mournful land
May nothing prosper that I take in hand!

"*Shepherd.* — I daur say, gin I could get the sound o' our ain mournfu' auld version out o' ma heart, that I sud like the lines unco weel; she marn ha been a gentle cretur.

"*North.* — Jane Colman, during the eight years of her wedded life, was no doubt happy; and in a calm spirit of happiness must have indited the soft, sweet, and simple close of an imitation of Horace.

"*Shepherd.* — O' Horace? Could she read Latin?

"*North.* — Why not? — daughter, wife, of a clergyman?

No stately beds my humble roof adorn,
No costly purple by carved panthers borne;
Nor can I boast Arabia's rich perfumes,
Diffusing odours through our stately rooms;
For me no fair Egyptian plies the loom.
But my fine linen all is made at home.
Though I no down or tapestry could spread,
A clean, soft pillow shall support your head,
Filled with the wool from off my tender sheep,
On which with ease and safety you may sleep;
The nightingale shall call you to your rest,
And all be calm and still as is your breast.

"*Shepherd.* — Far mair simplicity o' language seems to hae had the young leddies o' New England in thae days, Sir, than them o' Auld England o' the present age." — *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, iii. 169, 170, 171.

[1] *The Monthly Anthology*, 1810, p. 327.

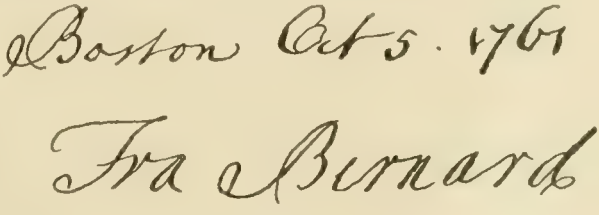
[2] Kettell, *Specimens of American Poetry*; Loring, *Hundred Boston Orators*.

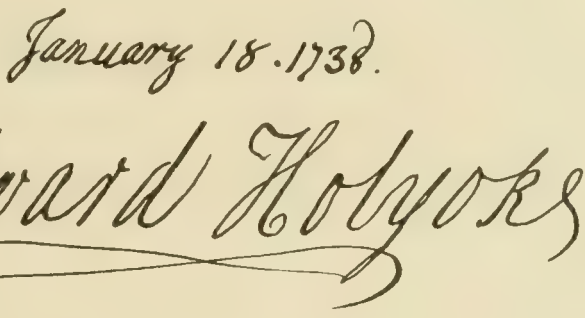
[3] Knapp, *Biographical Sketches of Eminent Men*. Pope, *Poetical Works*, edited by Roscoe.

[4] Johnathan Belcher, writing from Whitehall to Isaac Watts, Jan. 8, 1730, said: "In New England I have often regaled myself with your ingenious pieces, and I can assure you (without a compliment) all Dr. Watts' works are had in great esteem among us." — Milner, *Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D.*, 469. Zabdiel Boylston, writing to Dr. Watts from Boston, Aug. 12, 1732, said: "I thankfully accept your extraordinary performances; viz., fourteen sermons on various subjects, that on King

The most ambitious typographical and literary work attempted on the continent previous to the Revolution, was issued from the press in Boston, in 1762. It was a large quarto in 116 pages, and bore the title "PIETAS ET GRATULATIO COLLEGII CANTABRIGIENSIS APUD NOVANGLOS. BOSTONI-MASSACHUSSETTENSIUM. TYPIS, J. GREEN & J. RUSSELL. MDCCLXI."

Sir Francis Bernard, Governor, then newly arrived in this country, and full of loyal enthusiasm, had the year before suggested that Harvard College, as the chief seat of learning in America, following the example of the English Universities, should publish a suitable memorial of the death of King George II., and the accession of King George III. to the throne. President Holyoke assented to the proposal, and prizes were offered for a Latin oration and other contributions in Latin and English verse. The candidates were to be all members of the college, or those who had taken a degree within seven years, — a condition not strictly complied with. The





contributions are all metrical, three in Greek, eleven in Latin, twelve in English. The typography was very beautiful, and far surpassed anything of the kind attempted on the continent in the last century. The Greek type was the same which Thomas Hollis gave to the college in 1718. This was the first and last time it was used, being lost in the burning of Harvard Hall two years later. The contributions were printed anonymously; but with few exceptions the authorship has been carefully and no doubt accurately traced.[1] Governor Bernard was the only contributor not educated at the

George's death, your Four Catechisms, and an Humble Attempt to Revive Religion, etc. All which, as indeed every piece that drops from your golden pen, meet a joyful acceptance from those who see them here in New England, as well as those at home." — Ibid., 469. [There are friendly letters of Watts to Cotton Mather contained in a volume of MSS. in the Historical Society's cabinet. In one of these he writes of sending to his New England friend the "fruits of some easy hours this last year (1717), wherein I have not sought poetic flourish, but simplicity of style and verse, for the use of vulgar Christians." — ED.]

[1] *Pietas et Gratulatio: an inquiry into the authorship of the several pieces.* By Justin Winsor, Librarian of the University. [From the Bulletin of the Library of the University, March, 1879.]

university. The list included the names of President Holyoke, John Lovell, Stephen Sewall, Benjamin Church, John Lowell, afterward eminent as a statesman and jurist, James Bowdoin, scholar and statesman, Peter Oliver, Samuel Cooper, John Winthrop, Hollis professor of mathematics, and others who afterward acquired distinction. The literary character of the collection was not especially brilliant. The Greek and Latin verses are said to be accurate and proper. The English verse is forced, wanting animation and real life. English critics at the time spoke of the book with much condescension.[1] Copies of it are now rarely offered for sale, and are mainly confined to the large libraries.

The greatest loss literature had sustained in this community was occasioned at this time (1764) by the burning of the College library. Five thousand volumes were consumed. The day following this disastrous fire, a carefully prepared account of the losses appeared in a broadside printed on this side of the river.[2] This was a period of general business disturb-

[1] "This collection cannot boast of poems written in Arabic, Etruscan, Syriac, or Palmyrene; it is not, however, without Greek poetry, of which there are an elegy and an ode not inferior to other modern Greek poems. It must be acknowledged after all that this New England collection, like other public offerings of the same kind, contains many indifferent performances; but these, though they cannot be so well excused when they come from ancient and established seats of learning, may at least be connived at here; and what we could not endure from an illustrious university we can easily pardon in an infant seminary." — *London Monthly Review*, July, 1763, xxix. 22.

[2] *Belknap Papers* (in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society), contain a copy of this broadside, from which the following extract is made: "The Library contained — the Holy Scriptures in almost all languages, with the most valuable Expositors and Commentators, ancient and modern; the whole Library of the late learned Dr. Lightfoot, which at his death he bequeathed to this College, and contained the Targums, Talmuds, Rabbins, Polyglot, and other valuable tracts relative to Oriental literature which is taught here; the Library of the late eminent Dr. Theophilus Gale; all the Fathers, Greek and Latin, in their best editions; a great number of tracts in defence of revealed religion, wrote by the most masterly hands, in the last and present century; sermons of the most celebrated English divines, both of the established national church and Protestant dissenters; tracts upon all the branches of polemic divinity; the donation of the venerable Society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, consisting of a great many volumes of tracts against Popery, published in the Reigns of Charles II. and James II., the Boylean lectures, and other most esteemed English sermons; a valuable collection of modern theological treatises, presented by the Right Rev. Dr. Sherlock, late Lord Bishop of London, the Rev. Dr. Hales, F.R.S., and Dr. Wilson, of London; a vast number of philological tracts, containing the rudiments of almost all languages, ancient and modern; the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman antiquities; the Greek and Roman Classics, presented by the late excellent and catholic-spirited Bishop Berkeley, most of them the best editions; a large Collection of History and Biographical Tracts, ancient and modern; dissertations on various Political subjects; the Transactions of the Royal Society, Academy of Sciences in France, Acta Eruditorum, Miscellanea curiosa, the works of Boyle and Newton, with a great variety of other mathematical and philosophical treatises; a collection of the most approved Medical Authors, chiefly presented by Mr. James, of the Island of Jamaica, to which Dr. Mead and other Gentlemen made very considerable additions; also Anatomical cuts and two compleat Skeletons of different sexes; . . . a few ancient and valuable Manuscripts in different languages; a pair of excellent new Globes of the largest size, presented by Andrew Oliver, Jr., Esq.; a variety of Curiosities, natural and artificial, both of American and foreign produce; a font of Greek types (which, as we had not yet a printing-office, was deposited in the Library), presented by our great benefactor the late worthy Thomas Hollis, Esq., of London, whose picture, as large as the life, and institutions for two Professorships and ten Scholarships, perished in the flames. Some of the most considerable additions that had been made of late years to the library, came from other branches of this generous Family. The library contained above five

ance and depression, but of unusual intellectual spirit and activity. The schools were excellent. Newspapers were increasing in ability and influence. Bookshops were flourishing. John Mein, the enterprising Scotchman, "by the repeated request of a number of gentlemen, the friends of literature," established (November, 1765), in King Street, a circulating library of twelve hundred volumes,[1] and at the same time advertised for sale ten thousand volumes, "just imported."

The booksellers early found their account in promoting the literary spirit, though the century was far advanced before they learned the modern art of advertising. Hezekiah Usher and John Usher, his son,[2] were the pioneers in the trade. John Dunton, the authority for much of the bookselling lore of the close of the seventeenth century, came to Boston in 1686, with a large consignment of books suitable for the Boston market. During the year following his arrival he sold his stock in Boston and Salem, and cultivated an intimate acquaintance with the trade and with all the leading men and women of the Province. He remained here eight months. In 1705, having fallen into misfortune and being driven to his pen for a livelihood, he turned his recollections to account in *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Late Citizen of London, written by himself in Solitude.* He gives in this book an account of his voyage to Boston, of his residence here, of the acquaintances he found or made among the book-makers and the booksellers of the town. He was a man of original humor and enterprise, and has recorded much interesting information.

From 1680 to 1720 Samuel Phillips was a large dealer in books, and occasionally published them. He was young at the time of Dunton's visit, who describes him as "the most Beautiful Man in the Town of Boston," and "blest with a pretty, obliging Wife." The descendants of Samuel Phillips continued the bookselling business in Cornhill till after the Revolution.[3] Richard Williams, "near the Town House," and Joseph Browning or Brunning, "at the corner of Prison Lane," traded largely in books during the closing years of the century. Nicholas Buttolph, "next to Guttridge's Coffee-House," and Benjamin Elliot, "under the Exchange, King Street," were contemporaries in 1690, and continued so for nearly half a century. Nicholas Boone (1704), "at the Bible in Cornhill," first publisher of the Boston *News-Letter*, was an eminent bookseller, and many books written in America were published by him. Eleazer Phillips, 1711, sold books in Newbury Street, afterward in

thousand volumes, all which were consumed, except a few books in the hands of the members of the house." [This description is given more at length in Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, ii. 481, as part of an account which appeared in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, Feb. 2, 1764. Quincy also gives, ii. p. 484, the record of the gifts which came in to repair the loss; and in the Public Library there is another list of contributors in the handwriting of Prof. John Winthrop, which differs somewhat — Ed.]

[1] Yearly subscribers paid £1 8*s.*; quarterly 10*s.* 8*d.*

[2] "This Trader makes the best figure in Boston; he's very Rich, adventures much to Sea; but has got his Estate by Bookselling." — John Dunton, *Life and Errors.* [See Vol. I. of this history, p. 500. — Ed.]

[3] Thomas, *History of Printing*, ed. 1874, ii. 207. Phillips, following the custom of the booksellers of the last century, traded also in English goods.

King Street, and removed in 1715 to Charlestown, the only bookseller who settled on that side of the river before the Revolution. Daniel Henchman, 1713, "Cornhill, corner of King Street," is called by Thomas the most eminent and enterprising bookseller that appeared in Boston, or indeed in all British America, before 1775. Books were printed for him in London and Boston. It is alleged that the first Bible printed in America in the English language was printed for him.[1] He furnished the capital for printing Samuel Willard's great posthumous work, *The Body of Divinity*. He built the first paper-mill in New England,[2] and in the intervals of his engrossing occupations bore his full share of the public burden like a good citizen.[3]

John Checkley won a place in the guild for a season, though he does not appear to have been regularly in the trade. He published in London and sold in Boston an octavo volume entitled, *A Short and Easie Method with the Deists*.[4] It was sold "at the sign of the 'Crown and Blue-Gate,' over against the west end of the Town House." Checkley was prosecuted for publishing and selling a "false and scandalous libel," was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of fifty pounds. He left the place soon after. The book was a plea for the Church of England, and represented the Congregational churches and ministers as schismatics, but was otherwise quite harmless. Thomas Hancock, the opulent and public-spirited merchant, kept a book-store, 1726–30, in "Anne Street, near the Drawbridge." He afterward attended to general merchandise, acquired a fortune, and became "one of the principal commercial persons in New England."[5] He was the uncle of Governor Hancock, to whom his estate descended. From this time till 1760 booksellers increased in number and importance. Oldmixon, writing in 1740, said there were five printing-houses in Boston, and the presses were generally full of work, which was in great measure owing to the college and schools for useful learning in New England. The Town House or Exchange was surrounded with booksellers' shops. Among the later booksellers preceding the Revolution were James Rivington, who through an agent introduced the most valuable English books into this market; John Mein, who for three years, 1766–69, kept a flourishing "Lon-

[1] [This first American Bible appeared about 1749, and to avoid the consequences of violating English statutory regulations was given a false imprint, — "London, Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty." Kneeland and Green printed it, in quarto, in very close imitation of the English authorized editions. See O'Callaghan, *List of Editions of Holy Scriptures*, p. xiii; Thomas, *History of Printing*. Bancroft, *United States*, v. 266, with good reason, doubts the existence of such an edition, of which five or six hundred are said to have been printed. — ED.]

[2] [See note to Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

[3] [Daniel Neal, *History of New England*, thus speaks of this trade in 1719: "The Exchange is surrounded with Booksellers' Shops, which have a good trade. There are five Printing Presses in Boston, which are generally full of work, by which it appears that Humanity and the knowledge of letters flourish more here than in all the other English Plantations put together; for in the City of New York there is but one Bookseller's Shop, and in the Plantations of Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Barbadoes, and the Islands none at all." — ED.]

[4] [This was, perhaps, the famous book by Charles Leslie, which has been often reprinted, and was much famed in its day. The notices of Checkley, however, seem to imply that it was a different publication. — ED.]

[5] Thomas, *History of Printing*, ii. 222. He built the Hancock House on Beacon Street.

don Book Store, north side of King Street;" and Henry Knox,[1] whose history belongs to the Revolutionary period.

For the most part the interests of literature were favored by the magistrates who ruled over the Province. Governor Dudley was a conspicuous friend of learning and of letters. Besides his interest in politics and natural science, he was accomplished in the best literature of Queen Anne's reign. In his commissions he gave the preference uniformly to graduates of the college and other men of learning. He entertained the clergy with learned discourse in divinity, philosophy, and textual criticism.[2] The highest praise his admirers could give him was that "he Truly Honor'd and Lov'd the Religion, Learning, and Vertue of New England, and was himself a worthy Patron and Example of them all."[3] Next to Governor Dudley, Governor Burnet, the eldest son of Bishop Burnet, was the most highly cultivated magistrate whom the Government had sent to Massachusetts. Governor Hutchinson speaks of him as "the delight of men of sense and learning." He had read much and had easy command of his acquirements. His library was rich and varied, and was reputed to be the best in the Province. He contributed to the Transactions of the Royal Society, and was not averse to theological speculation and controversy.

Governor Belcher, though less highly educated than his predecessors, had many accomplishments. His inclination would have led him to cultivate the society and the interests of men of letters, if his showy and aspiring nature had not overshadowed it. When he was transferred from Massachusetts to New Jersey, he became the devoted and useful friend of Princeton College, and its chief patron and benefactor. Governor Shirley, one of the ablest of the governors of the Province, left in manuscript a full account of the expedition against Louisburg,[4] but otherwise made no very distinct literary mark during his term of office.[5] Governor Pownall's magistracy fell upon stormy times, and it was his misfortune to find some of the best writers of the Province arrayed against him. But he was a man of generous acquirements and instinctive sympathy with every one who had a claim to recognition for intellectual qualities. He pursued his own studies in many directions, and both before and after the Revolution published much relating to America, besides making excursions in archaeology, antiquities, and general politics.

[1] [He was an apprentice of Daniel Henchman. — Ed.]

[2] Dr. Colman, *Funeral Sermon*, 1720.

[3] *Boston News-Letter*, April 11, 1720. [Quincy shows his relations to the College, and says he was most influential in giving its constitution a permanent character. *History of Harvard University*, i. ch. viii. — Ed.]

[4] 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* Allen, Drake, Allibone, and others speak of Governor Shirley as the author of plays; but it seems clear that William Shirley, the contemporary playwright in England, was a different person, of quite opposite characteristics. See Baker, *Biographia Dramatica*; Davies, *Dramatic Miscellany*; Murphy, *Life of Garrick*, etc.

[5] [There is in the College Library at Cambridge a specimen of Shirley's Latinity (unless indeed some one prepared it for him) preserved in more than one manuscript copy, — a speech delivered when he made his first visit to Cambridge as Governor. Quincy, *Harvard University*, ii. 88, details the state in which he went, and describes the dinner that the Corporation gave him; whose records call the speech "a very fine Latin" one. — Ed.]

Governor Bernard had exceptional literary endowments, and was deeply interested in books and learning. His memory was marvellous, and he prided himself on being able to repeat the whole of the plays of Shakspeare. He contributed handsomely to the relief of Harvard College after the fire of 1764, and made the plans after which Harvard Hall was rebuilt. Besides his Greek and Latin elegies in *Pietas et Gratulatio*, he wrote much on the trade and government of America. His confidential letters, written with too great freedom for critical times, were also published, to his great annoyance, and contributed in spite of himself to swell the tide of Revolutionary feeling then almost at the flood. Governor Hutchinson, the last of the royal governors, except Gage, will be remembered in the literature of the Province longer than any of his predecessors, on account of his judicious labors in the field of American History. His *History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* is a standard work, and for more than a century has been a fountain to which all later historians have been compelled to repair. He made an invaluable collection of ancient and curious papers illustrating the early settlement of the country, part of which were destroyed in the Stamp-Act riots of 1765, and part were printed to support and elucidate the earlier portion of his History. Hutchinson also published several political pamphlets which, however, added nothing to his reputation, nor helped to break the force of his fall.

Nearly all the men who became eminent in literature before the Revolution, or in professional and public life, except the governors of English birth, were educated at Cambridge, and fully educated up to the university standard of the time. The great writers of the past were familiar to them. The old and the recent classics they cultivated with zeal and affection. And when the last crisis drew near, all that the masters of style could teach of literary form and spirit, they loyally used in the service of the nation yet to be born.

Delano A. Goddard

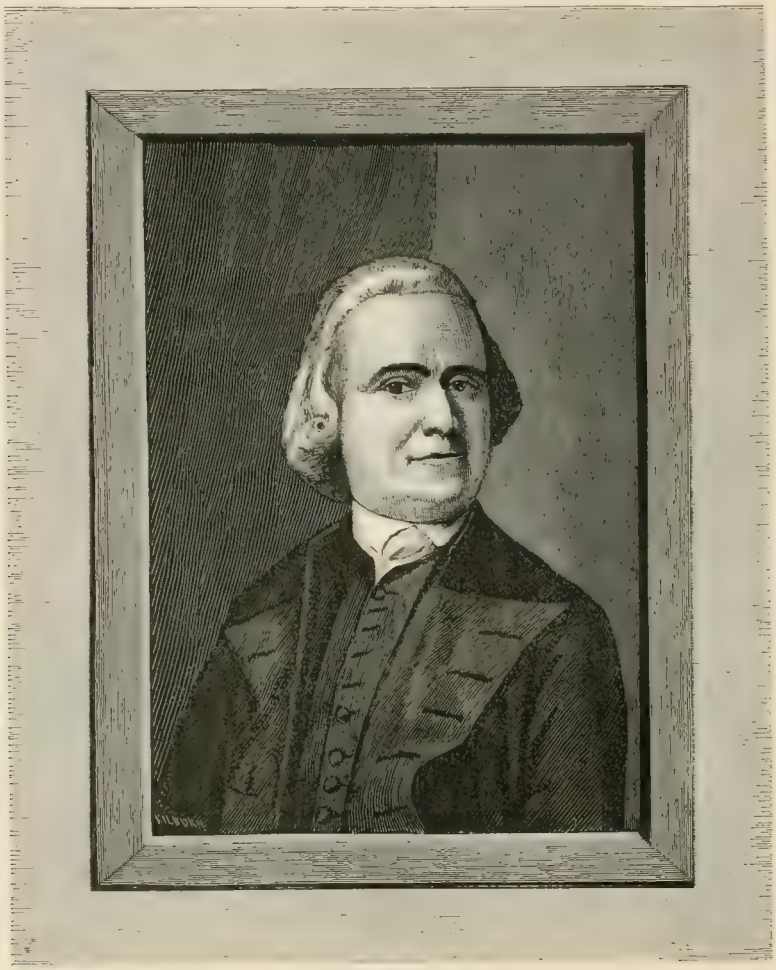
CHAPTER XVI.

LIFE IN BOSTON IN THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

BY HORACE E. SCUDDER.

ABOUT a hundred years after the death of John Winthrop, the second great historic Bostonian, Sam Adams, was entering upon his active manhood. He is sometimes called the last of the Puritans. He was also the first of the Democrats; and the Boston which gave him birth and furnished a field for his energy was a different Boston from that which used a barrel and a half of powder at the funeral of its illustrious founder. The town was leaving behind the traditions of the elders and looking toward the new conditions of a modern city. For a generation before the birth of Adams Massachusetts had been under officers appointed by the Crown, and Boston had been the local depositary of royal rule in New England; when he came fairly upon the stage, the agitation had begun which was not to cease until the State could transfer its allegiance from the Crown to the Union, and readjust its lines of local self-government. His own oration at Commencement was on the thesis, "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved." In his day politics had, in a measure, taken the place of theology as a field for mental activity; and the change hints at a marked difference in the life of Boston in Adams's time from that of Winthrop's. In the family of Sam Adams, as in many other families in Boston, Puritan traditions prevailed, and manners and customs affected by considerations of religion still remained, transmitted from the life of early Boston. Nevertheless, the religion of the Puritans ceased to exercise a predominant influence in life. The establishment of the Church of England had modified this influence, and the Puritan Church itself had relaxed its minute supervision; the change in government had introduced a strong foreign element, for the England of Queen Anne was a foreign country to the descendants of emigrants and exiles from the England of Charles I.; the growth of commerce and the extension of the market of Boston had further affected the character of the town, and there was no longer that isolation and self-content which had made a compact little settlement, in-

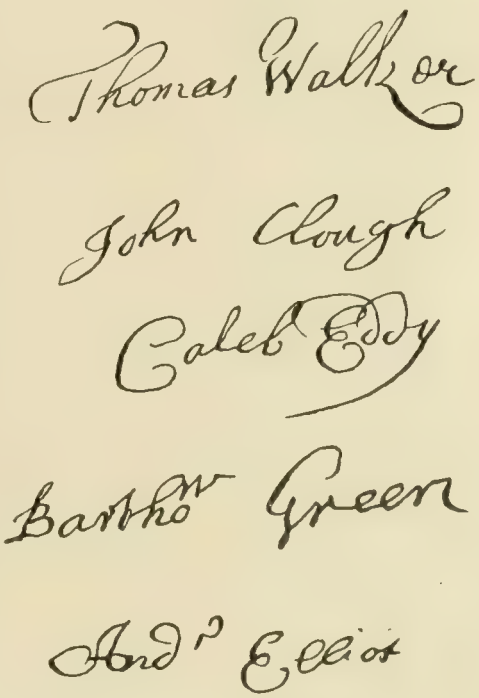
fused with a defensive spirit, a law to itself. The Boston of Sam Adams's manhood was a different Boston from that of John Winthrop's death, and the causes which induced the difference indicate somewhat the character of the change.



SAMUEL ADAMS.[1]

[1] [Copley's portrait, now in the Art Museum, was painted in 1772, when Adams was forty-nine. It is engraved in Vol. III., and on steel in Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, i. It was painted, together with one of Hancock, and at the cost of Hancock, to signalize the reconciliation then recently brought about between those patriots; and the twin pictures for nearly fifty years graced the walls of the Hancock House, before they became the property of the town. Two years after it was painted Paul Revere made a rude engraving of the head and shoulders for the *Royal American Magazine*, April, 1774, and this has been copied in Wells, ii. A copy of the painting was made about the same time by J. Mitchell, and from this copy a mezzotint engraving by Samuel Okey was issued at Newport in 1775. Both the Boston and London editions of the *Impartial History of the War in America*, a few years later, had other heads of Adams. The statue of Adams now in Adams Square (a duplicate of one in the Capitol at Washington) follows this Copley picture. A smaller picture by Copley, 16 by 12 inches, in the artist's later manner, hangs in Memorial Hall, Cambridge, and is here followed. In 1795, when Adams

The appearance which Boston in the middle of the eighteenth century presented to a visitor was one of thrift and substantial prosperity. It had much the air of some of the best country towns in England.[1] The marginal lines had not materially changed, as Price's plan of 1743 shows; and the territory of the little peninsula sufficed, with but slight changes, until the new movement in life began early in the present century. The population had increased chiefly by process of natural laws, unaided by any extensive immigration or influx from the country. When the small-pox broke out in 1722, it was estimated that the town contained about twelve thousand inhabitants. Twenty years later, in 1742, there were about eighteen thousand, and the number scarcely exceeded twenty thousand in 1760. This stationary character of the population aided no doubt in the preservation of local characteristics. In the valuation of 1742 there were reported to be one thousand seven hundred and nineteen houses, and one hundred and sixty-six warehouses; twelve hundred of the population were widows, a thousand of them being set down as poor; and there were one thousand five hundred and fourteen negroes in town.[2] Peter Faneuil had just presented Faneuil Hall to the town; and there were standing, besides the Town House and Province House, ten meeting-houses of the prevailing faith, three edifices of the Church of England, a French, a Quaker, and one Irish or Presbyterian meeting-house. There was a work-house and an alms-house, a granary and four school-houses. The streets were open and spacious, — at least, Burnaby thought so, —



SIGNATURES TO A PETITION FOR PAVING THE SOUTH END.[3]

was governor, a likeness of him was painted by John Johnson, which was burned up not many years ago. Graham made a mezzotint from it in 1797, and from this the likeness in Wells's *Life*, iii., is reproduced. — ED.]

[1] Burnaby's *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America*, p. 134. Burnaby's visit was made just before the great fire of 1760.

[2] For these figures see *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America*, by William Douglass, M.D. London: 1755, vol. i., p. 531. [It is fair to observe regarding Douglass and his book, that unless corroborated his opinions hardly pass unchallenged by investigators, and his statements are very often in need of other evidence. — ED.]

[3] [Various petitions are on the files of the City Clerk's office, praying the selectmen for the paving of different streets and ways. The above is dated 1714, and shows the names of some of the leading townsmen of that section. They asked that the highway from Deacon Eliot's to the new lane by Mr. Ipses might be paved. — ED.]

and well paved. The harbor was busy with shipping, and Long Wharf stretched out nearly half a mile, with a row of warehouses on its north side, and a battery planted at its terminus upon the water. Just how the town appeared to a stranger in 1740 may be seen from the animated account given by a Mr. Bennett, who wrote a history of New England, with a narrative of his travels, — a work which has remained in manuscript, though portions have been copied into the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[1] He says: —

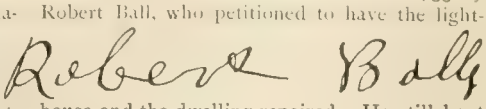
"At the entrance of the bay there are several rocks of great magnitude, the tops of which appeared considerably above the surface of the water at the time of our passing by them. There are also about a dozen little islands all in view as we approach the town, some of which are as fine farms as any in the whole country. This town has a good natural security, in my opinion; for there is great plenty of rocks and shoals, which are not easy to be avoided by strangers to the coasts; and there is but one safe channel to approach the harbor, and that so narrow that three ships can hardly sail through abreast; but within the harbor there is room enough for five hundred sail to lie at an anchor.

"The entrance to the [inner] harbor is defended by a strong Castle, which they call Fort William, on which there are mounted a hundred guns, twenty of which lie on a platform level with the water, to prevent an enemy passing the Castle, — which is a quarry surrounded by a covered way, joined with two lines of communication to the main battery. This battery is situated so near the channel, that all ships going up to town must sail within musket-shot of it. . . . About two leagues distant from the Castle, on a rock, stands an exceeding fine light-house,[2] at which there is a guard constantly attending to prevent surprise; from whence they make signals to the Castle when any ships come in sight, whether friend or foe. . . . When a signal is made from off the lighthouse to the Castle of the approach of an enemy, if there be more than four or five ships, then the Castle thereupon gives a signal to the town; and those of the town alarm the country by firing of a beacon. And for that purpose they have a very famous one on the northwest side of the town, erected on a hill, much like unto that in Greenwich Park, on which Flamstead House stands.

"At the bottom of the bay there is a fine wharf about half a mile in length, on the north side of which are built many warehouses for the storing of merchants' goods; this they call the Long Wharf, to distinguish it from others of lesser note. And to this wharf ships of the greatest burthen come up so close as to unload their cargo without the assistance of boats. From the end of the Long Wharf, which lies east from the town, the buildings rise gradually with an easy ascent westward about a mile. There are a great many good houses and several fine streets, little inferior to some of our best in London, the principal of which is King's Street; it runs upon a line from the end of the Long Wharf about a quarter of a mile, and at the upper end of it stands the Town House or Guild Hall, where the Governor meets the Council and

[1] January meeting, 1861.

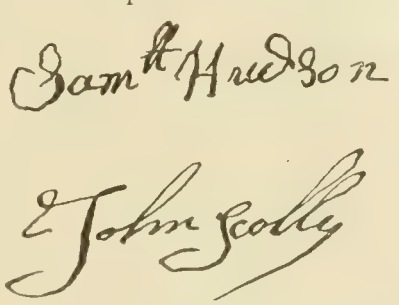
[2] The one, I suppose, which the Legislature, in 1715, ordered erected on Beacon Island. [The *Boston News-Letter*, Sept. 17, 1716, records that the lighthouse at the entrance of the harbor was first lighted, Sept. 14. John Hayes was the first keeper of it; but being old and infirm, he was succeeded in 1733 by Robert Ball, who petitioned to have the light-house and the dwelling repaired. He still kept it as late as 1745. — Ed.]



House of Representatives; and the several courts of Justice are held there also. And there are likewise walks for the merchants, where they meet every day at one o'clock, in imitation of the Exchange at London, which they call by the name of Royal Exchange too, round which there are several booksellers' shops; and there are four or five printing-houses, which have full employment in printing and reprinting books, of one sort or other, that are brought from England and other parts of Europe.

"This town was not built after any regular plan, but has been enlarged from time to time as the inhabitants increased; and is now, from north to south, something more than two miles in length, and in the widest part about one mile and a half in breadth. . . . There are sixty streets, forty-one lanes, and eighteen alleys, besides squares, courts, etc. The streets are well paved and lying upon a descent. The town is, for the generality, as dry and clean as any I ever remember to have seen. When we were upon the sea, that part of the town which lies about the harbor appeared to us in the form of a crescent, or half-moon; and the country, rising gradually from it, afforded us a pleasant prospect of the neighboring fields and woods."

There was as yet no bridge connecting the peninsula with the main, and the Charlestown Ferry was a busy place. Great complaint had been made of the remissness of the men in charge of it, so that in 1710 an act was passed providing that there should be "three sufficient suitable boats and appurtenances, with able, sober persons to row in them, kept for the transportation of persons and horses" over the ferry, — one of which was always to be in passage and the others waiting at the opposite shores, each ready to put out as soon as the third boat should come alongside. The three boats were "to continue plying from side to side with all industry and diligence, daily (except on the Lord's Day, and then to pass no oftener than necessity shall require)," from sunrise until eight or nine at night, according as it was winter or summer.[2] For travel within the town itself there was abundant provision. Douglass, in quoting from the valuation of 1742, mentions four hundred and eighteen horses; and an act passed June 25, 1744, provided that coaches, chariots, four-wheeled chaises, calashes, and chairs should be taxed for the repair of Boston Neck, but that the carriages of the Governor and settled ministers should be exempt. Bennett's testimony on this point is explicit and interesting: —



FERRYMEN IN 1691.[1]

[1] [There is a chapter on the early ferries in W. W. Wheildon's *Curiosities of History*. Boston, 1880, p. 27. — Ed.]

[2] [The regularly established ferries did not prevent occasional other service of this kind, and sometimes to good purposes. John Erving became an eminent Boston merchant (he was born in 1693), and the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop said of him in 1845, "a few dollars earned on a Commencement Day, by ferrying passengers over Charles River, shipped to Lisbon in the shape of fish, and from thence to London in the shape of fruit, and from thence brought home to be reinvested in fish, laid the foundations of the largest fortune of the day." Sabine, *American Loyalists*, i 496. — Ed.]

"There are several families in Boston that keep a coach and pair of horses, and some few drive with four horses; but for chaises and saddle-horses, considering the bulk of the place, they outdo London. They have some nimble, lively horses for the coach, but not any of that beautiful black breed so common in London. Their saddle-horses all pace naturally, and are generally counted surefooted; but they are not kept in that fine order as in England.[1] The common draught-horses used in carts about the town are very small and poor, and seldom have their fill of anything but labor.[2] The country carts and wagons are generally drawn by oxen, from two to six, according to the distance of place, or burden they are laden with. . . . Their roads, though they have no turnpikes, are exceeding good in summer; and it is safe travelling night or day, for they have no highway robbers to interrupt them.[3] It is pleasant riding through the woods; and the country is pleasantly interspersed with farm-houses, cottages, and some few gentlemen's seats between the towns."

Communication between Boston and the other colonies, as well as with England, was under more or less regulation. A regular postmaster was appointed as early as 1677, by the Council; and the postoffice, in 1704, was the natural place of publication for the first journal, the *Boston News-Letter*. The postmaster, John Campbell, was the publisher, and in 1710 he was regularly appointed under the Act of Parliament which had established a General Postoffice in North America. Revenue was in part the object of the enactment. The rate of postage upon letters from England was a shilling for single letters, and so remained until after the middle of this century. There was a running account however at the office, for we find regular advertisements in the *News-Letter* to such effect as this: —

"Monday, the 14th of December last, being quarter-day for paying the postage of letters at the postoffice in Boston, notice is hereby given to such as have not already paid, that without fail they should do it on Monday or Tuesday morning next, the fourth and fifth dayes of this instant January, between the hours of eight and twelve, as they desire to be credited for the future."[4]

Something of the primitive manners may be inferred from the announcement of the postoffice hours: —

"These are to give notice to all persons concerned, that the postoffice in Boston is opened every Monday morning from the middle of March to the middle of Sep-

[1] In 1728 there were so many dogs in Boston that the butchers were excessively annoyed by them; and an order was passed that no person should keep any dog in Boston above ten inches in height! *Boston Town Records*, July 1, 1728.

[2] [Drake, *Landmarks*, p. 177, thinks that an order of the town defining the length of trucks (18 feet), passed as early as 1720, indicates the use even then of those cumbrous vehicles, the memory of which is now confined to those of middle and later life. — Ed.]

[3] But earlier there were other perils even upon such short journeys as from Boston to Roxbury. In the *News-Letter* for Feb. 1, 1713, we read: "On Friday night one Bacon, of Roxbury, going home in his slade with three horses, was bewilder'd in the dark, himself found dead with the cold, next morning, one of the horses drowned in the Marsh, the other two not yet heard of." [There are in the Historical Society's Cabinet the papers of an inquest on an Indian woman drowned on the flats on Boston Neck, by reason of the ice breaking under her. *Miscellaneous Papers*, ii. 58. — Ed.]

[4] *Boston News-Letter*, Jan. 4, 1713.

tember, at seven of the clock, to deliver out all letters that do come by the post till twelve a'clock; from twelve to two a'clock, being dinner-time, no office kept; and from two a'clock in the afternoon to six a-clock the office will be open to take in all letters to go by the Southern and Western post, and none to be taken in after that hour, excepting for the Eastern post till seven at night." [1]

There was not apparently very rigid discipline in the postoffice. The postmaster complains in his paper that people were in the habit of going on board vessels when they came into port and taking possession of letters, with the promise to deliver them to the proper persons. He reminds them that by Act of Parliament all masters of vessels, or passengers, having letters are to deliver them only to the postmaster or his deputy, and to receive a penny for each letter so delivered; "and for the benefit and advantage of merchants and others it 's thought very proper for all masters (as it has been usual) to make a fair alphabetical list of the names and number of letters in his bagg, which list hung up at the office-door would soon resolve any person if they had any letters by such a ship." [2] The first published list of letters uncalled for appeared, according to Drake,[3] in the *News-Letter* for Jan. 30, 1755, and contained 351 names.

Unquestionably the chief impression made then by Boston on a stranger was its great activity as a trading-town, and, in connection with that, its large ship-building interests. In these respects it led all the settlements of the British-American colonies; yet when Sam Adams, after leaving college, engaged in business with his father, he heard a great deal of the narrow policy of British legislation which had already begun to tell on Boston commerce and ship-building.[4] A fanciful derivation at one time connected the word *caucus*, which first appeared about 1724, with the political meetings attended by Sam Adams's father, and composed chiefly of ship-building mechanics or calkers at the North End. The enterprise, which had been opened by John Winthrop's "Blessing of the Bay," had been enlarged and had become the great industry of the town. On Price's plan one may count sixteen ship-yards, and there were no doubt other less important ones. In 1738, according to Burke,[5] there were built at Boston forty-one topsail vessels of 6,324 tons in all; in 1743 the number had fallen off to thirty; in 1746 there were but twenty, and in 1749 the number was reduced to fifteen, making but 2,450 tons of shipping.[6] The connection between the ship-building and

[1] *Boston News-Letter*, May 24, 1714. [Andros, in his time, had planned a post to Connecticut once a month, and each three weeks in summer; but in 1711 mails were running regularly east and west from Boston, and once a week a carrier went to Plymouth. — Ed.]

[2] Ibid., April 11, 1715.

[3] *History of Boston*, p. 636.

[4] [In 1698 Bellomont had classed the ships belonging to Boston: One hundred to three hundred tons, 25; one hundred and under, 38; brigantines, 50; ketches, 13; sloops, 67; in all, 194 vessels. "I believe I may venture to say there are more good vessels" says that governor, "belonging to the town of Boston than to all Scotland and Ireland." — Ed.]

[5] *Account of the European Settlements in America*, ii. 183.

[6] [In the *Gleaner Articles* of N. I. Bowditch, Nos. 16, 17, and 51, there are some data about the Boston ropewalks of this century. He says (No. 22) that "fourteen ropewalks in Boston were probably spinning all at once for a period of at least sixty years." — Ed.]

commerce of the town is pointed out by the same writer, who describes the method of the merchants: —

"The business of ship-building is one of the most considerable which Boston or the other seaport towns in New England carry on. Ships are sometimes built here upon commission, but frequently the merchants of New England have them constructed on their own account, and loading them with the produce of the colony, — naval stores, fish, and fish-oil principally, — they send them out upon a trading voyage to Spain, Portugal, or the Mediterranean; where, having disposed of their cargo, they make what advantage they can by freight, until such time as they can sell the vessel herself to advantage, which they seldom fail to do in a reasonable time. They receive the value of the vessel, as well as of the freight of the goods which from time to time they carried, and of the cargo with which they sailed originally, in bills of exchange upon London; for, as the people of New England have no commodity to return for the value of above a hundred thousand pounds, which they take in various sorts of goods from England, but some naval stores, — and those in no great quantities, — they are obliged to keep the balance somewhat even by this circuitous commerce, which, though not carried on with Great Britain, nor with British vessels, yet centres in its profits, where all the money which the colonies can make in any manner must centre at last." [1]

From Christmas, 1747, to Christmas, 1748,[2] five hundred and forty vessels cleared from the port of Boston, and four hundred and thirty entered; and these numbers did not include coasting and fishing vessels, of at least an equal number. Burke calls the New England people the Dutch of America, for they were carriers for all the colonies of North America and the West Indies, and even for some parts of Europe. The proportionate size of the vessels may be inferred from the accounts of the Boston Naval Office on foreign voyages, where, from Michaelmas, 1747, to Michaelmas, 1748, four hundred and ninety-one vessels cleared, of which fifty-one were ships, forty-four snows, fifty-four brigs, two hundred and forty-nine sloops, and ninety-three schooners.[3]

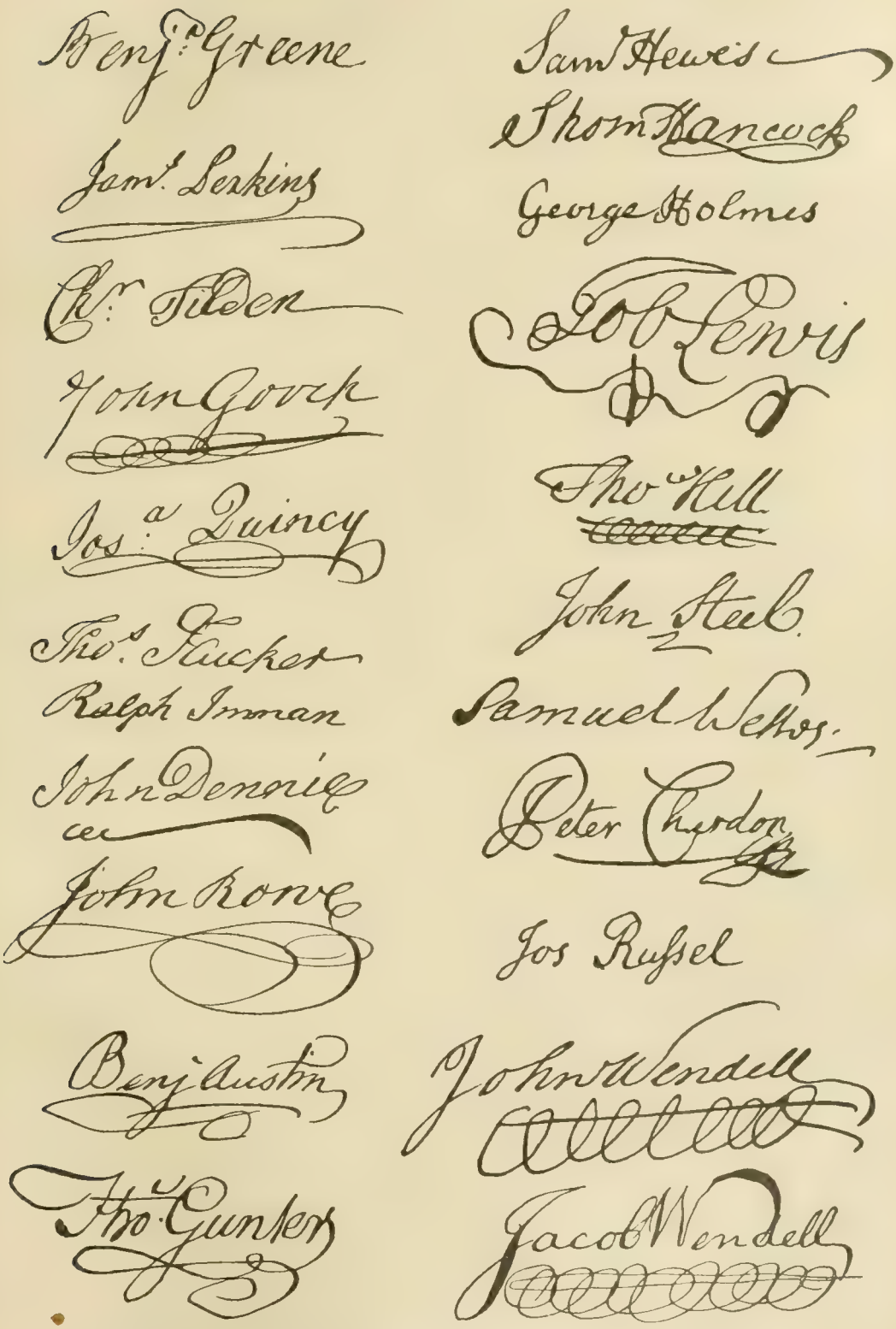
[1] *Account of the European Settlements in America*, ii. 175.

[2] [For the purposes of a comparison with a period fifty years earlier, the reader may find, if he is curious, in the *Massachusetts Archives*, "Commercial," i., lists of the clearances from Boston, during a part of the inter-charter period, 1686–88. The names of a few of the vessels and commanders of most frequent occurrence follow. They are all given as belonging to Boston, unless otherwise designated: —

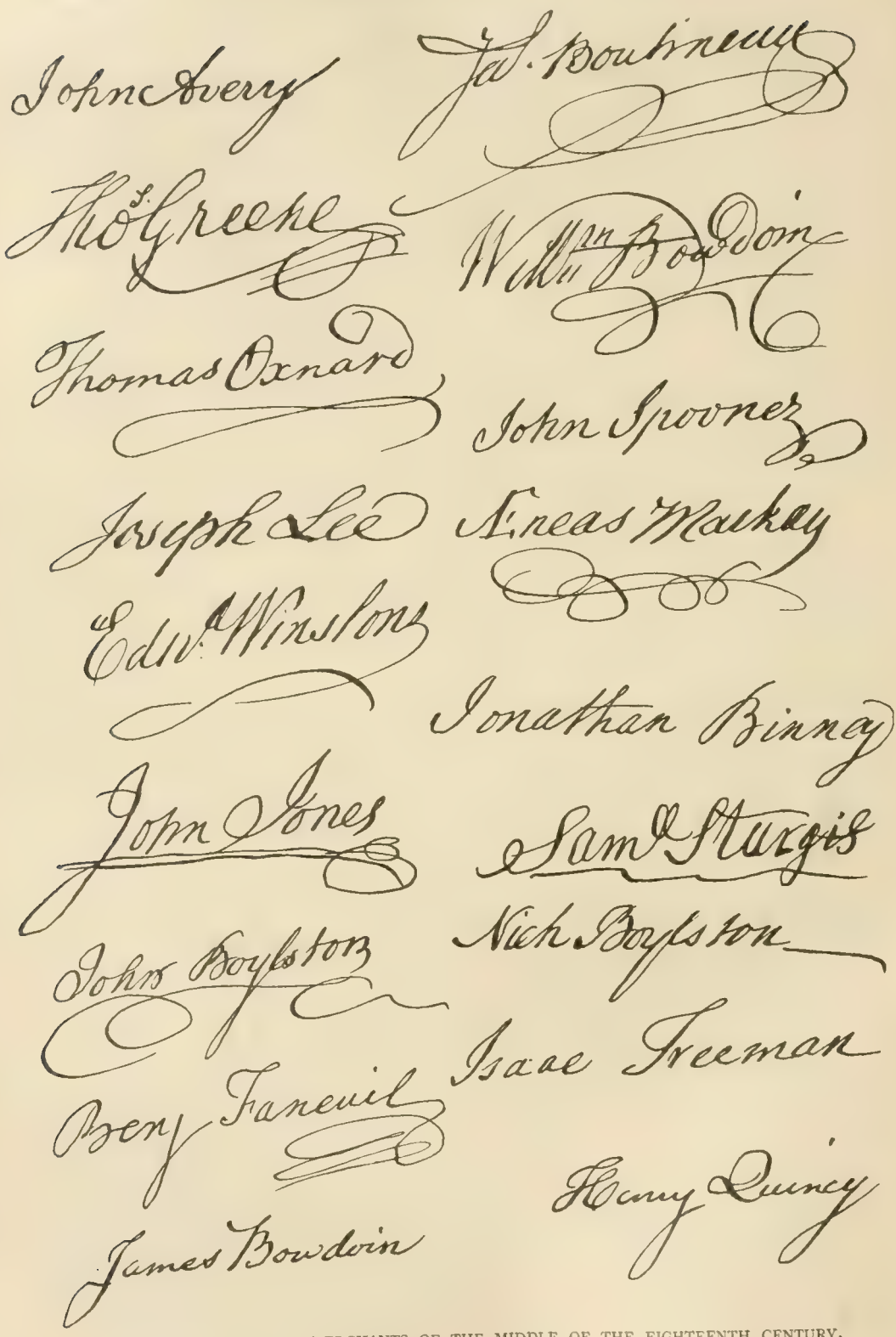
Ketch "Amity," John Bonner; ketch "Mary and Elizabeth," of Charlestown, Nathaniel Cary; ship "James," Job Prince; sloop "Swan," John Nelson; ketch "Abigail," Andrew Eliot; ketch "Mary," Jonathan Balston; bark "Lidia," Benjamin Guilham; ship "Society," ninety tons, four guns, ten men, Thomas Fayerweather; ship "Nevis Merchant," Timothy Clarke; ship "Swallow," John Eldridge; brig "Silvanus," of Charlestown, Bartholomew Green; ship "Dolphin," John Foy; ketch "Lark," John Walley; ketch "Samuel," Giles Fifield; ketch "Friendship," thirty tons, six men, Thomas Winsor; ship "Swan," Andrew Belcher; brigantine "Supply," John Hunt; ship "Rebecca," John Hobby; ketch "George," Andrew Eliot; brigantine "Blessing," of Charlestown, Bartholomew Green; pink "Endeavor" Simon Eyre; bark "Tryal" Barrakah Arnold; ship "Friendship," one hundred tons, fourteen guns, John Ware; sloop "Providence," John Rainsford.

There are other lists of clearances in this same volume, 1701–14. See notice of the returns for a part of the time of the Naval Office, in the British State-Paper Office, as cited by Palfrey, iii. 566. — Ed.]

[3] Douglass, i. 538. It was now about thirty-four years after the invention of the name "schooner." [See Babson, *History of Gloucester*, p. 251, for the usual story of the origin of the name. A bystander at the launch of one exclaimed, "How she schoons!" and the name grew out of it. — Ed.]



AUTOGRAPHS OF BOSTON MERCHANTS OF THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.



AUTOGRAPHS OF BOSTON MERCHANTS OF THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The ships that sailed out from Boston harbor carried beef, pork, fish, lumber, and oil; and from the West Indies brought rice, pitch, spices, logwood, rum, and sugar. They brought good rum from the West Indies, and the best refined sugar from London; but for ordinary consumption New England rum and sugar served, and a brisk business was carried on at Boston in distilling. Burke says: —

"The quantity of spirits which they distil in Boston from the molasses they bring in from all parts of the West Indies is as surprising as the cheap rate at which they vend it, which is under two shillings a gallon; with this they supply almost all the consumption of our colonies in North America, the Indian trade there, the vast demands of their own and the Newfoundland fisheries, and, in great measure, those of the African trade; but they are more famous for the quantity and cheapness than for the excellency of their rum."[1]

There are eight still-houses marked on Price's plan, divided between the Mill Pond and the wharves near the foot of Essex Street.[2]

The importance of the commercial and manufacturing interests of Boston at this time is illustrated further by two interesting papers preserved in the Town Records, under dates of Jan. 1, 1735, and March 16, 1742, — the latter reiterating and adding to the statements and arguments of the former, both representing the check to prosperity which the town had received, and calling upon the General Court to take into account the consideration urged in apportioning Boston's share of the provincial expenses. The statement of 1742 declares: —

"The greatest advantage this town reaped from that trade [to London] was by ship-building, which employed most of our tradesmen. But that is now reduced so that whereas in 1735 orders might arrive for building forty sail of ships, there has been as yet but orders for two, by which means the most advantageous branch of trade to our mother country, being lessened to so great a degree, must necessarily oblige a great many of our useful tradesmen to leave the town, as many have already done; so that this town will suffer exceedingly for want of that branch of trade being properly supported, and thereby rendered much less able to support a large tax, than from the decline of all the other branches of trade together, by reason that that branch employed more men than all the rest."

The same alarm was expressed regarding the cod-fishery and the distillery business. The quantity of molasses distilled in 1742 had fallen off two thirds from that in 1735, and the complaint at that time was that it had suffered loss of half its customary business.

The merchant marine of Boston had other perils than those of navigation. From the earliest settlement pirates had annoyed the colony, and in the disturbances connected with the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty they

[1] Burke, *Account*, ii 174.

[2] "The oldest one is that now, and for some time, in possession of the French family, which appears to have been improved for that purpose as early as 1714, by Henry Hill, distiller, and by Thomas Hill after him. Besides this there were Avery's and Haskins's." — Drake, *Old Landmarks of Boston*, p. 406.

began to be a serious obstacle to commerce. These pirates were by no means from over seas only, but came from Boston and other New England seaports.[1] In 1689 one Ponnd was captured, and his indictment charged that "being under a red flag at the head of the mast, purposely and in defiance of their Majesties' authority, had wilfully and with malice aforethought committed murder and piracy upon the high seas, being instigated thereunto by the Devil."[2] In 1704 John Quelch, — most appropriate name for a pirate, — with five of his crew, was caught and executed in Boston.[3] One of the most tragical terminations to a piratical career was in the case of Captain Samuel Bellamy, master of the pirate ship "Whidah." It was in the year 1717, and this captain of the pirates had more than a hundred men in his fleet. He had captured a snow, and promised to give the skipper his vessel again if he would pilot him into Provincetown harbor. Tradition has it that the skipper threw over a burning tar-barrel which decoyed the fleet upon Wellfleet bar. At any rate the pirates were wrecked, a hundred dead bodies were washed ashore, and only nine men escaped. Of these six were tried, condemned, and executed. The wreck of the pirates haunted the coast. "At times to this day" [1793], says Levi Whitman, the historian of Wellfleet, "there are King William and Queen Mary's coppers picked up, and pieces of silver called cob-money. The violence of the seas moves the sands on the outer bar, so that at times the iron caboose of the ship at low ebbs has been seen."[4]

[1] [A law against piracy had been passed Oct. 15, 1673. — Ed.]

[2] Drake, *History of Boston*, p. 490. [The original minutes of the evidence against Ponnd are given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ii. 393, being the testimony of Benjamin Gallop, Abraham Adams, Colburn Turell, and Daniel Langley, who accompanied Captain Samuel Pease in the Boston sloop "Mary," in pursuit. Pease was mortally wounded in the encounter. The name of the pirate is given as Pounds in the pamphlet, *Vindication of New England*, attributed to Increase Mather, and reprinted in the *Andros Tracts*, ii. 54. Dr. Bullivant's Journal says: "Feb. 20, 1689–90. The Generall Court pardoned all the pirates except Tom Pounds. 24th. Tom Pounds further reprieved at the instance of Mr. Epaphus Shrimpton and sundry women of quality. 27th. The condemned pirates are now told that they may be at liberty, paying 13:6:8 a man fees, or be sold into Virginea. Tom Pounds excepted." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1878, p. 104. — Ed.]

[3] [A somewhat circumstantial account of Quelch's behavior at the execution was given in a sheet supplementing one of the *News-Letters*, and called "An Account of the Behaviour and Last Dying Speeches of John Quelch, John Lambert, Christopher Scudamore, John Miller, Eramus Peterson, and Peter Roach, the six Pirates that were Executed in Charles River, Boston side, Friday, June 30, 1704." They walked guarded by forty musketeers, with constables, two ministers, etc., to Scarlet's Wharf, and were thence conveyed by water to the gallows. (Buckingham, *Reminiscences*, i. 15.) Sewall gives a bustling account of the movements made to capture Quelch and his men. *Sewall Papers*, ii. 106–111, where various items appertaining are copied from the *News-Letter* in a note. — Ed.]

[4] 1 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii. 120 [where will be found a full account of the wreck of the "Whidah," which carried twenty-four guns. Captain Cyprian Southack had been sent out to look after her. (See Vol. I. p. 58, *note*, of this History.) And in the *Massachusetts Archives*, "Letters," i. 288, etc., are various reports from him about this pursuit. He represents that he buried one hundred and two of the pirates. Southack's Journal for the time is in *Massachusetts Archives*, "Journals," p. 16. Hutchinson, *Massachusetts Bay*, ii. 223, also mentions it, giving the vessel twenty-three guns, and one hundred and thirty men. One Englishman and one Indian are represented as being saved from the wreck. Bellamy, before his catastrophe, had put some of his men on a prize he had taken, which was subsequently captured; and several of the prisoners thus secured were executed at Boston, Nov. 15, 1717. — Ed.]

Thoreau, in "The Highland Light," repeats another tradition: "For many years after this shipwreck a man of a very singular and frightful aspect used every spring and autumn to be seen travelling on the Cape, who was supposed to have been one of Bellamy's crew. The presumption is that he went to some place where money had been secreted by the pirates, to get such a supply as his exigencies required. When he died, many pieces of gold were found in a girdle which he constantly wore." [1]

Another noted pirate, whose gibbeted body has haunted Nix's Mate, was William Fly, who was boatswain on the snow "Elizabeth" bound for Guinea from Jamaica, in May, 1726. Some of the ship's crew mutinously conspired with him, and after drowning the captain and mate they turned the peaceful "Elizabeth" into "Fame's Revenge," — for piracy seems to have a natural alliance with melodrama, — and, having their vessel well stocked with provisions and powder, set sail for the home coast. They captured a sloop off the coast of North Carolina, and began to enlarge their plans; but William Atkinson, a passenger on the sloop, with some of the sailors who had been pressed, turned upon the pirates and got the upper hand. They secured Fly and three associates, bound them in irons, and brought the vessel into Boston harbor, where the pirates were tried, condemned, and all but one executed. Fly, as the captain, suffering the extreme penalty, was hung in irons at Nix's Mate, where his two confederates were buried; and his bones hung and rattled in the air for a good while as a warning to all seafaring men.[2]

A pirate in these days was as detestable an enemy to good order as a horse-thief in the early days on the frontier, and met with as swift and condign punishment. But he was treated to the entire process of the law, and a little more; for, true to the spirit of the community, the men thus convicted were visited with the strongest expression of spiritual reproof. The trial was invested with the most solemn and impressive ceremonies. The judge prayed, and made his sentence a sermon with a very pointed application. On the Sunday preceding the execution, or it may be at the Thursday lecture, the condemned man was brought into the meeting-house, well loaded with chains, and there, in the presence of all the people, was made the centre of the devotional and hortatory exercises. His sins were spread out before him in the face of the congregation, and he heard himself presented in all his guilt at the throne of Divine retribution.[3] When the day

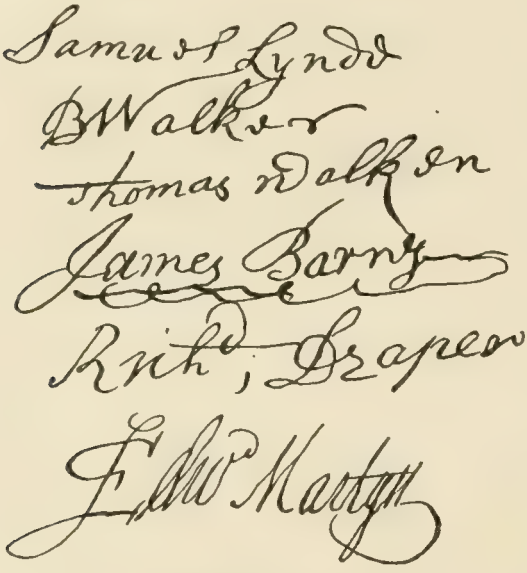
[1] H. D. Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, p. 148.

[2] [Drake, *Boston*, p. 570, says that Bird Island was the usual scene of such ghastly gibbeting, and he refers to the *Boston Gazette* of 1724 as containing the best account of the career of another noted pirate, — John Phillips, — who, having forced into his service some young men, they rose upon him, killed him, mastered the crew, and brought his vessel into Boston, May 3, 1724. Jeremiah Bumstead's diary, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1861, p. 201, says: "Phillips's and Burrill's [the mate] heads were brought to Boston in pickle." This diary also confirms Drake's supposition. "June 8, 1724. Went to see the pirates in Gibbits at Bird Island." The man-of-war "Sea-horse," Captain Durell, was for some years stationed here to be used in expeditions against pirates. — ED.]

[3] Several of the sermons preached on such occasions have been preserved in print, and contain references to the criminals which intimate that these men had as morbid an interest in their

of execution came, a public procession attended him as he was drawn in a cart with his coffin behind him. He was executed, after more preaching and praying, in the presence of a vast crowd of men, women, and children. The execution took place sometimes at the foot of the Common, sometimes on Boston Neck, at Charlestown Ferry, and at a place called Broughton's Hill, on Charles River, "about midway between Hanson's Point and Broughton's warehouse," when the river would be covered with boats containing spectators.[1]

This active commercial spirit which had made Boston the centre of cis-Atlantic trade, and had kept the shipwright's saw and hammer busy, while the harbor was lively with vessels coming and going, and the wharves and warehouses were confused with goods of all kinds, was bringing forward a body of citizens who expanded under their wealth and prosperity, and began to build for themselves those square, roomy mansions which have not yet wholly disappeared from Boston streets, but increase in splendor as the imagination travels back to those which have been destroyed in the changes of the town. We found it impossible to reconstruct the wooden walls of Governor Winthrop's house at the head of Milk Street. It was torn down during the siege of Boston; but it was standing at this time as a memorial of early Colonial Boston in primitive contrast to the stately buildings of Provincial Boston, — some of which lingered into the present century. Sam Adams's father was not one of the great merchant princes of the day; he was a respectable citizen, living comfortably and honorably; his house on Purchase Street,[2] standing in a spacious garden, looked upon



ASSESSORS IN 1708.

execution as more modern offenders. The sermon preached before Fly's execution was printed under the title: "*It is a fearful thing to fall into the Hands of the Living God. A Sermon preached to some miserable Pirates, July* 10, 1720, *on the Lord's Day before their Execution.* By Benjamin Colman, pastor of a church in Boston." In an appendix giving an account of the piracy Mr. Colman says: "Fly refused to come into publick. I moved the others for his sake to let me preach to them in private; but they said it was the last Sabbath they had to live, and they earnestly desired to be in an assembly of worshippers, that they might have the Prayers of many together over them, and that others might take the more warning by them." — See Sargent, *Dealings with the Dead*, ii. 630. [It is said in Bumstead's diary that on the next lecture-day after execution Dr. Mather, in giving out the sixteenth psalm, did not mention them "otherwise than in a bold scorn," by reading the line, —

"My lips their names shall *Fly*." — Ed.]

[1] *Sewall's Diary*, ii. 109, 110.

[2] [See Introduction to this volume. — Ed.]

the harbor, and was surmounted by an observatory, which could be reached also by an outer staircase. But Adams's friend Hancock lived in a house built by his uncle in 1737, which, even in its contracted quarters of a later date, when well known to Bostonians not yet of middle age, gave some notion of the generous living of Boston in the height of the provincial period. A description of it belongs to another chapter.

The novelist Cooper's description of the Frankland house on Garden Court Street may stand as a tolerably just account of a house which was regarded in the province as expressing the greatest personal pride: —

"The house was of bricks, and of an exterior altogether more pretending than most of those in the lower parts of the town. It was heavily ornamented in wood, according to the taste of a somewhat earlier day, and presented a front of seven windows in its two upper stories, those at the extremes being much narrower than the others. The lower floor had the same arrangement, with the exception of the principal door. . . . The youth was conducted through a hall of some dimensions, into an apartment which opened from one of its sides. This room would be considered, at the present day, much too small to contain the fashion of a country town; but what importance it wanted in size was amply compensated for in the richness and labor of its decorations. The walls were divided into compartments by raised panel-work, beautifully painted with imaginary landscapes and ruins. The glittering, varnished surfaces of these pictures were burdened with armorial bearings, which were intended to illustrate the alliances of the family. Beneath the surbase were smaller divisions of panels, painted with various architectural devices; and above it rose, between the compartments, fluted pilasters of wood, with gilded capitals. A heavy wooden and highly ornamented cornice stretched above the whole, furnishing an appropriate outline to the walls. . . . The floor, which shone equally with the furniture, was tessellated with small alternate squares of red cedar and pine, and in the centre were the 'salient lions' of Lechmere, attempted by the blazonry of the joiner.[1] On either side of the ponderous and labored mantel were arched compartments, of plainer work, denoting use; the sliding panels of one of which, being raised, displayed a buffet groaning with massive plate." [2]

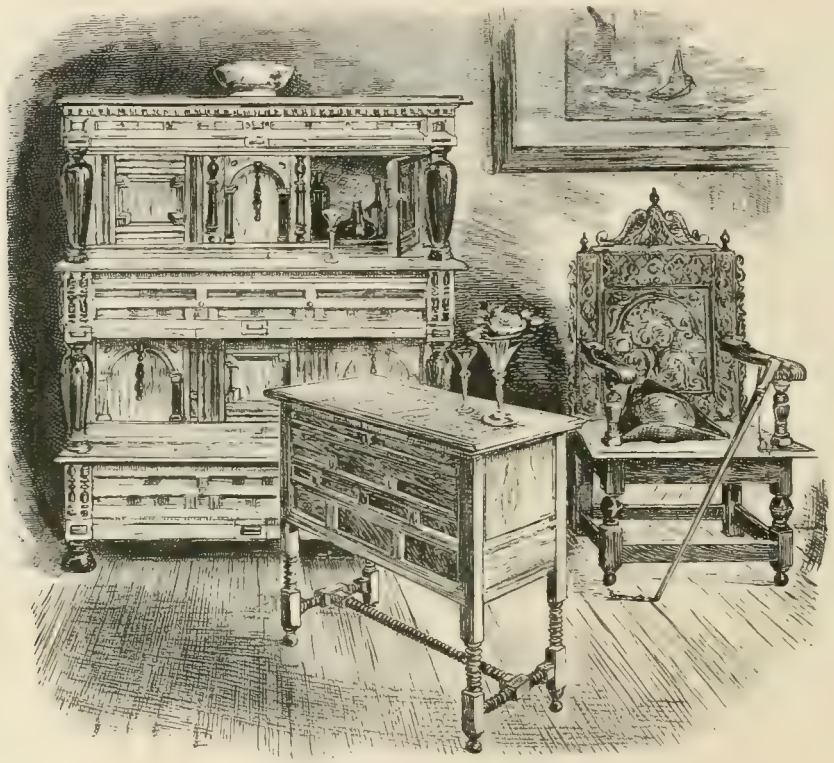
The houses and gardens of Boston of that day still remain in the memory of some; and, though they are gone now, a few similar estates in Cambridge, Salem, and Waltham continue to represent the spaciousness and ease of living which characterized houses dating from the first half of the eighteenth century. One may still hear the older generation describe the departed glories of the Gardiner Greene Place on Pemberton Hill, the Hutchinson house, the Andrews house, and other equally generous estates. The commercial prosperity was closely connected with the governing class, both in business and society. It was commerce which gave the Hutchinson family its distinction at first, and Sir Harry Frankland was an officer of the customs. The royal governors and their assistants were engaged in trade, and

[1] Cooper has applied the actual decoration to the purposes of his story; the centre piece was a shield bearing the device of the family of William Clark, who built and occupied the house before Frankland,—a bar with three white swans.

[2] *Lionel Lincoln*, ch. iii.

it was the prosperous voyages of their ships which filled their houses with solid furniture and plate, and gave their wives and daughters, as well as themselves, the rich apparel which Copley found so useful in his portraits. We have already had from Mr. Bennett a glimpse of the horsemen and horsewomen, the coaches and attendants, that made Boston streets look a little like London. Listen to him a little further: —

"When the ladies ride out to take the air, it is generally in a chaise or chair, and then but a single horse; and they have a negro servant to drive them. The gentlemen ride out here as in England, some in chairs, and others on horseback, with their negroes to



FURNITURE OF THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.[1]

attend them. They travel in much the same manner on business as for pleasure, and are attended in both by their black equipages.[2] . . . For their domestic amusements, every afternoon, after drinking tea, the gentlemen and ladies walk the Mall, and from thence adjourn to one another's houses to spend the evening, — those that are not dis-

[1] [John Adams's Diary shows us how the elegance of those days struck that rising man. He writes in 1766: "Dined at Mr. Nick. Boylston's — an elegant dinner indeed. Went over the house to view the furniture, which alone cost a thousand pounds sterling. A seat it is for a nobleman, a prince. The Turkey carpets, the painted hangings, the marble tables, the rich beds with crimson damask curtains and counterpanes, the beautiful chimney clock, the spacious garden, are the most magnificent of anything I have ever seen." — *Works*, ii. 179. — ED.]

[2] [Jonathan Wardell, in 1712, set up the first hackney coach in Boston, at the Orange Tree Inn, near the head of Hanover Street. — ED.]

posed to attend the evening lecture; which they may do, if they please, six nights in seven the year round. What they call the Mall is a walk on a fine green common adjoining to the south-west side of the town. It is near half a mile over, with two

NICHOLAS BOYLSTON.[1]

[1] [This follows the larger picture of the two owned by Harvard College, both of which are by Copley. The smaller one is dated 1767. A three-fourths length, likewise by Copley, is owned by the Hon. Moses Kimball. (Perkins, *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 38.) Boylston was born in 1716, and died 1771. He founded a professorship of Rhetoric in the University. This picture was painted at the expense of the College after its benefactor's death, from an original in possession of the family. President Quincy calls it "one of the most successful and finished labors of that distinguished artist." *History of Harvard University*, ii. 215. — ED.]

rows of young trees planted opposite to each other, with a fine footway between, in imitation of St. James Park; and part of the bay of the sea which encircles the town, taking its course along the north-west side of the Common, — by which it is bounded on the one side, and by the country on the other, — forms a beautiful canal, in view of the walk. Their rural diversions are chiefly shooting and fishing. For the former, the woods afford them plenty of game; and the rivers and ponds with which this country abounds yield them great plenty, as well as variety, of fine fish. The government being in the hands of dissenters, they don't admit of plays or music-houses; but, of late, they have set up an assembly, to which some of the ladies resort. But they are looked upon to be none of the nicest in regard to their reputation; and it is thought it will soon be suppressed, for it is much taken notice of and exploded by the religious and sober part of the people.[1] But notwithstanding plays and such like diversions do not obtain here, they don't seem to be dispirited nor moped for want of them, for both the ladies and gentlemen dress and appear as gay, in common, as courtiers in England on a coronation or birthday. And the ladies here visit, drink tea, and indulge every little piece of gentility to the height of the mode, and neglect the affairs of their families with as good a grace as the finest ladies in London."[2]

The portraits by Copley in public and private galleries are, after all, the best testimony which we have of this aspect of Boston life, and of the prosperous life of the province in general. Most of the houses are gone, the gardens have disappeared, the furniture has been scattered, the dresses have been worn out, save here and there a piece of rich goods which has been handed down as an heirloom; but the portraits by Copley, and the few by Blackburn, Smibert, and Pelham remain to give a distinct impression of the characteristics of wealth and social position in Provincial Boston.

Copley belongs essentially to this period, and the little glimpse which we get of the painter himself from the reminiscences of Trumbull is in keeping with the style of his portraits. "We found Mr. Copley," says Trumbull, "dressed to receive a party of friends at dinner. I remember his dress and appearance, — an elegant looking man, dressed in a fine maroon cloth, with gilt buttons. This was dazzling to my unpractised eye! But his paintings, the first I had ever seen deserving the name, riveted, absorbed, my attention, and renewed all my desire to enter upon such a pursuit."[3]

In the descriptive catalogue of Copley's works, given by Mr. A. T. Perkins, one meets constantly with such notes as these: —

"The picture is of half-length, and life-size, and represents him as dressed in a brown coat, a richly embroidered satin waistcoat, and a full wig. He stands with his right hand resting upon his hip, while his left is thrust into his waistcoat. A background, with the sea and a ship in the distance completes the picture." "The color

[1] [The suppression, however, failed to come. Captain Goelet, in his diary, thus mentions it ten years later, in 1750: "Oct. 18, Mr. Quincy waited on me according to appointment to go to the assembly, he being steward or master of ceremonies, — a worthy, polite, genteel gentleman. The assembly consisted of fifty gentlemen and ladies, and those the best fashion in town. Broke up about twelve." *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1870, p. 56. — Ed.]

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1860–1862, pp. 125, 126.

[3] *Autobiography, Reminiscences, and Letters of John Trumbull, from* 1756 *to* 1841, p. 11.

of the picture is now of a subdued richness, and represents the dress as being a gold-laced brown-velvet coat and small-clothes. Beyond are drapery, sky, the sea, and a ship." "He is represented as dressed in a blue-velvet doublet, with slashed sleeves, — evidently a fancy dress. The collar is large and trimmed with white lace." "The

THOMAS HUBBARD.[1]

dress is of brown satin, the sleeves ruffled at the elbows, and a lace shawl; over the neck a pearl necklace. A small lace cap completes the costume." "She was a handsome woman; and is dressed in a bodice of blue satin, and an overdress of pink silk trimmed with ermine. In her bosom she wears a damask rosebud." "Her picture is

[1] [This cut follows a portrait by Copley, now hanging in Memorial Hall. Mr. Hubbard was a distinguished citizen and merchant, and for twenty years was treasurer of the College. He was born in 1702, and died in 1773. See the Introduction to this volume, p. xxxi. — ED.]

fifty inches long by forty wide, representing her as wearing a robe of olive-brown brocaded damask, with a dark-green cloak ornamented with scarlet. The dress is cut square in the neck, over which is thrown a muslin kerchief; embroidered muslin sleeves, a muslin cap, and a pearl necklace complete the costume." "Her dress is of white satin, with a train of purple velvet edged with gold. She has a Blenheim spaniel in her lap." "Mrs. Bowler is represented as dressed in a blue satin robe, the sleeves of which are trimmed with lace. On her head she wears a Marie Stuart cap, and she has a sapphire necklace about the throat." "The dress is a morning robe with a white-satin waistcoat." "He wears a very long dark-green velvet waistcoat, trimmed with narrow gilt braid. The sleeves of the coat reach about three fourths of the length of the arms, with buttons on the tops of the cuffs; a small portion of the shirt sleeves are seen below, fastened with gold sleeve-buttons." "She is sitting with her hands — which are handsome — lying in her lap; a lawn handkerchief crosses her neck, and the ends pass under a band of velvet; sleeves of velvet and white lawn with ruffles leave the wrists exposed. Her dress is of dark-blue velvet, with the skirt beautifully arranged." "As the last sitting was taken just before a dinner with John Hancock, we have a representation of the dress appropriate to such an occasion, which consists of a brown suit, a blue-satin waistcoat with silver buttons, and with ruffles at the neck and wrists." "Wife of the above; the dress of pink damask, open in front, showing a petticoat of white satin, trimmed with silver lace. There is white lace on the sleeves and at the neck." "The picture is of life-size, and nearly full length, and represents her as dressed in a dead-leaf-colored satin, the bodice, waists, and sleeves of which are trimmed with deep falls of rich lace." "Represented as a child of five years of age. He was born in Boston in 1754. . . . He is dressed in a low-necked sacque of green satin, over a dress of white satin, richly embroidered with lace, and with ruffles at the wrists. In his plump and pretty right hand he holds two cherries, while on his left are two white turtle-doves. The plumes of his hat are seen behind the left hand."[1] "The subject is dressed in a crimson-velvet morning-gown, with white small-clothes, stockings, and wearing a dark-velvet cap." "A distinguished merchant of Boston. . . . It represents a gentleman seated by a table, on which is a cocked hat, and a letter bearing an address. The costume is a gold-laced coat and waistcoat, with a white wig and silk stockings." "Represents her as dressed in yellow satin, ornamented with silver lace. The sleeves — which are short — are edged with beautiful lace. She wears a large hoop, and her hair, which is brushed over a cushion, is decorated with a white bow. Her ear-rings are of pearl; and a necklace of the same encircles her throat." Here is the portrait of Governor Moses Gill: "He wears a powdered wig, and the hair crêped at the ears. His dress is a dark-blue single-breasted velvet coat, lined with white satin, unbuttoned, and held back to the hip by the right hand. The sleeves are very large, with deep cuffs fastened up with two buttons, — the shirt sleeves coming below, terminating with a very narrow band of linen cambric. He wears a very long, white-satin waistcoat, and a muslin cravat is round the throat. . . . For the background of the picture, — on the right is a long, white window-shutter, with bluish-green drapery; on the left is part of a desk, with a green-velvet cover." And here is the portrait of his first wife, who was a daughter of Rev. Thomas Prince: "She is dressed in a dark-blue velvet robe, with muslin under-sleeves reaching below the elbows, and with double ruffles. Four rows of pearl beads

[1] Whitefield, in his Journal, writing at Boston Oct. 13, 1740, describes the pomp and vanities of dress, as quoted in Dr. McKenzie's chapter in this volume.

encircle the throat, — one row coming down over the left shoulder to the middle of the bust, where two long loops fall over the bows of a white-lace scarf, edged with gold, and embellished with gold sprigs. The scarf has a broad end in front, and is very prettily draped over the arm and sleeves to the back of the dress." And here, finally, is the portrait of Mercy Otis Warren: "Her head dress is of white lace, trimmed with white-satin ribbons. Her robe is of dark-green satin, with a pompadour waist, trimmed with point lace. There is a full plait at the back hanging from the shoulders, and her sleeves are also of point lace. White illusion trimmed with point lace, and fastened with a white-satin bow, covers her neck. The front of the skirt and of the sleeves are elaborately trimmed with puffings of satin." [1]

Has the reader wearied of this accumulation of riches in dress? The effect produced is not unlike that experienced by one who walks, for instance, along the gallery in Memorial Hall,[2] Cambridge, except that there the luxurious merchants and divines and gentlewomen are relieved by the portraits of men of a severer cast. There is, indeed, a marked contrast between the figures that possess the imagination in the provincial period and those which occupied our attention in the colonial period. In the earlier time the dress of a gentleman was elaborate, but there is little evidence of great richness of material; and the Government in its sumptuary laws strove to repress anything like extravagance, but found how hard it was to keep down the rising expression of independence and self-assertion. The introduction of the petty court of the provincial government changed all that, and accelerated the movement toward the pomps and vanities which had already set in. Good Samuel Sewall was only a little more consistent and unwavering than some of his associates when he battled throughout his long and useful life against the abomination of periwigs, although it is to be said that his motives were largely influenced by considerations of the unbiblical character of these appendages.[3]

[1] *A Sketch of the Life and a List of some of the Works of John Singleton Copley*, by Augustus Thorndike Perkins. It is not impossible that a slight modification may be necessary to our special inference from costly dress, and that conditions of trade should be taken into consideration. In the petition of 1735, already referred to, the Town represents: "The trade to London, tho' it 's our duty to contribute all in our power toward the wealth and grandeur of our Mother Country, yet what we receive chiefly from thence serves in a great measure to expose our inhabitants to censure* and extraordinary taxes; for the abundance of European goods sent over hither, from the nature of our trade, exposes the inhabitants to appear in extravagant garbs who would gladly avoid the same, were they to receive money in lieu of their labor, manufactures, and trades. But inasmuch as they cannot be paid but by notes to shops, which cannot be avoided, tho' allowed to be very pernicious, and altho' very great quantities of extravagant, unnecessary European goods are imported, yet they contribute nothing toward the support of the public charge. But the most part thereof are owned by merchants in London and consigned to their own factors here, and no advantage reaped by them, but by the ship-builders and a few tradesmen."

* [Compare for instance a communication from the country printed in the *News-Letter*, April 18, 1721, and copied in Buckingham's *Specimens of Newspaper Literature*, i. 18, — Ed.]

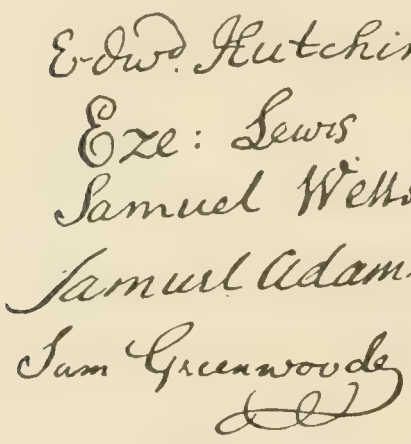
[2] [The Editor would make due acknowledgment for the courtesy of the President and Fellows of Harvard College in allowing negatives to be made of many of the portraits in this collection, from which engravings appear in this and succeeding volumes. — Ed.]

[3] See especially a long and amusing interview which Sewall had with Josiah Willard, "who had cut off his hair and put on a wigg." (*Diary*, ii. 36, 37.) We are indebted to a later Willard for a graphic account of Farnham, the peruke-king of Boston, to whom all the clergy in Boston who wore wigs looked up with loyal re-

Another slight indication of the existence of luxurious living may be seen in an advertisement in the *News-Letter* of Aug. 27, 1716, which seems to point to an occupation of feminine time not exactly consonant with very hard labor, and curiously anticipatory of later days of decorative art: —

"This is to give notice, That at the House of Mr. George Brownell,[1] late School-Master in Hanover Street, Boston, are all sorts of Millinary Works done; making up Dresses and flowering of Muslin, making of furbelow'd Scarffs, and Quilting and cutting of Gentlewomen's Hair in the newest Fashion; and also young Gentlewomen and Children taught all sorts of fine works, as Feather-work, Filigre, and Painting on Glass, Embroidering a new way [not the Kensington stitch?], Turkey-work for Handkerchiefs two ways, fine new Fashion Purses, flourishing and plain Work, and Dancing cheaper than was ever taught in Boston. Brocaded work for Handkerchiefs and short Aprons upon Muslin; artificial Flowers work'd with a needle."

Yet the manifest presence of a rich class points unerringly to a contrasted class of poor people. The community of the colonial times had been in its way a heroic endeavor after something like a new Pentecostal Church; not that distinctions of rank and social order were disregarded, but the chief men had lent their hands as well as their minds to the colony, and the idea of brotherhood, within the confines of a theocratical conception, was latent in all undertakings. Now, however, the old marks of an exceptional community were fading out. In 1693 Sewall was mourning the loss of his old friend Deacon Eliot. "Scarce a Man," he writes, "was so universally known as He. Dyed in the 61. year of's Age. Was one of the first that was born in Boston."[2] Throughout his lament there runs a public and a private grief; and one suspects that Sewall, who was something of a *laudator temporis acti*, was beginning to be aware of



SIGNATURES TO A REPORT ON PROVIDING A WORK-HOUSE, MARCH, 1734.

spect. The custom which vexed Sewall's soul was in full blast after the Revolution. See Sidney Willard's *Memories of Youth and Manhood*. [See at this time the Rev. Hugh Adams's prognostications of judgment upon the land if wigs were not laid aside. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1858, p. 325. I find the following bill among the papers at the State House: —

"Province of Massachusetts Bay to Jonathan Lowder. Dr. To Attendance on his Excellency Gov. Shirley, and their Honors, the Commissioners to Albany, for shaving and dressing of wigs, ten weeks, 25 June - 3d Sept, 174[illegible]: —

Old tenor	£106	15
Deduct for overcharge	20	15
	£80	00
New tenor	£20	00"—ED.]

[1] [This was probably the teacher of the boy Benjamin Franklin, mentioned in the *Autobiography*. See Mr. Towle's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

[2] *Diary*, i. 382.

the new Boston which was coming forward, ignorant of the old. The contrasts, however, were most marked at the time which we have chosen as the culmination of provincial prosperity. The petitions from which we have already quoted, presented by the town of Boston to the General Court in 1735 and 1742, emphatically represent the great increase of a positively poor class in the town. The increase is used as a cogent argument for the relief of the town from its great burden of taxes. The petition of 1735 recites: —

"Whereas, in the years 1728–29 the charge [for maintenance of the poor] was but £944 each year, it amounted in the year 1734 to £2,069 10*s.* for the poor of the alms-house and others supported at the public charge. There was then eighty-eight persons in the alms-house, and but one third part of them town-born children; so that two thirds of the charge is £1,379 13*s.* 4*d.* for poor persons who are crept in among us. . . . The additional number of the town inhabitants is chiefly owing to the resort of all sorts of poor people which, instead of adding to the wealth of the town, serve only as a burden and continual charge."[1]

Already the country was beginning to feel the attraction of the town. Seven years later, when the petition was renewed, the statement was made that the yearly charge had risen to £5,000. The rating of polls had shown a falling off in the productive population of the town, while the town rates had increased; so that there was a greater expense to be divided among a smaller number: —

Year.	Polls Rated.	Town Rates.
1738	3,395	£8,600 0 0
1739	3,231	8,600 0 0
1740	3,043	8 600 0 0
1741	2,972	11,000 0 0

The General Court made some effort to relieve the town. An act passed July 3, 1736, for employing and providing for the poor of the town of Boston, recites that "the town of Boston is grown considerably populous, and the idle and poor much increased among them, and the laws now in force relating to them not so suitable to the circumstances of the said town, which are different from those of the other towns in the province." It had become necessary to make a distinction between the chief town and the rest of the province. Further authority was given to elect twelve overseers, and to build a poor-house. The Town Records have abundant references to the alms-house, to its painful smallness, to the separation of the house of correction from it, that it might be "restored to its Primitive and Pious design, even for the relief of the necessitous, that they might lead a quiet, peaceable, and godly life there, whereas 'tis now made a Bridewell and House of Correction, which obstructs many Honest Poor Peoples going there for the designed relief and support."[2]

[1] *Boston Town Records*, Jan. 1, 1735.

[2] *Boston Town Records*, March 9, 1712–13. Mr. Bennett, from whom we have quoted freely, has a good word as to the care of the poor: "They also provide very well for their poor, and are very tender of exposing those that have lived

It was the end of 1720, however, before the town voted to build a house of correction. At the time when the condition of the alms-house was thus under discussion, Benjamin Colman, the minister, with others, busied himself with a project for two charity schools on Fort Hill, one for boys and one for girls, upon essentially the same foundation as that of the present Farm School.[1] There is a single reference to this matter probably in the Town Records, when on the same day with the above action the selectmen were "desired to view the house and grounds on Fort Hill, or elsewhere, at the request of the Gentlemen that are about to erect a Charity School or Hospital for Poor Children, and that they lay out what ground may be thought convenient for the said intention."[2]

An interesting table is given by Dr. Douglass for the purpose of indicating the ability and numbers in the several religious societies in Boston, who were called upon in February, 1740–41, to make a contribution one Sunday for the relief of the poor who were distressed for want of fire-wood in the hard winter:[3]—

		£	s.	d.
Church of England.	Dr. Cutler	72	14	2
	Mr. Price	134	10	0
	Mr. Davenport	133	3	3
Dr. Colman		164	10	0
Dr. Sewall		105	0	0
Mr. Gee		71	10	5
Mr. Wellsteed		58	0	0
Mr. Hooper		143	0	0
Mr. Foxcroft		95	0	0
French Church		14	11	3
Anabaptist		14	2	0
Irish Meeting		27	5	0
Mr. Checkley		72	12	0
Mr. Byles		40	2	0

The list both indicates the means of the givers and the need of the recipients. The total collection amounted to more than £1,250.[4] In addition to this special provision, there was a granary belonging to the town and occupying the site of Park-Street Church, where twelve thousand bushels of grain could be stored at a time; and, under the care of a town officer, grain was sold from it to the poor in the smallest quantities at an advance of ten per cent on the cost, to cover expenses and waste.[5] The Granary

in a handsome manner; and therefore give them good relief in so private a manner that it is seldom known to any of their neighbors. And for the meaner sort they have a place built on purpose, which is called the Town Alms-House, where they are kept in a decent manner, and are, as I think, taken care of in every respect suitable to their circumstances in life; and, for the generality, there are above a hundred poor persons in this house; and there is no such thing to be seen in town or country as a strolling beggar. And it is a rare thing to meet with any drunken people, or to hear an oath sworn in their streets."— *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1860–62, pp. 116, 117.

[1] See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, iii. 230.

[2] *Boston Town Records*, March 9, 1712–13.

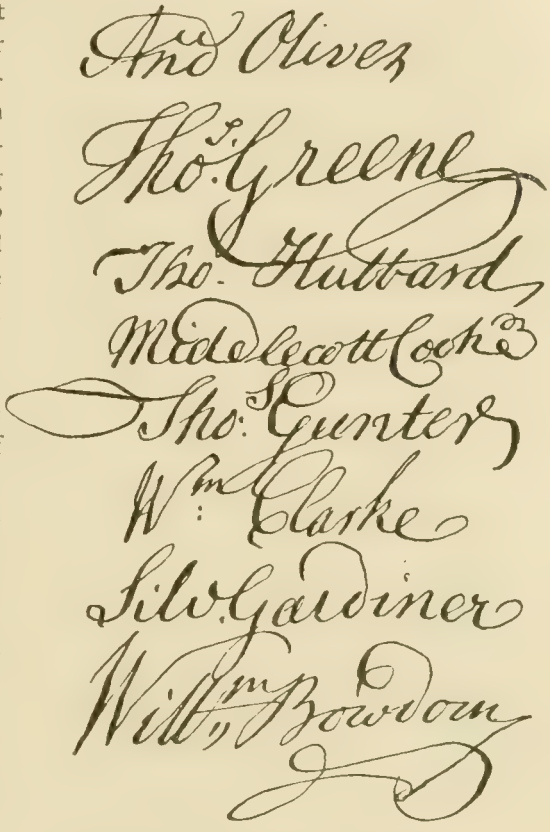
[3] *Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvement, and Present State of the British Settlement in America*, i. 542.

[4] Dr. Douglass does not say whether these sums are in New England money or in sterling. If in the former, the £1,250 shrink to something over £225 sterling.

[5] [We have mention in Sewall's Diary of a "riot committed [May, 1713] in Boston by 200 people or more breaking open Arthur Mason's warehouse in the Common, thinking to find corn there; were provoked by Captain Belcher's sending Indian corn to Curasso. The selectmen desired him not to send it. He told them, the hardest fend off! If they stopped his vessel, he would hinder the coming in of three times as much." The selectmen petitioned the Legislature for an act to prevent the export, and when a cargo arrived it was divided among the bakers. *Sewall Papers*, ii. 384. — Ed.]

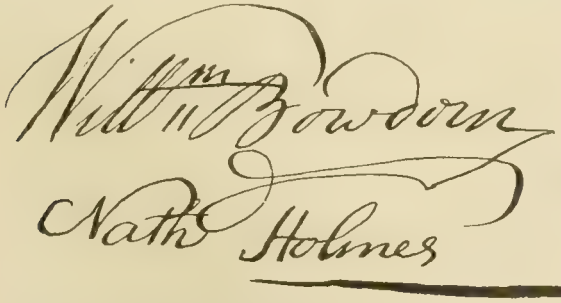
was the most capacious building in town, and was finally, in 1809, removed to Commercial Point and made over into a hotel.

An attempt was made earlier in the century to encourage industry among the poor and introduce an art not much known, when, under date of Dec. 27, 1720, a committee reported to the town upon the expediency of establishing a school where spinning should be taught, especially to the poor. It was recommended that the town should provide twenty spinning wheels for such children as should be sent from the alms-house, and that a premium should be allowed of five pounds for the first piece of linen spun and woven, provided it should be adjudged worth fourpence a yard. A few weeks afterward it was voted that the selectmen and a committee should have power to let out without interest a sum not exceeding three hundred pounds, for a period not longer than seven years, to such person as would give good security, and use it for the purpose of setting up a spinning school.



SIGNERS OF A PETITION TO GOVERNOR SPENCER PHIPS.[1]

[1] [These gentlemen, in 1753, asked the Government to give some encouragement to a scheme for manufacturing linen as a means of affording employment to the poor of the town. (*Massachusetts Archives*, "Manufactures.") It may be well to mention here that a Boston merchant, — Colonel Josiah Quincy, — was the originator of glass manufacture in this neighborhood. A few years before the prosperous venture of his ship "Bethell," which occasioned his retirement from commerce, he had joined with Joseph Palmer, an Englishman, and, with the aid of some German glass-blowers, had started the manufacture at the point in the harbor to this day called Germantown, near the site of the Sailors' Snug Harbor, in Quincy. Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 8. *New Englander*, Jan. 1845. Shortly after one of the Bowdoins was concerned in another glass-house, as appears by the names to a petition in 1749, asking a legislative grant of wood-land in aid of the enterprise. It is well to note, also, that the beginning of paper manufacture in New England is closely connected with Boston. In 1728 the



In 1749 a society was established for promoting industry and frugality, and the fourth anniversary was publicly celebrated.

"In the afternoon, about three hundred young female spinsters, decently dressed, appeared on the Common at their spinning wheels. The wheels were placed regularly in three rows, and a female was seated at each wheel. The weavers also appeared, cleanly dressed, in garments of their own weaving. One of them working at a loom on a stage was carried on men's shoulders, attended with music. An immense number of spectators were present." [1]

But the society was short-lived. There were, as in the colonial days, measures taken to discriminate in favor of the poor in the market. Thus, by an act passed Dec. 14, 1695, imported provisions were not to be sold by wholesale until three days' notice by public crier had been given, to allow all to buy at wholesale rates in small quantities; and more than once the town of Boston, in its municipal regulations for a similar purpose, restricted the purchase at Boston Neck of provisions entering the town that way, apparently to guard against forestalling common purchasers. The market meanwhile was abundant, good, and varied.[2] Again we have recourse to Mr. Bennett, who gives details which it is difficult to find elsewhere: —

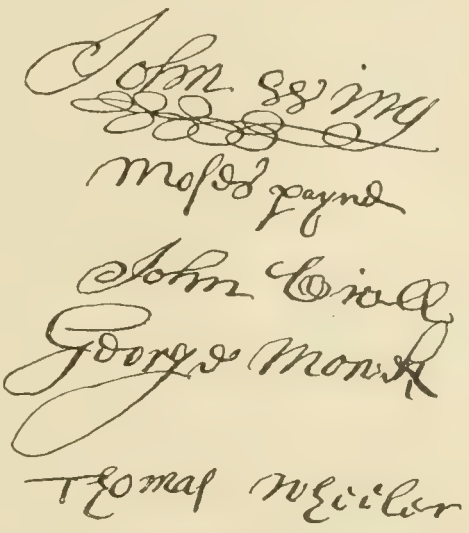
General Court passed an act to encourage this industry, and a patent was granted to Daniel Henchman (the leading Boston book-seller of the day), Benjamin Faneuil (the father of Peter), Gillam Phillips (the brother-in-law of Peter Faneuil), Thomas Hancock (who had served his time with Henchman, and had married his daughter), and Henry Dering. The company, which it will be seen had close family relationship, built their mill near the present Milton Lower Falls. The business seems to have had an intermittent activity, and later was carried on by Jeremiah Smith and James Boies (whose foreman was a paper-maker from a British regiment then, 1760, stationed in Boston). The mill is said to be the one now or lately owned by Tileston and Hollingsworth. See an article on "The Early Paper Mills of New England," by William Goold, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1875, p. 158.

It was to Boston merchants — Elisha Cooke, Elisha Hutchinson, and John Foster — that the General Court, in 1695-96, gave the monopoly of making salt, "after the manner as it is made in France," for fourteen years. They set up their works on the marshes by the Neck, toward Roxbury, beyond the gate and on both sides of the road. In 1716 they admitted as associates Wait Still Winthrop, Samuel Sewall, Eliakim Hutchinson, Penn Townsend, Nathaniel Byfield, Samuel Shrimpton, John Eyre, Simeon Stoddard, John Mico, Joseph Parson, and Edward Hutchinson. In 1730 the whole was sold to Henry and Samuel Gibbon. *Sewall Papers*, i. 457. — Ed.]

[1] Holmes, *Annals*, ii. 51, 52. [Rev. Samuel Cooper's diary in *Hist. Mag.*, 1866, supplement, p. 83, has this entry: "1754, August 8. Preached to Society for Encouraging Industry, etc. Collected, 453£." — Ed.]

[2] An order was passed June 15, 1696, for a market to be held in Boston every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, and no other days. A bell was to be rung at opening of the market, at 7 A.M. from March to May; at 6 A.M. from May till September; and after that 9 A.M. The market was to last till 6 P.M. between March and September, and until 4 P.M. the rest of the year. No sales were to be made elsewhere. Retailers, hucksters, and traders were not to buy until the afternoon, in order to protect housekeepers; and there was no tax for stands in the market. Clerks of the market were to be nominated and appointed by the selectmen, whose duty it was to supervise the market, and to take effectual care to prevent all frauds and abuses and disorders which might arise. Fairs also were to be held annually on the last Tuesday in May and last Tuesday in October, each to continue four days. *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, sub die.* [There was, meanwhile, a strong opposition in the country to the establishment of markets in the town. Uring, who describes Boston in 1709, gives the reason thus: "If market days were appointed, all the country people coming in at the same time would glut it, and the towns-people would buy their provisions for what they pleased, so rather chuse to send them as they think fit; and sometimes a

"Boston being the capital of New England, as London is of Old England, the country people find their account in bringing of their choicest provisions to this town; by means of which this place is well served with all sorts of eatables the country affords,[1] many of which, as to the kind of them, are much the same as those we have in London. Their beef, mutton, and lamb are as good as ever I desire to eat. And as to their veal, it is not so white and fine, in common, as in London; yet I have often met with it exceeding white, and fine as any I would wish to eat. And as to their pork, they challenge all the world, and will by no means admit that any we have in England is equal to it; and, indeed, I do think it very good: but to say it exceeds what I have eat in England is more than I know how to do. They make but little bacon, and that, in my opinion, is not half so good as ours; but they pickle their pork so well, that it answers the same end as fine bacon. Their poultry, too, of all sorts, are as fine as can be desired; and they have plenty of fine fish of various kinds, all of which are very cheap. Take the butchers' meat, altogether, in the several seasons of the year, and I believe it is about twopence per pound sterling; though they will not allow it to be near so much if they are asked about it, because the best beef and mutton, lamb and veal, are often sold for sixpence per pound of New England money, which is some small matter more than one penny sterling. But I take my calculation to be near the truth, from the observation I have made; because in depth of winter the best butchers' meat is sometimes a shilling a pound, and sometimes fourteen pence.



TAVERN-KEEPERS, 1684.[2]

"Poultry in their season are exceeding cheap; as good a turkey may be bought for about two shillings sterling as we can buy at London for six or seven, and as large and fine a goose for tenpence as would cost three shillings and sixpence or four

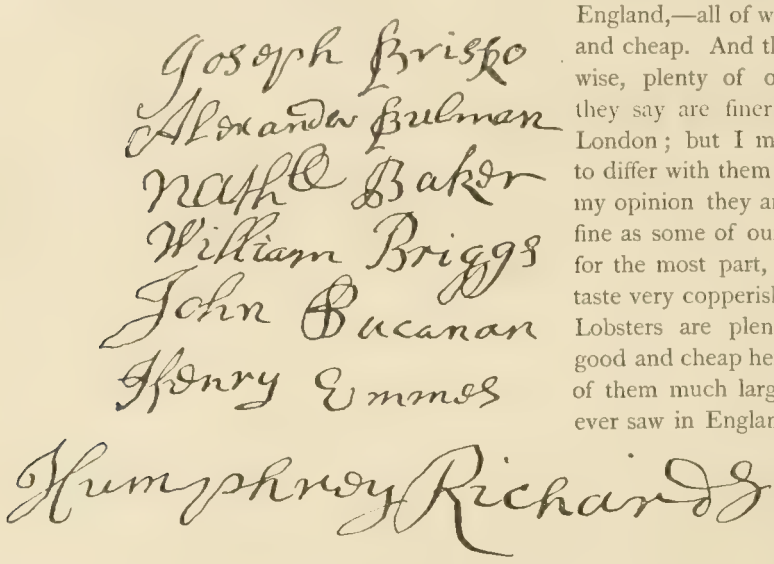
tall fellow brings a turkey or goose to sell, and will travel through the whole town to see who will give most for it, and is at last sold for 3*s.* 6*d.* or 4*s.*; and if he had stayed at home he could have earned a crown by his labour." — *Hist. Mag.*, 1866, supplement, p. 123. As has already been mentioned in connection with Peter Faneuil's gift to the town in 1740 of a market-house, there was much contention among the towns-people themselves during the early part of the century relative to public markets. It began to produce petitions and counter-petitions in abundance not long after 1730, which are on the files at the City Hall; and even after Faneuil's gift of a hall and market-house the Town Records show petitions praying that the market established in it may be closed. Such original papers — dated March 24, 1746-47; Feb. 20, 1752; May, 1752 — are on file in the City Hall. The market was fitfully closed and opened several times. Drake, *Boston*, pp. 596, 611. — Ed.]

[1] [One would seem not to have far to go, even so late as the middle of the century, for the wild game of the New England woods. Drake, *Town of Roxbury*, 266, mentions that bears were uncommonly numerous within two miles of Boston in the winter of 1725. In one week in September twenty were killed. Paul Dudley notes, June 7, 1740, "a good fat bear killed on our meeting-house hill, or near it." — Ed.]

[2] [Several papers on "Boston Taverns," by Mr. John T. Hassam, which have appeared in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, have been printed separately the present year by that gentleman. — Ed.]

shillings in London. Fowls, too, are cheap in proportion; the first young ones that come to market are sold for about threepence, and chickens for about twopence. But the cheapest of all the several kinds of poultry are a sort of wild pigeon, which are in season the latter end of June, and so continue till September; they are larger and finer than those we have in London, and are sold here for eighteen pence a dozen (which is about threepence sterling), and sometimes for the half of that.

"Fish, too, is exceeding cheap. They sell a fine fresh cod, that will weigh a dozen pound or more, just taken out of the sea, which are generally alive, for about twopence sterling. They have smelts, too, which they sell as cheap as sprats are in London. Salmon they have, too, in great plenty, which is as fine as any I ever eat of anywhere in my life; and those they will sell for about a shilling a-piece, which will weigh fourteen or fifteen pounds. They have flounders and plaice, too, and eels, and likewise mackerel in their season, and several other sorts of fish not known in England,—all of which are good and cheap. And they have, likewise, plenty of oysters, which they say are finer than ours in London; but I must beg leave to differ with them in that, for in my opinion they are not near so fine as some of ours. They are, for the most part, very soft, and taste very copperish, as I think.[1] Lobsters are plenty, and very good and cheap here; and many of them much larger than any I ever saw in England; but there are sizable ones, too, and I have bought larger for about three half-pence a-piece (not by chance, but may have them so every day) than ever I saw sold in London, at the cheapest, for eighteen pence. They have venison very plenty, also, which had almost slipped my memory; they will sell as fine a haunch for half a crown as would cost above thirty shillings in England, and I think the venison is not in the least inferior to that we have in England. Bread is something cheaper here than in London, but is not near so good in common. Butter is very fine, and cheaper than ever I bought any at London; the best is sold all the summer long for about threepence per pound: but as for cheese, 'tis neither good nor cheap. Milk is sold here for much about the same price as at London; only here they give full measure.



BOSTON BAKERS, 1696.

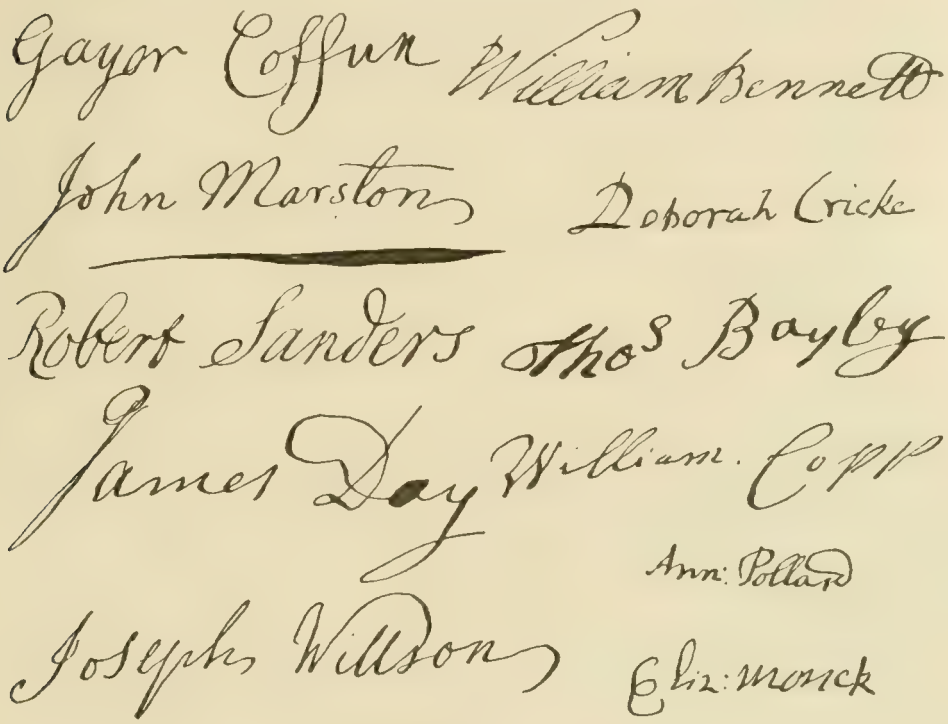
"As to drink, they have no good beer in this country: Madeira wines, rum-punch, are the liquors they drink in common. With their victuals the generality of the people drink cider. But there are several brewers in the town that brew for the shipping, and serve some private families with table-beer, which is very cheap, — less

[1] It is curious that Mr. Bennett here brings the very complaint against our oysters which we are wont to charge on those we get in England. The passage about lobsters, though a little incoherent, follows the MS.

than half the price we pay at London. But cider being cheap likewise, and the people used to it, they don't encourage malt liquors. They pay about three shillings sterling a barrel for cider.

"Their fuel is altogether wood,[1] and is one of the most expensive articles of housekeeping in Boston; but up the country they have it for cutting.

"As to the several sorts of roots used for sauce to their meats, they have most of the kinds we have in England, which originally came from thence; besides which, they have several of the natural growth of the country. They have a variety of the fruits, too, of the natural growth of the country, which were all wild when the English



TAVERN-KEEPERS AFTER 1700.[2]

went first to America, — such as grapes, strawberries, raspberries, huckleberries, cranberries, and also several sorts of wild cherries, with many other sorts of wild fruits eaten by the Indians. And now they have most of the kinds of fruit we have in England, — apples and pears in great abundance, and also Kentish and several other sorts of cherries; and plums of various sorts, but not altogether so fine as in England.

[1] In the Boston Town Records, under date of March 11, 1717–18, we read: "Voted, that a committee be raised to consider and make enquiry about encouraging the bringing of sea-coal into this town." But there appears to have been no report made. Later, in 1747, Governor Shirley sent to the town authorities a letter from Commodore Knowles, offering to supply Boston with coal without waiting first to supply the garrison; and though the offer was not regularly accepted, the committee appointed recommended free trade in sea-coal between Louisburg and Boston. See Boston Town Records, under date of June 29–July 3, 1747.

[2] [These signatures are taken from petitions for licenses on file at the State House. Others are given in connection with historic inns mentioned in the Introduction to this volume. Ann Pollard and Eliza Monck catered to the public early in the century. Willson kept the Blue

They have fine melons, too, vastly cheap and plenty; and all sorts of beans and pease and salad herbs. They have run mightily into orcharding in this part of the world. At the latter end of the summer, which way soever we travel, the fruits hang so thick by the wayside that we may gather them from the trees with almost as little trouble as to take them from one's own pocket. There are great plenty of fine peaches, which grow all upon trees, and are the natural growth of America. Some of them are as fine as the best we have in England, which we buy here for about threepence a peck; the common sort are so little regarded that they feed their hogs with them." [1]

The failure of Sir William Phips's expedition to Canada in 1690 brought various tribulations upon Boston, and especially in the quandary in which the Government found itself with regard to payment of the soldiers. It had relied recklessly upon the plunder it expected to bring back from Quebec. There was no money in the treasury and no time to raise it by new taxes. Resort was had to bills of credit, and paper currency was then introduced into New England. The mint which had its short life earlier in the century had been closed, and there was very little coin in the country, business being transacted largely by barter, by orders on tradesmen, and bills on London. When Bennett visited Boston, he found paper money firmly established, and he drew a picture which has some familiar features for us: —

"As to money, they have no sort of coin among them, — nothing but paper bills, which are issued by the Governor and Council; but, being made current, they answer the same end as money among ourselves. And the people in common had much rather take those bills for anything they sell than gold or silver, notwithstanding many of them are so miserably fractured, that, in passing from one to another, they often fall into three or four pieces; and many of them are joined together in several places, and are so obliterated with their being often handled that they are difficult to be understood by those that are unused to them. But upon application to the treasury, they change them without any expense. The discount between those bills and sterling is four hundred and fifty cents at present; that is, five hundred and fifty pounds of this currency is equal to one hundred pounds sterling. But they are variable; being governed by the rise and fall of bills of exchange. Some of those bills are so low as threepence; which is something more than a penny sterling. English halfpence are much used here for change, and are very valuable here. They pass current here at three halfpence a piece; which is twopence in every shilling sterling above the common course of exchange. I have made enquiry among the merchants of the reason

Anchor, near Oliver's Dock, in 1735. Coffin came from New Jersey, and kept a house at the head of Long Wharf. Bayley kept the Blue Anchor in 1752. Deborah Cricke kept the Half Moon in 1705. Bennett was on Minot's T in 1758. Copp (very likely a son of the old shoemaker) had been a mariner, and was captured by the French; but in 1697 he petitions to keep a house of public entertainment near Charlestown Ferry. Marston, in 1752, kept the Golden Ball, in Merchants Row, near the Dock, which had been a tavern for sixty years. Sanders was a retailer of liquor in 1703. Day kept the Sun Tavern in 1753. A list, printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1877, p. 108, of the inn-holders in Boston in 1714, shows thirty-two, besides four common victuallers, forty-one retailers of liquor, two coffee-house keepers, and one retailer of cider. Among the original papers in the City Clerk's office, 1716, is a list of inn-holders, taverners, and retailers without doors, at that date in Boston. In 1752 a committee on licensed houses reported thirty-six inn-holders and one hundred and twenty-six retailers in the town. — ED.]

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1860–62, pp. 112–114.

of their being without a coin, and they say the balance of trade with England is so much against them that they cannot keep any money amongst them, — of which they have had the experience, having once had a coin of their own, but were soon stripped of it, so that they had not enough left for their necessary uses; and that obliged them to have recourse to this method of making bills. There is still a great deal of both English and foreign gold and silver in the hands of the merchants; but they use it only as merchandise, and buy and sell it only by weight, to send to England in return for goods. And the country folks are all of them so averse to any sort of coin that one may as well offer them pebble stones as gold and silver for anything one wants to buy of them; and they will much sooner credit any stranger that comes from England than take their money, unless it be halfpence." [1]

The change from an isolated and self-contained community of homogeneous character to one having grades of rank and diversity of fortune and modes of living has already been intimated, and we turn now to some of those features in which Boston, whether Provincial or Colonial, was especially distinguished from English towns. The most noticeable difference is naturally to be found in the prominence of religious interests, as affecting policy and manners. How would the religious aspect of Boston life impress a stranger? Once more we turn to Mr. Bennett's account, and observe what he saw: —

"Their observation of the Sabbath (which they rather choose to call by the name of the Lord's Day, whensoever they have occasion to mention it), it is the strictest kept that ever I yet saw anywhere. On that day no man, woman, or child is permitted to go out of town on any pretence whatsoever; [2] nor can any that are out of town come in on the Lord's Day. The town being situated on a peninsula, there is but one way out of it by land; which is over a narrow neck of land at the south end of the town, which is enclosed by a fortification, and the gates shut by way of prevention. There is a ferry, indeed, at the north end of the town; but care is taken by way of prevention there also. But if they could escape out of the town at either of these places, it wouldn't answer their end, for the same care is taken, all the country

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1860–1862, pp. 123, 124. [Shortly after this account was written, the issue of paper currency was checked by orders from the king, a proceeding followed by much financial confusion; and as ways out of the dilemma the "Land Bank Scheme" and the "Silver Scheme" were brought forward. Accounts of these measures can be found in Hutchinson, ii. 392; Palfrey, iv. 547, etc.; Wells, *Samuel Adams*, i. 8; Felt, *Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency;* and in a contemporary *Account of the Rise, Progress, and Consequences of the two late Schemes, commonly called the Land Bank or Manufacturing Scheme, and the Silver Scheme, in a letter from a gentleman in Boston*, London, 1744. The names of the "undertakers" of the Land Bank are given in Drake's *Boston*, 613. The "Silver Scheme" represented an association of Boston Merchants and others (Samuel Sewall, Edward Hutchinson, James Bowdoin, Edmund Quincy, Edward Oxnard, Joshua Winslow, Andrew Oliver, H. Hall, James Boutineau, Samuel Welles), who proposed to supply their notes as a circulating medium in opposition to the Land Bank. See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1860, p. 263. — Ed.]

[2] ["Bennett," says Dr. Ellis, in some manuscript comments, "was mistaken on this point. A magistrate could give a permit for travel on an emergency, to convey important intelligence in cases of sickness, death, etc. Under date of Saturday, Feb. 1, 172¾, Judge Sewall records the suicide of John Valentine, Esq., which he heard of on Sunday morning. He adds: 'I writ a permit for Mrs. Valentine's Negro to ride to Freetown to tell her Son that his Father died last night.'" —Ed.]

over, to prevent travelling on Sundays; and they are as diligent in detecting of offenders of this sort, all over the New England government, as we in England are of stopping up of highways, — more; and those who are of the Independent persuasion refrain any attempts of this kind, in point of conscience. And as they will by no means admit of trading on Sunday, so they are equally tenacious about preserving good order in the town on the Lord's Day: and they will not suffer any one to walk down to the water-side, though some of the houses are adjoining to the several wharfs; nor, even in the hottest days of summer, will they admit of any one to take the air on the Common, which lies contiguous to the town, as Moorfields does to Finsbury. And if two or three people, who meet one another in the street by accident, stand talking together, — if they do not disperse immediately upon the first notice, they are liable to fine and imprisonment; and I believe, whoever it be that incurs the penalties on this account, are sure to feel the weight of them. But that which is the most extraordinary is that they commence the Sabbath from the setting of the sun on the Saturday evening;[1] and, in conformity to that, all trade and business ceases, and every shop in the town is shut up: even a barber is finable for shaving after that time. Nor are any of the taverns permitted to entertain company; for in that case not only the house, but every person found therein, is finable. I don't mention this strict observance of the Lord's Day as intended rather to keep people within the bounds of decency and good order than to be strictly complied with, or that the appointment of this duty was only by some primary law since grown obsolete; but that it is now in full force and vigor, and that the justices, attended with a posse of constables, go about every week to compel obedience to this law.[2]

"As to their ministers, there is no compulsory tax upon the people for their support, but every one contributes according to their inclination or ability; and it is collected in the following manner: Every Sunday, in the afternoon, as soon as the sermon is ended, and before the singing of the last psalm, they have a vacant space of time, in which there are three or four men come about with long wooden boxes, which they present to every pew for the reception of what every one is pleased to put into them. The first time I saw this method of collecting for the parson, it put me in mind of the waiters at Saddler's Wells, who used to collect their money just before the beginning of the last act. But notwithstanding they thus collect the money for the maintenance of the clergy in general, yet they are not left to depend entirely upon the uncertainty of

[1] [See Vol. I. 516, *note*. — Ed.]

[2] [I find various entries of such service in a diary of the time: —

"March 24, 1742. Mr. Hall and Tyler, and Walley and I went out as soon as the notes were read and we carried Tool and wife and son to Bridewell, and went to many places; we did not go into meeting again.

"July 25, 1742. Dr. Colman preached. Captain Downe and I walked with Mr. Phillebrown, the constable.

"June 10, 1744. Mr. Tyler, Major Henchman, and I and the constable went out after the short prayer and reading, and walked in my ward, etc., all the afternoon.

"July 1, 1744. Mr. Hall, Mr. Tyler, and others and I went out and walked about the town at the same time.

"Nov. 4, 1744. Mr. Hall, Colonel Down, and I went out after contribution and stood by y^e^ Townhouse."

These items and others elsewhere given in this volume are gathered from the diary of Colonel John Phillips, who was born in 1701 and died in 1763. He was son of Samuel, of Salem, and great grandson of George, of Watertown. The manuscript has been kindly placed in my hands by Wendell Phillips, Esq., of Boston. Like a great many of the note-books of the same period it consists mostly of an enumeration and abstracts of sermons the colonel had heard from Colman, Cooper, and others after 1720. These reports are interspersed with memoranda of gloves and rings received at weddings and funerals, and when he had "watched." — Ed.]

what people shall happen to give, but have a certain sum paid them every Monday morning, whether so much happens to be collected or not; and no one of them has less than a hundred pounds sterling per annum, which is a comfortable support in this part of the world." [1]

The impression created by Bennett's account is fully confirmed by the legislation of the period. The close observance of the Lord's Day was the last stronghold of the Puritan idea. Whatever inroads might be made on a polity which concerned the conduct of life as well as commercial enterprise and political integrity, the most vigilant care was exercised over the observance of Sunday. That was the last stronghold to be relinquished; and it may be said that the unwritten law has been more powerful than the written, and that in no element of life in Boston has the Puritan tradition lingered longer than in this. The General Court took occasion from time to time to renew the covenant, so to speak, which the people kept with the Lord's Day. By an act passed Oct. 22, 1692, it declared —

"That all and every person or persons shall, on that day, carefully apply themselves to duties of religion and piety, publicly and privately; and that no tradesman, artificer, laborer, or other person whatsoever shall, upon the land or water, do or exercise any labor, business, or work of their ordinary callings, nor use any game, sport, play, or recreation on the Lord's Day, or any part thereof (works of necessity or charity only excepted)."

It suffered no travel. Public houses were not to entertain any other than strangers and lodgers "on Saturday night after the sun is set, or on the Lord's Day or the evening following." The act concludes: —

"And all and every justice of the peace, constables, and tithing-men are required to take effectual care, and endeavor that this act in all the particulars thereof be duly observed. As also to restrain all persons from swimming in the water; unnecessary and unreasonably walking in the streets or fields in the town of Boston, or other places; keeping open their shops, and following their secular occasions or recreations in the evening preceding the Lord's Day, or any part of the said day or evening following." [2]

Living and dead were both to observe the day. In town-meeting, May 12, 1701, it was ordered —

"That no person shall dig any grave or make any coffin on the Lord's Day without the approbation and allowance of two of the selectmen for the time being, on pain of forfeiting the sum of twenty shillings; nor shall any person keep open their shop or cellar that they manage or keep their callings in, on the evening preceding the Lord's Day, or on the Lord's Day, on pain of forfeiting the sum of five shillings for every such offence, to be paid by the occupier of such shop or cellar."

Nor were any funerals to be solemnized on the Lord's Day, because the solemnizing "ofttimes occasions great profanation thereon, by servants and

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, pp. 115, 116.

[2] *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, sub die.*

children gathering in the streets, and walking up and down, to and from the funerals, and is the means of many disorders and irregularities then committed." [1]

This legislation required to be frequently renewed and emphasized. There was a fresh act in 1716; and eleven years afterward additional acts were passed, with heavier penalties. In the Boston *News-Letter* for June 12, 1746, due notice is given with all solemnity that offenders will be prosecuted: —

"Boston, June 9, 1746. By order of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in the town of Boston: Whereas there appears a growing negligence of duly observing and keeping the Lord's Day, the Justices in the town of Boston have agreed to walk and observe the behaviour of the people of said town of Boston on said day; and they judge it proper to give this public notice thereof, and all persons profaning the Lord's Day by walking, standing in the streets, or any other way breaking the laws made for the due observation of the Lord's Day, may expect the execution of the law upon them for all disorders of this kind." [2]

With this strict observance of Sunday went naturally a special respect for the clergy; they were an aristocratic order recognized by the people with an unhesitating loyalty, not so easily given to men of rank who were in government service. They were an order in part created and wholly sustained by the people; and the prerogative of the class was jealously maintained, as was also the privilege of the people in their relations to their spiritual advisers. When the General Court, in an act passed Feb. 17, 1693, provided for the choice and settlement of ministers, there was added the proviso, "that nothing herein contained is intended or shall be construed to extend to abridge the inhabitants of Boston of their accustomed way and practice as to the choice and maintenance of their ministers." Sewall, under date of Aug. 20, 1685, refers to a sermon by Mr. Moody upon the death of Rev. William Adams, upon the words, "There is no more any prophet": "With respect to four ministers taken away in less than twice so many moneths; shewed that 't was a peculiar Aggravation to all other Afflictions and Fears." [3] In 1735 the town of Boston, in reckoning its expenses, declared that "the support of the ministry of the Town, by a moderate computation, amounts to £8,000 per annum." [4] In 1742 the amount had risen to £12,000, but probably the reckoning was in old tenor in both instances, and the nominal sum was swelled by the depreciation of the money.

[1] *Acts and Resolves*, Dec. 27, 1727.

[2] [There are some characteristic notices of Sunday observances in *Sewall's Diary*, ii. 101, 420; iii. 82: "1704. Lord's day, April 23. There is great firing at the town, ships, Castle, upon account of it being the Coronation day, which gives offence to many. Down Sabbath, up St. George!" See also Drake, *Boston*, 577. The sermon which Increase Mather preached on the great fire of 1711 gave as one reason for it: "Has not God's holy day been profaned in New England? Has it not been so in Boston this last summer? Have not burdens been carried through the streets on the Sabbath Day? Nay, have not bakers, carpenters, and other tradesmen been employed in servile works on the Sabbath Day? When I saw this, my heart said, Will not the Lord for this kindle a fire in Boston?" — ED.]

[3] *Sewall's Diary*, i. 93.

[4] Boston Town Records, Jan. 1, 1735.

The great preponderance of Congregationalists over all other religious societies gave to the ministers and churches of that order all the appearance of an establishment; besides that there was an actual commingling of Church and State. The Church of England was of course so identified with the representatives of the Crown in Boston, that all the instincts of self-preservation made Boston people look with alarm and jealousy upon the growth of Episcopacy. The narration of the events connected with the establishment of King's Chapel, Christ Church, and Trinity belongs elsewhere;[1] but no account of life in Boston at this period should omit mention of that effect upon society which was created by the setting up of the English Church in visible and permanent shape. The reader of Sewall's Diary sees there the unaffected grief and apprehension of a good man at the progress of what he regarded as inimical to all that he held dear. His alarm was shared probably by a large part of the older members of the community. It seemed to them that what their fathers had come to establish, and they were prepared to defend, was now suffering an insidious attack which they were powerless to avert. Among the younger members there was a curiosity to see a spectacle which they had vaguely understood to be a spectre to their fathers.[2] Probably the men and women now in middle life, who in childhood were taken to services in the Roman Catholic Cathedral, experienced some of the sensations which assailed the children at the end of the seventeenth century, — and grown people, too, — when they crowded about the Town House at the hour of divine service on Sunday, and especially on festival days, much to the grief of the staid men and women of the Congregational order. Sewall records in his Diary with satisfaction the steadfastness of his son Joseph, afterward minister of the Old South, who refused to go to church on Christmas Day when the other boys did. But all of Sewall's observations on this subject are so interesting, that it is worth while to collect the various passages, as one can in no better way catch at the spirit in which this usurpation of America by England — for such it seemed to them — was regarded: —

"Dec. 25, 1685. Friday. Carts come to town and Shops open as is usual. Some, somehow, observe the day; but are vexed, I believe, that the Body of the People profane it, — and, blessed be God! no Authority yet to compell them to keep it.

"Dec. 28, 1685. Cous. Fissenden here. Saith he came for Skins last Friday, and [there] was less Christmas-keeping than last year, fewer Shops Shut up.

"Friday, Aug. 20, 1686. I was and am in great exercise about the Cross to be put into the Colours, and afraid if I should have a hand in 't whether it may not hinder my Entrance into the Holy Land.

"Sabbath-day, Aug. 22. In the Evening seriously discoursed with Capt. Eliot and Frary, signifying my inability to hold, and reading Mr. Cotton's Arguments to them about the Cross, and sayd that to introduce it into Boston at this time was much,

[1] [See Mr. Foote's chapter in Vol. I. and Dr. McKenzie's in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] "Most of the inhabitants who were upon the stage in 1686 had never seen a Church of England assembly." — Hutchinson, *History*, i. 355.

seeing it had been kept out more than my Life-time, and now the Cross much set by in England and here; and it could scarce be put in but I must have a hand in it.[1] I fetcht home the Silk Elizur Holyoke had of me, to make the Cross, last Friday morn; and went and discoursed Mr. Mather. He judged it Sin to have it put in, but the Captain not in fault; but I could hardly understand how the Command of others could wholly excuse them, at least me who had spoken so much against it in April, 1681, and that Summer and forward, upon occasion of Capt. Walley's putting the Cross in his Colours.

"Nov. 12, 1686. Jn°. Griffin is this week buried with the Comon-Prayer: which is the third funeral of this sort, so far as I can learn.

"Satterday, Dec. 25, 1686. Governour goes to the Town House to Service, Forenoon and Afternoon, a Red-coat going on his right hand and Capt. George on the left. Was not at Lecture on Thorsday. Shops open to-day generally, and persons about their occasions. Some, but few, carts at town with wood, though the day exceeding fair and pleasant.

"March 29, 1687. Last Sabbath-day, March 27, Governour and his retinue met in our [the South] Meeting-house at Eleven: broke off past two because of the Sacrament and Mr. Clark's long Sermon; now we were apointed to come ½ hour past one, so 't was a sad sight to see how full the Street was with people gazing and moving to and fro because had not entrance into the House.

"Thorsday, May 24, 1688. Bell is rung for a Meeting of the Church of England Men, being, in their language, Ascension day.

"Seventh-day. Decemb^r. 25, '97. Snowy day: Shops are open, and Carts and sleds come to Town with Wood and Fagots as formerly, save what abatement may be allowed on account of the wether. This morning we read in course the 14, 15, and 16th Psalms. From the 4th v. of the 16th Ps. I took occasion to dehort mine from Christmas-keeping, and charged them to forbear. Hañah reads Daniel 6, and Betty, Luke 12. Joseph tells me that though most of the Boys went to the Church, yet he went not. By the Intercession of his Mother, and his brother's Concession, he begins to read the Psalm.

"Tuesday, Dec. 25 [1705]. Very Cold Day, but Serene morning; Sleds, Slays, and Horses pass us as Usually, and Shops open.

"Midweek, Dec. 25 [1706]. Shops open; Carts come to Town with Wood, Fagots, Hay, and Horses with Provisions, as Usually.

"Dec^r. 25 [1714]. Shops open, etc., as on other days; very pleasant weather.

"Lord's Day, December 26. Mr. Bromfield and I go and keep the Sabbath with Mr. John Webb, and sit down with that Church at the Lord's Table. I did it to hold Communion with that Church; and, so far as in me lay, to put Respect upon that affronted, despised Lord's Day. For the Church of England had the Lord's Supper yesterday, the last day of the week; but will not have it to-day, the day that the Lord has made. And Gen^l Nicholson, who kept Satterday, was this Lord's Day Rumaging and Chittering with wheelbarrows, etc., to get aboard at the long Wharf, and Firing Guns at Setting Sail. I thank God I heard not, saw not, anything of it, but was quiet at the New North."

If Judge Sewall and such as he set their faces as a flint against the Church of England, it is not to be wondered at that the commoner sort expressed

[1] Sewall was captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

their dislike in their own fashion. They did not keep diaries and record their feelings, nor take the Communion on the Lord's Day in special rebuke to those observing Christmas, but they called names and broke the windows of King's Chapel. Says one defender of the Church: —

"What scandalous Pamphlets have been printed to villifie the Liturgy! And are not all of that communion daily called *Papist Doggs and Rogues* to their Faces? How often has the plucking down of the Church been threatened? One while it was to be converted to a school, and anon, 't was to be given to the *French Protestants*. And whoso will but take the Pains to survey the Glass Windows will easily discover the Marks of a Malice not common." [1]

Edward Randolph, the most pushing of the Church of England men, writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "We resolve not to be baffled by the great affronts; some calling our Minister Baal's priest, and some of them, ministers from the pulpit, calling our praiers leeks, garlick, and trash." [2] In Mather's *Vindication of New England* he refers to the charge of injuring King's Chapel in terms which confess, while excusing, the act: —

"We had almost slipt the notice of a *Bawl or two* these Libellers make about *Damnifying their Church* (as they call it), and obstructing their *Minister in his office*. As to their *Church*, all the mischief done is the breaking of a few Quarels of glass by idle Boys who, if discover'd, had been chastised by their own Parents. . . . They have built their Chapel in a Publick burying-place, next adjoining to a great *Free Schooll*, where the Boyes (having gotten to play) may, some by *Accident*, some in *Frolick*, and some perhaps in *Revenge* for disturbing their Relation's Graves by the Foundation of that Building, have broken a few Quarels of the Windows (and how should the contrary be imagined possible!)." [3]

Mr. Whitmore, in a note to this, cites a passage from a pamphlet published in answer to Mather's *Discourse against Common-Prayer Worship:*

"Indeed, he [Mather] had dealt more sincerely if he had acquainted his Reader that they hold it unlawful to communicate with us because we are a National Church; and that they don't joyn in the Common-Prayer Worship because it 's a Form, and all Forms are, in his opinion, unlawful. This, indeed, had struck at the Root of all; but this he knew was not so easily prov'd, nor would look so popularly as to cry out *Heathenism*, *Judaism*, and *Popery*, which he charges our *Service Book* with. This, indeed, will rouze the Multitudes; and it 's no wonder, when possess'd with this Representation of our worship, that the deluded People broke into the Church (erected at Boston for the worship of God according to the Church of England) to search for the Images they supposed we worship'd."

So also another pamphleteer on the same point: —

"The Church itself had great difficulty to withstand their fury, receiving the marks of their indignation and scorn, by having the Windows broke to pieces, and the Doors and Walls daubed and defiled with dung and other filth, in the rudest and basest manner imaginable." [4]

[1] John Palmer, "An Impartial Account of the State of New England," in *Andros Tracts*, i. 53.

[2] *Hutchinson Papers*, ii. 292.

[3] *Andros Tracts*, ii. 63.

[4] "New England's Faction Discovered," in *Andros Tracts*, ii. 212.

It was the political connection rather than the number of the Church of England men that disturbed the Bostonians. Dr. Douglass cites the evidence of Captain Watson, one of the assessors, who examined the books in curiosity, and "found the Church of England people charged not exceeding one-tenth of the rates or taxes in the town of Boston."[1] In like manner the extreme sensitiveness regarding Papists and Jesuits was chiefly on account of an English jealousy and dread of the French, with whom they identified them. It was claimed in 1689 that there was not a Papist within the limits of New England.[2] But in 1700 an act was passed, June 17, commanding Jesuits, priests, and all other ecclesiastics of Rome to depart the province by September 10, under penalty of perpetual imprisonment. A fine of £200 was imposed on any harboring such men, and any person without a warrant could make arrests, except of shipwrecked or distressed men.

The funeral service was read at the burial now and then of some officer of the Crown;[3] but the customs of colonial times held sway for the most part, and indeed grew gradually to be a heavy tax; so much so, that in 1721 the General Court,—taking into consideration that "the charge or expence of funerals of late years (when the circumstances of the province so loudly calls for all sorts of frugality) is becoming very extravagant, especially in the giving of scarves, to the great detriment of the province and the impoverishment of many families,"—enacted that no scarves whatever should be allowed and given at any funeral, on pain and penalty of twenty pounds.[4] The act was to be in force for three years, and at the end of that time it was renewed for five years. Again, Jan. 15, 1741, it was enacted "that no scarves, gloves (except six pair to the bearers, and one pair to each minister of the church or congregation where any deceased person belongs), wine, rum, or rings shall be allowed and given at any funeral, upon the penalty of fifty pounds."

But these restrictions hint at the pomp and ceremony which attached to the departure of the dead.[5] The living kept before themselves so constantly

[1] Douglass, *Summary*, i. 531.

[2] *Andros Tracts*, ii. 97, 122.

[3] [The preaching of funeral sermons has been thought to have been an introduction of the early part of the eighteenth century. (See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September and October, 1879.) But it is stated in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* 1880, p. 360, that a funeral sermon was preached at the burial of President Chauncy in 1671.—ED.]

[4] *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, Sept. 9, 1721.

[5] [Governor Belcher lost his wife during his term of office, and the *News-Letter* of Oct. 14, 1736, describes the funeral: "The Rev. Dr. Sewall made a very suitable prayer at his Excellency's house, just before the funeral. The coffin was covered with black velvet and richly adorned. The pall was supported by the Honourable Spencer Phipps, Esq., our Lieut.-Governor; William Dummer, Esq., formerly Lieut.-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this Province; Benjamin Lynde, Esq., Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Edmund Quincy, Esq., and Adam Winthrop, Esq. His Excellency with his children and family followed the corpse, all in deep mourning; next went the several relatives according to their respective degrees, who were followed by a great many of the principal gentlewomen in town; after whom went the gentlemen of His Majesty's Council; the reverend Ministers of this and the neighboring towns; the reverend President and Fellows of Harvard College; a great number of officers both of the civil and military order, with a multitude of other gentlemen. His Excellency's coach drawn by four horses was covered with black cloth and adorned with escutcheons of the coats of arms both of his Excellency and of his deceased lady. All the bells in town were tolled; and during the time of the procession

the notion of a great Judge and of an assize before which they were to appear, that when one of their number set out for the Court above they attended him as far as they could go with the circumstance which the event demanded. Judge Sewall records against the burial of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Shepard the names of the bearers, as usual, and adds: "It seems there were some Verses; but none pinned on the Herse. Scholars went before the Herse."[1] Indeed, a procession of dead men files through his book. As a man of importance and wide family connections he was very often called upon to be bearer; and, impressed himself with the frequency of this service, he set down in one place "an account of some I have been a Bearer to," — and his account was a veritable one, for against each name he credits the deceased with "Ring," "Scarf," "Gloves," and occasionally "nothing." There is a curious little passage in which he squares an account between his conscience and his interest upon the occasion of the death of a reprobate: —

"This day, John Ive, fishing in great Spie-pond, is arrested with mortal sickness which renders him in a mañer speechless and senseless. Dies next day; buried at Charlestown on the Wednesday. Was a very debauched, atheistical man. I was not at his Funeral. Had gloves sent me, but the knowledge of his notoriously wicked life made me sick of going; and Mr. Mather, the president, came in just as I was ready to step out, and so I staid at home, and by that means lost a Ring; but hope had no loss. Follow thou me, was I supose more complied with, than if had left Mr. Mather's company to go to such a Funeral."[2]

This hints at the light in which what looks like funeral trumpery was regarded. It was, if we may borrow Mr. Wemmick's pleasantry, portable property, and was accumulated not merely as mementoes of solemn occasions, but with some reference to exchangeable value. At weddings, at christenings, and at funerals the parson and his wife, and at funerals the bearers also, received presents of a stipulated kind, which were substantially fees, and were faint traditions of earlier English customs with which readers of Bacon's life, for instance, are familiar. Mr. L. M. Sargent tells us that when a child he was much puzzled to say what the minister did with his gloves and his rings, for which the hands of Briareus would not have sufficed. The mystery was solved for him when he came upon an interleaved almanac belonging to the excellent Dr. Andrew Eliot: —

the half-minute guns begun, first at His Majesty's Castle William, which were followed by those on board His Majesty's ship "Squirrel" and many other ships in the harbour, their colours being all day raised to the heighth as usual on such occasions. The streets through which the funeral passed, the tops of the houses and windows on both sides, were crowded with innumerable spectators." On the following Sunday "his Excellency's pew and the Pulpit" at the South Church "were put into mourning and richly adorned with escutcheons," and the Rev. Thomas Prince preached a sermon, which was printed by J. Draper, with the customary black border and death's head. There is preserved in print an Epistle to the Governor, by Mather Byles, who protested that "while he employs the numbers of the poet, he never forgets the character of the divine," and proceeds "to take the freedom of an exhortation," and ends: —

"Meantime my name to thine allied shall stand;
Still our warm friendship mutual flames extend;
The Muse shall so survive from age to age,
And Belcher's name protect his Byles's page." — Ed.]

[1] *Sewall's Diary*, i. 82.

[2] *Sewall's Diary*, i. 482.

"On the inside of the marble cover the first entry commences thus: 'Gloves, 1748, January.' The gloves received by Dr. Eliot are set against particular names, and under every month in the year. Certain names are marked with asterisks, doubtless denoting that the parties were dead, or *stelligeri*, after the fashion of the College catalogue; and thus the good doctor discriminated between funerals and weddings and christenings. Although a goodly number of rings are enrolled, together with the gloves, yet a page is devoted to rings exclusively, in the middle of the book. This is not arranged under months but years; and commences in 1741, the year before he was ordained as colleague with Mr. Webb. At the bottom of the record the good man states how many pairs were kid; how many were lamb's-wool, and how many were long, or women's gloves, intended, of course, for the parson's lady. These rings and gloves were sold by the worthy doctor, with the exception of such as were distributed, in his own household, not a small one, for he left eleven children. A prejudice might have prevailed, an hundred years ago, against dead men's shoes; certain it is, these gloves did not meet with a very ready market. It appears by the record, in the doctor's own hand, that Mrs. Avis was entrusted with fifteen pairs of women's and three dozen of men's; and returned, unsold, eight pairs of women's and one dozen and ten pairs of men's. A dozen pairs of men's were committed to Mrs. Langstaff; half-a-dozen women's to Mr. Langdon, and seventeen pairs to Captain Millens. What a glove and ring market the dear Doctor's study must have been! In thirty-two years he appears to have received two thousand nine hundred and forty pairs of gloves at funerals, weddings, and baptisms. Of these he sold to the amount of fourteen hundred and forty-one pounds, eighteen shillings and one penny, old tenor, equal to about six hundred and forty dollars. He also sold a goodly number of his rings. From all this the conclusion is irresistible that this truly good man and faithful minister must have been, if I may use the common expression, hand-and-glove with his parishioners." [1]

It is not unfair in attempting to discover the mental and moral characteristics of the Provincial Bostonian to take our hints largely from Judge Sewall, and no one can read his Diary attentively without being struck, for instance, with that fascination of death which becomes a vulgar curiosity in uneducated countrymen, but rises into a singular importance in the nature of such a man. At Christmas, 1696, he buries a little daughter, and makes this note respecting he tomb: —

"'T was wholly dry, and I went at noon to see in what order things were set; and there I was entertained with a view of, and converse with, the coffins of my dear Father Hull, Mother Hull, Cousin Quinsey, and Six children, — for the little posthumous was now took up and set in upon that, that stands on John's: so are three, one upon another twice, on the bench at the end. My mother ly's on a lower bench at the end, with head to her Husband's head; and I order'd little Sarah to be set on her Grandmother's feet. 'T was an awfull yet pleasing treat. Having said, The Lord knows who shall be brought hither next, I came away."

[1] *Dealings with the Dead*, i. 91, 92. [At a later day when the troubles with the mother country were brewing, the presentation of mourning gloves was still so important a matter of purchase that the town, Oct. 28, 1767, voted to "adhere to the late regulations respecting funerals, and will not use any gloves but what are manufactured here." — Ed.]

Apparently no one dies — certainly not "Eliza Scot, a good ancient Virgin" — without his making a note of it: —

"Wednesday, Decr 9th, 1685. Our neighbour Gemaliel Wait, eating his Breakfast well, went to do something in his Orchard, where Sergt Pell dwells; there found himself not well, and went into Pell's his Tenant's House, and there dyed extream suddenly about noon, and then was carried home in a chair, and means used to fetch him again, but in vain. To the children startled about him he said, Here is a sudden change; or, There will be a great change, to that purpose. Was about 87 years old, and yet strong and hearty; had lately several new Teeth. People in the Street much startled at this good man's sudden Death. Govr Hinkley sent for me to Mr. Rawson's just as they were sending a great Chair to carry him home. Satterday, Decr 12, '85, — Father Wait buried: Magistrates and Ministers had Gloves. There heard of the Death of Capt. Hutchinson's child by Convulsions, and so pass to the Funeral of little Samuel Hutchinson, about six weeks old, where also had a pair of Funeral Gloves." The mourning was a part of the ceremony of the little State. "May 2, 1709. Being Artillery day, and Mr. Higginson dead, I put on my Mourning Rapier; and put a black Ribbon into my little cane."

About the Church were gathered the holy days which to the Puritan took the place of Saints' Days. The Thursday lecture was second only to the Lord's Day. We have already noticed how Sewall, under his breath, reproached the Governor for keeping Christmas and neglecting the Thursday lecture, and the degeneracy of the times could be best intimated by this barometer: —

"April 8, 1697. Mr. Cotton Mather gives notice that the Lecture hereafter is to begin at Eleven of the Clock, an hour sooner than formerly. Reprov'd the Townspeople that attended no better; fear'd 'twould be an omen of our not enjoying the Lecture long, if did not amend."

The private and public Fasts had in their minds a sanctity entirely separating them from occasions of the same name in the Established Church. There is a curious passage in Sewall, when under date of Thursday, Oct. 1, 1702, he writes: —

"The Govr and Council agree that Thorsday, Oct. 22, be a Fast Day. Governour moved that it might be Friday, saying, Let us be Englishmen. I spake against making any distinction in the Days of the week; desired the same Day of the Week might be for Fasts and Thanksgivings. Boston and Ipswich Lecture led us to Thorsday. Our Brethren at Connecticut had Wednesday; which we applauded."

It will be noticed that the Fast was to be in the fall of the year, but it had not then become a custom to place the Fast in the spring and Thanksgiving in the fall. The churches had their own fasts, but the most striking feature of the fasts of the time, which has died out of use, was in the private or family fast. Sewall has preserved for us a minute account of one of these exercises, and we copy it at length from his Diary, for its singularity and its entirely local characteristics, so far as we know: —

"The apointment of a Judge for the Super. Court being to be made upon next Fifth day, Febr. 12, I pray'd God to Accept me in keeping a privat day of

Prayer with Fasting for that and other Important matters. I kept it upon the Third day, Febr. 10, 170$\frac{7}{8}$, in the uper Chamber at the North-East end of the House, fastening the Shutters next the Street. — Perfect what is lacking in my Faith, and in the faith of my dear Yokefellow. Convert my children; especially Samuel and Hañah; Provide Rest and Settlement for Hañah; Recover Mary; Save Judith, Elisabeth, and Joseph. Requite the Labour of Love of my Kinswoman Jane Tappin; Give her health, find out Rest for her. Make David a man after thy own heart; Let Susan live and be baptised with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Relations. Steer the Government in this difficult time, when the Governour and many others are at so much Variance; Direct, incline, overrule on the Council-day, fifth-day, Febr. 12, as to the special Work of it in filling the Super. Court with Justices; or any other thing of like nature, as Plim° infer. Court. Bless the Company for propagation of the Gospel, especially Gov^{r}. Ashurst, etc. Revive the Business of Religion at Natick, and accept and bless John Neesnumin who went thither last week for that end. Mr. Rawson, at Nantucket. Bless the South Church in preserving and spiriting our Pastor; in directing unto suitable Supply, and making the Church unanimous. Save the Town, College, Province from Invasion of Enemies, open, Secret, and from false Brethren. Defend the Purity of Worship. Save Connecticut; bless their New Governour. Save the Reformation under N. York Governm^{t}. Reform all the European Plantations in America; Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, Dutch. Save this New World, that where Sin hath abounded Grace may superabound; that CHRIST who is stronger, would bind the strong man and spoil his house, and order the word to be given, Babylon is fallen! Save our Queen, lengthen out her Life and Reign. Save France, make the Proud helper stoop (Job ix. 13); Save all Europe; Save Asia, Africa, Europe, and America. — These were gen^{l} heads of my Meditation and prayer, and through the bounteous Grace of GOD I had a very Comfortable day of it."[1]

The reader of this memorandum will readily see how wide was the range of Judge Sewall's interests, and how completely he assumed a relation between himself and God, to be expressed only in the terms of a suppliant at a mighty Throne.

It was due probably to the element introduced by the administration, and the English influence, that a relaxation of life in the way of amusement began to assert itself. In May, 1740, a petition was offered at town-meeting for use of part of Fort Hill as a bowling-green; but the petition was refused. The request was renewed March 15, 1742, when a long and animated discussion followed. The vote was taken, but the opponents who were now in the minority doubted the decision which declared it to be affirmative, and called for a poll; whereupon, the record says, "it appeared to be a clear vote by a great majority." From Sewall again we get a glimpse of street horse-play when we read: —

"Jos. Maylem carries a cock at his back, with a Bell in 's hand, in the Main Street; several follow him blindfold, and, under pretence of striking him or 's cock, with great cart-whips strike passengers, and make great disturbance."[2] Again, "Two persons,

[1] *Sewall's Diary*, ii. 216, 217.

[2] *Sewall's Diary*, i. 167. Also see p. 312. The sport was in honor of Shrove Tuesday.

one array'd in white, the other in red, goe through the Town with naked swords advanced, with a Drum attending each of them and a Quarter-Staff, and a great rout following, as is usual. It seems 'tis a chaleng to be fought at Capt. Wing's next Thorsday. . . . After the Stage-fight, in the even, the Souldier who wounded his Antagonist, went accompanyed with a Drum and about 7 drawn Swords, Shouting through the streets in a kind of Tryumph."[1]

The Common, as we have already seen, was the resort of strollers, and there began to be more jealous care of it. Sewall speaks of getting a stone out of the Common for a foundation stone of a new meeting-house;[2] and besides ordering fences to be built the town ordered that no person should carry away sod, turf, or earth, except at Fox Hill, or the Ridge Hill between that and Windmill Hill.[3]

The amusements which were more perilous to good morals were still sternly prohibited. A bowling-green might be suffered after a full discussion, but as the century wore on and luxury brought in more insidious foes the General Court took the alarm. In 1750 it passed an act for "preventing and avoiding the many and great mischiefs which arise from public stage-plays, interludes, and other theatrical entertainments, which not only occasion great and unnecessary expenses, and discourage industry and frugality, but likewise tend generally to increase immorality, impiety, and a contempt for religion." So a penalty was laid on any one letting a house for the purpose, and on actors and spectators, who were to pay five pounds each time they were present. A letter from Judge Sewall to the secretary, Isaac Addington, for the governor and his council, expresses the grave apprehensions felt by such a man earlier in the century, and his protest is a curious mingling of common-sense and heroics. It is dated at "Boston of the Massachusetts, March 3, 1713–14:"—

"There is a Rumor, as if some designed to have a Play acted in the Council-chamber next Monday; which much surprises me. And as much as in me lies, I do forbid it. The Romans were very fond of their Plays; but I never heard they were so far set upon them as to turn their Senat House into a Play-House. Our Town House was built at great Cost and charge for the sake of very serious and important Business; the Three Chambers above, and the Exchange below,— Business of the Province, County, and Town. Let it not be abused with Dances or other Scenical divertisements. It cannot be a Honor to the Queen to have the Laws of Honesty

[1] Ibid., pp. 173, 175. [Sewall records with more complacency (ii. 27) a scene on the Common of his own ordering, designed to mark the incoming of the new century: "Jan. 1, $17\frac{00}{01}$. Just about Break-a-day, Jacob Amsden and 3 other Trumpeters gave a blast on the Common near Mr. Alford's. Then went to the Green Chamber, and sounded there till sunrise. Bellman said these verses a little before Break-a-day, which I printed and gave them. . . . The Trumpeters cost me five pieces $\frac{8}{s}$." On occasion of another observance he records an amusing homily: "1719, April 1. In the morning I dehorted Sam Hirst and Grindall Rawson from playing idle tricks because 'twas first of April: they were the greatest fools that did so. New England men came hither to avoid anniversary days, the keeping of them, such as the twenty-fifth of December." Ibid., iii. 217. — Ed.]

[2] *Sewall's Diary*, ii. 344.

[3] *Boston Town Records*, May 12, 1701.

and Sobriety broken in upon. Ovid himself offers invincible Arguments against publick Plays: —

"'Ut tamen hoc fatear: Ludi quoque semina præbent nequitiæ.'

Let not Christian Boston goe beyond Heathen Rome in the practice of shamefull Vanities.

"This is the Voice of your most humble and obedient Servant,

"SAMUEL SEWALL."[1]

Dancing had now established itself, but earlier it was frowned upon by the fathers, as it had been in colonial days. Sewall relates, Nov. 12, 1685: —

"The ministers of this Town Come to the Court and complain against a Dancing Master who seeks to set up here, and hath mixt Dances; and his time of Meeting is Lecture-Day. And 'tis reported he should say that by one Play he could teach more Divinity than Mr. Willard or the Old Testament. Mr. Moodey said 'twas not a time for N. E. to dance. Mr. Mather struck at the Root, speaking against mixt Dances."

A dancing school was set up in 1735 under cover of other accomplishments, for it was "a school for reading, writing, cyphering, dancing, and the use of the needle."[2] But the line was drawn short of rope-dancing, as an application at the same time for an exhibition of this sort was refused, for fear "lest the said divertisement may tend to promote idleness in the Town and great mispense of time."[3]

But the great source of entertainment and relaxation was doubtless the training. There could be no "mispense" of time here; and one had the solid satisfaction of knowing that he was not only enjoying himself, but performing a duty of the first necessity to the State. And was not training under the very sanction of religion? Was there not a prayer before the manual was

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1871–1873, p. 378. [Sewall did not live to have his peace of mind disturbed by the publication in the *Royal American Magazine*, November, 1774, of a memoir of the great French actress, Mademoiselle Clairon, with a portrait engraved by Paul Revere, which represents her as leaning upon a pile of books inscribed Voltaire, Racine, Corneille, and Crebillon. The drama in Boston will be considered in Vol. IV. — ED.]

[2] [Captain Francis Goelet's Journal (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1870, p. 53) gives us a glimpse of a merry-making in 1750: "At Mr. Sheppard's, a company of about forty gentlemen; after having dined in a very elegant manner upon turtle, etc., drank about the toasts and sang a number of songs, and were exceedingly merry until three o'clock in the morning, from whence went upon the Rake; going past the commons in our way home, surprised a company of country young men and women with a violin at a tavern, dancing and making merry. Upon our entring the house the young women fled; we took possession of the room, having the fidler and the young man with us with the keg of sugared dram." Goelet makes sundry other entries during his stay in Boston, of his being with "the best fashion in Boston," and of dancing "minuits and country dances" with them. — ED.]

[3] [John Bradlee, who in 1734 petitioned for leave to show feats of activity, thought it advisable to represent that he was "a Protestant dissenter of the Kirk of Scotland," who had sailed out of Boston, and was endeavoring to earn a living, even "on the tort rope," as he had done in Barbadoes. In 1735 one Edward Burlesson had been warned out of town with his puppets by Bromfield the selectman; and his petition sets forth that the "Lyon, the black and whight bare, and the Lanechtskipt were shown by me that had their limbs as long as they pleased." These papers are on file in the City Clerk's office. — ED.]

practised; and was not target-shooting made to have almost the sanctity of a Thursday lecture? The annual sermon on election day remains as the one *transmittendum* of that commingling of the Church Militant and the State Militia; but one is permitted to attend training with Judge Sewall, who was captain, and to see a little how Boston unbent itself, and threw the dignity of rank and social grace over an exercise which included small boys then as now within its pleasurable excitement. Here is Sewall's account of a training day, Oct. 6, 1701: —

"Very pleasant fair wether; artillery trains in the afternoon (Sewall in command); march with the company to the Elms. Go to prayer, march down and shoot at a mark. Mr. Cushing, I think, was the first that hit it; Mr. Gerrish twice, Mr. Fitch, Chauncey, and the Ensign of the officers. By far the most missed, as I did for the first. Were much contented with the exercise. Led them to the trees agen; perform'd some facings and doublings. Drew them together, propounded the question about the colours; 'twas voted very freely and fully. I inform'd the Company I was told the Company's halberds, etc. were borrowed; I understood the leading staff was so, and therefore ask'd their acceptance of a Half-Pike, which they very kindly did. I delivered it to Mr. Gibbs for their use. They would needs give me a volley, in token of their Respect on this occasion. The Pike will, I supose, stand me in fourty shillings, being headed and shod with silver. Has this motto fairly engraven: 'AGMEN MASSACHUSETTENSE EST IN TUTELAM SPONSÆ AGNI UXORIS 1701.' The Lord help us to answer the Profession. Were treated by the Ensign in a fair chamber."[1]

At a training the following spring Sewall reminded them of his poor shots in October, and so would impose a small fine upon himself to be given to the best shot: —

"I judged for Ensign Noyes, and gave him a silver cup I had provided, engraven 'MAY 4, 1702. EUPHRATEN SICCARE POTES.' Telling him it was in token of the value I had for that virtue in others which I myself could not attain to. March'd into Comon and concluded with Pray'r. Pray'd in the morn on the Town House, Praying for the churches by name."[2]

This last inscription had a world of meaning for Sewall, who invested the phrase, to be found in Revelation xvi. 12, with a symbolic force peculiarly adapted to the time in which he was living.[3]

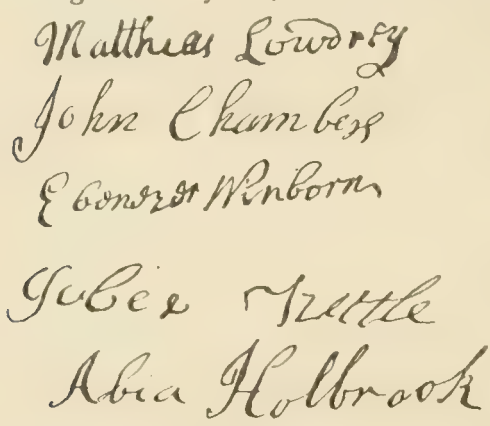
The training was no mere playing at soldiers, but a serious study for the defence of the commonwealth.[4] The regulations relating to it, which cover many pages of the Acts and Resolves of the Province, testify to the importance attached to the volunteer militia. The equipment of foot and horse was elaborate: —

"Every foot-soldier to be provided with a well-fixed fire-lock musket of musket or bastard-musket bore, the barrel not less than three and a half feet long, or other fire-

[1] *Sewall's Diary*, ii. 42.
[2] Ibid., ii. 55.
[3] See editor's foot-note, *Sewall's Diary*, i. 69.
[4] [Sir Charles Henry Frankland states in his Diary, not long after the middle of the century, that Massachusetts Bay had on the alarm list 45,000 able to bear arms, and in the training list 32,000. — ED.]

arms to the satisfaction of the commissioned officers of the Company; a Knapsack, a coller with twelve bandoleers or cartouch box, one pound of good powder, twenty bullets fit for his gun, and twelve flints, a good sword or cutlace, a worm and priming wire fit for his gun. Every trooper shall be always provided with a good serviceable horse of five pounds value, and not less than fourteen hands high, covered with a good saddle, bit, bridle, holsters, pectoral, and crooper; and furnished with a carbine, the barrel not less than two foot and half long, with a belt and swivel, a case of good pistols, with a sword or cutlace, a flask or cartouch box, one pound of good powder, three pounds of sizable bullets, twenty flints, and a good pair of boots and spurs."[1]

Besides the militia for public defence, Boston was provided with its watch and divided besides into five wards. Toward the middle of the century public-spirited persons set up lamps outside of their houses and kept them in order, while the authorities protected them from injury.[2] The watchmen were on duty from ten o'clock at night until broad daylight, except in the winter, when their hours extended from nine in the evening till eight in the morning. They were to go about the town "silently with watch bills, forbearing to use any bell, and no watch-man to smoke tobacco while walking their rounds; and where they see occasion, they are to call to persons to take care of their lights."[3] Later, in 1735, they were required "in a moderate tone to cry the time of night, and give account of the weather, as they walk their rounds after twelve o'clock." The expense of the watch at this time was about £12,000 per annum.[4] The frequent fires, which were due in part to the almost universal use of wood in building, in part to the necessity of having many open fires and of carrying embers about, rendered the town very vigilant, and gave rise to many regulations. The division of the town into districts under fire wards appears to have taken place in 1711, when, under date of October 31, the General Court provided, —



MASTERS OF THE WATCH-HOUSES, 1734.

"Whereas, by reason of the contiguity and adjoining of the houses and dwellings within the town of Boston, persons are under great affrightment and hurry upon the breaking out of fire, and not only the person in whose house the fire first breaks out, but the neighborhood are concerned to employ their utmost diligence and application

[1] Nov. 22, 1693.

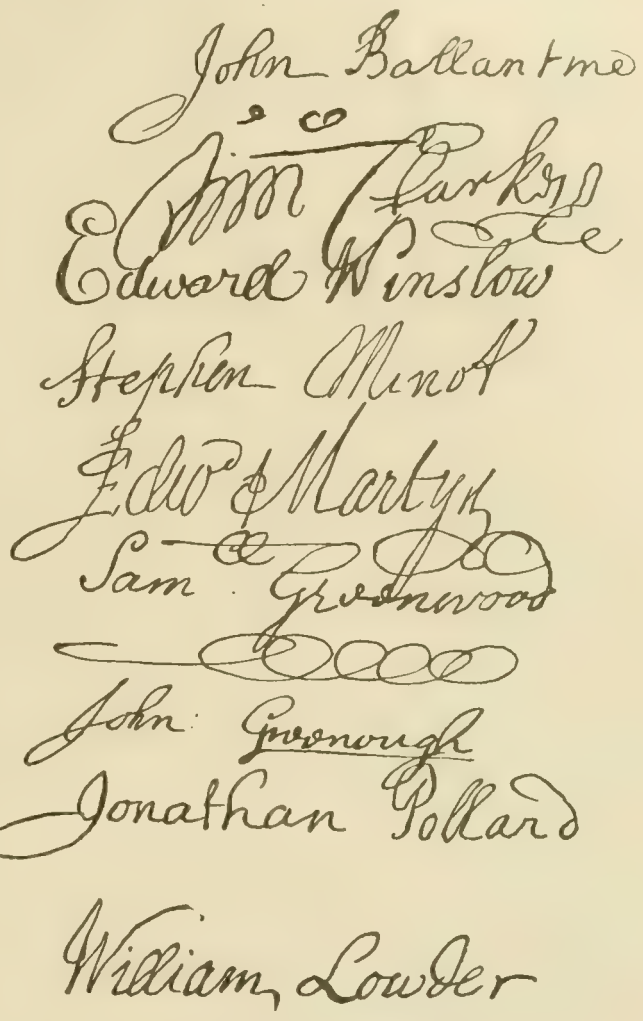
[2] [Later, the town supplied them. The *Massachusetts Gazette*, March 3, 1773, says: "Last evening two or three hundred lamps, fixed in the several streets and lanes of this town, were lighted. They will be of great utility to this metropolis." This importation was the occasion of one of Mather Byles's good jokes. "What's the news?" it was asked of him. "Why, three hundred 'new lights' have arrived, and the selectmen have ordered them into irons." — ED.]

[3] May 10, 1701. See Drake's *History*, p. 523.

[4] Ibid., 599.

to extinguish the fire and prevent the progress thereof, . . . it is provided that the justices of peace and selectmen of Boston may from time to time appoint such number of prudent persons, of known fidelity, not exceeding ten, in the several parts of the town, as they may think fit, who shall be denominated and called fire wards."

Their badge of office was to be a staff of five or six feet in length, colored red, and headed with a bright brass spire six inches long; and they had all necessary authority in the putting out of fires. In 1733 there were seven engines for extinguishing fires. How effective these water engines — as they were called — were, may be inferred from the description given in the *News-Letter* at this time: "There is newly erected in the Town of Boston, by Messieurs John and Thos. Hill, a Water Engine at their Still-house, by the advice and direction of Mr. Rowland Houghton, drawn by a horse, which delivers a large quantity of water twelve feet above the ground."[1]



FIRE WARDS IN 1713.

In 1765 Mr. David Wheeler, a blacksmith in Newbury Street, advertised "to make and fix iron rods with points upon houses or any other eminences, for prevention from the effects of lightning," — and he is doubtless the original lightning-rod man. Precaution against fire extended to the construction of buildings. Chimneys especially were looked after by sweeps who were under appointment of the town, and householders whose chimneys caught fire were fined. In 1692 a law was passed forbidding the erection of

[1] *News-Letter*, Jan. 25, 1733.

any wooden building over eight feet in length or breadth and seven in height, and in 1700 an act recites that this provision has been constantly set aside; and while it would be too severe a punishment to destroy all that had been erected, yet that such bold and open contempt might not pass wholly unpunished, and to deter others from doing the like in future, a fine was imposed not exceeding £50 for one offence on all who had so offended. But larger discretion was given to the governor and council to grant licenses.[1] The gunpowder-treason-plot day furnished the anxiety then which Fourth of July has in recent days, and a proclamation was ordered, Nov. 4, 1700, "to prevent endangering the Town by Fire-works."[2]

From the beginning of the colony Boston had been exposed to perils of one sort or another. To protect itself against foreign enemies it had built its forts and established its beacon; it had exercised a surveillance over all incomers, and especially over Roman Catholic Frenchmen whom it might find in its streets. To defend the town against fire, it had organized a fire department and passed strict laws regarding buildings. To guard against Indians it had kept a well trained military force, and exercised very restrictive control over any who were within its limits. But as the community grew more varied and less dominated by the principles which waited upon its foundation, there arose new dangers within the town itself, — dangers from unruly elements. Beyond this, the period coincident with Sam Adams's maturity was that which ripened into positive insurrection, and the ferment was beginning to show itself very soon after he came upon the stage.

We have thus far considered chiefly those elements of Boston life which were more or less orderly, and represented by the well-to-do class. It is worth while to have a look at uneasy Boston, whether rendered so by viciousness, poverty, religion, or politics. The very rigor of the statute book was in some cases, doubtless, a provocation to violence and lawlessness; and the practice had already been begun of getting rid of troublesome people in England by shipping them to the colonies. The wars with France left soldiers without employment, to wander through the streets; the sudden vacillations in commercial prosperity threw many families on the town, and left others to lose their respectability and drop into immorality; a low ebb in religious life made constraints or appeals to higher law to be angrily resented, and the constant discussion of relations with England, especially under provocation of oppressive shipping laws, kept a mob only just out of sight.

The gentlemen who came especially into view at the middle of the century were anticipated by one mark of gentility as early as 1728, when a duel took place near the powder-house on the Common, between Henry Phillips and Benjamin Woodbridge, on the evening of July 3. Why it took place is shrouded in mystery; but the circumstance itself, and the deep commotion which it produced in Boston society when it was found

[1] *Acts and Laws of the Province of Mass. Bay*, March 23, 1696–1700. [2] Sewall, ii. 24.

that Phillips's rapier had put an end to Woodbridge, and Phillips had escaped to the high seas, may be gathered from the journals of the day, and from the declarations and proclamations of all the prominent men of Boston, from the Governor down. The details are gathered and preserved in Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*.[1]

Both provincial and town ordinances were frequent in their cognizance of the Indian and Negro element. In 1703 it was voted by the General Court that Indians under ten years of age, taken in war, and Indian women, were to be sold as slaves and transported. No Indian was to bind him or herself or child as apprentice except by the allowance of two justices. No Indian, mulatto, or negro servant or slave might presume to be absent from the families to which they respectively belonged, or be found abroad in the night-time after nine o'clock, unless upon some errand for such masters. They were, in default, to be apprehended and brought before a justice, or kept all night in the watch-house.[2] It was voted in Boston, July 1, 1728, "That no Indian, negro, or mulatto within the town, except such as are lame or decrepit, presume to carry any stick or cane, either by day or night, or a walking-stick or cane that may be fit for quarrelling or fighting with, or any other thing of that nature." The Boston *News-Letter*, from its beginning in 1704, was for years scarcely ever without an advertisement in its weekly issue of slaves and Indians for sale, or of runaways from service.[3] The advertisements are couched in much the same phrases also, but the name of the seller gives a special significance to one in the *News-Letter* for Dec. 29, 1726: "A likely Negro Woman to be sold. The Rev. Mr. Prince has a Negro woman about 20 years of age, well-educated, accomplished for all manner of household business, to be disposed of."[4]

But for Indians at a distance the traditional missionary zeal still continued.

[1] Vol. II. pp. 549–558. There is a briefer account in Shurtleff's *Boston*, p. 222, who gives the inscription on Woodbridge's headstone, still to be seen from Tremont Street in the Granary Burying-ground.

[2] *Acts and Laws of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, Sept. 8, Dec. 1, 1703.

[3] [There is a recapitulation in *Dealings with the Dead*, i. 149, of some of the advertisements of slaves in the Boston papers. The Rev. John Moorhead, dying in 1775, left, besides furniture and a valuable collection of books, to be sold at auction, "a likely negro lad; the sale to be at the house in Auchmuty's Lane, not far from Liberty Tree." — Ed.]

[4] [A quarter of a century before this the father of Prince's colleague had produced his famous Antislavery tract, *The Selling of Joseph*. This creditable production of Judge Sewall is reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1863; and in *Sewall Papers*, ii. 16. It was written at a time, in 1700, when there was "a motion by a Boston Committee to get a law that all importers of negroes shall pay 40*s*. p̄ head, to discourage the bringing of them." The Selectmen's Records, May 26, 1701, show a vote wherein "the representatives are desired to promote the bringing of white servants, and to put a period to negroes being slaves." (2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 183.) In 1703 a £4-duty was imposed on imported slaves; and Dr. Belknap said in 1795, on the authority of the oldest merchants then living, that not more than three ships a year, belonging to Boston, were ever employed in the African trade. The Doctor remembered one cargo being brought in almost wholly of children. In 1754–55, of the 2,717 slaves in Massachusetts 989 belonged to Boston. (2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 95.) The trade began to decline about 1765, and was made illegal in 1788. It is claimed that the royal governors had been instructed by the home government to withhold consent to any bill looking to its abolishment. Dr. Belknap further says (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 197): "A few only of our merchants were engaged in this traffic. It was never supported by popular opinion. A degree of infamy was attached to the characters of those who were employed in it. Several of them in

In 1718 "the churches in Boston contributed £483 toward the pious charity for promoting the conversion of the Indians. These churches made annual collections; and besides the collection for this year they had at that time a fund of £800 or £1,000, the income of which was appropriated to that object."[1]

In the treatment of criminals the old punishments were reinforced by new ingenuities. The letters of the alphabet were used to ticket classes of crime. Adulterers were to be branded with the letter "A;"[2] burglars, with the letter "B;" forgers, with the letter "F;" incestuous persons, with "I." For a second offence, burglars were to sit on the gallows for an hour, with a rope about the neck and one end over the gallows, — a significant hint certainly. Forgers were to have their ears cut off. The same punishment was inflicted on counterfeiters, who also were liable to be nailed to the pillory by the ear. A cage was provided for the confinement of Sabbath-breakers who might be unable to pay fines, and sometimes served also for those who could pay. The names of common drunkards were posted in public-houses, and keepers of these houses were fined if they sold drink to them.

We have already noted the publicity attending public executions of pirates. This publicity attached to punishment of every kind, as the above instances indicate; but perhaps the most conspicuous illustration of the spirit implied appears in a case recorded by Dr. Ephraim Eliot, in a manuscript note appended to a sermon delivered by his father, Dr. Andrew Eliot, upon the execution of Levi Ames, hung for burglary: —

"Levi Ames was a noted offender; though a young man, he had gone through all the routine of punishment; and there was now another indictment against him, where there was positive proof in addition to his own confession. He was tried and condemned for breaking into the house of Martin Bicker, in Dock Square. His con-

their last hours bitterly lamented their concern in it. . . . Negro children were reckoned an encumbrance in a family, and when weaned were given away like puppies." Dr. Belknap claimed that public opinion put an end to the matter before the law did, and that a flagrant act in 1788 induced its statutory abolishment. One Avery had decoyed three black men aboard his vessel, and had then sailed for the West Indies, where, being offered for sale, they told their story, and the sale was forbidden; when letters arrived from Governor Hancock detailing the facts, they were sent back, and reached Boston in July. — Ed.]

[1] Holmes, *Annals*, i. 520. [Sewall makes record (*Papers*, ii. 261) how reasons of policy dictated a somewhat deferential treatment of Indian visitors to the town. When the five Maquas, or Mohawk chiefs, came to Boston on their way to England, "1709, Aug. 9, Col. Hobbey's regiment musters, and the Govr orders the Maquas to be there to see them. Aug. 11. The Govr has the 5 Maquas to the Castle and Nantasket, to show them the strength of the fort and the five men-of-war. They spread all their finery to set out their ships." At a later day, Oct. 22, 1722, the *New England Courant* records: "Last week one of the chiefs of the Mohawks, lately Come to town, died at the Royal Exchange Tavern in King Street, and was magnificently interred on Friday night last. A drawn sword lay on the Coffin, and the pall was supported by six Captains of the Militia. The gentlemen of the Council followed next the corpse, and then the Justices of the town and the Commission officers of the Militia. At last followed four Indians, the two hindmost with each a pappoos at her back." — Ed.]

[2] "Monday, Nov. 9 [1685]. This day, about 6 or 7 at night, a Male Infant, pin'd up in a sorry cloth, is laid upon the Balk of Shaw the Tobacco-man. Great Search made to-night and next day to find the Mother. So far as I can hear, this is the first Child that ever was in such a manner exposed in Boston." — *Sewall's Diary*, i. 103.

demnation excited extraordinary sympathy. He was every Sabbath carried through the streets with chains about his ankles and handcuffed, in custody of the Sheriff's officers and constables, to some public meeting, attended by an innumerable company of boys, women, and men." [1]

One method of dealing with offenders against honesty appears in an item in the Boston *News-Letter* for March 30, 1713: —

"On Wednesday last, while the General Court was sitting here, a Bonfire was made in King Street, below the Town House, of a parcel of Shingles (upwards of eight thousand out of ten thousand) found defective by the Surveyors both as to length and breadth prescribed by the Law, which Shingles were rather chips than Shingles; and to prevent the like for the future, both makers and sellers of Shingles had best conform to the Law and prevent any more such Bonfires."

In the interest, too, of dumb animals there was an act passed, Oct. 25, 1692, providing that calves, sheep, and lambs, brought alive to market, should be driven or carried in carts, sleds, panniers, or boats, and not otherwise; that is, not slung by the sides of horses.

The prominence of religion in Boston affairs had its illustration in the reception given to Whitefield upon his several visits. He did not come to Boston or go to any of the northern towns on his first visit to America, but his fame was well spread when he appeared a couple of years later, in the autumn of 1740. His labors in Philadelphia especially had excited much interest in Boston, and he was invited here chiefly at the instance of the Rev. Dr. Colman. Whitefield's Journal gives an animated account of his reception in Boston, and citations from it will be found in Dr. McKenzie's chapter in the present volume.

When he returned for a second visit, in the winter of 1744–45, a great part of his time was taken up in controversy, and at least thirty pamphlets appeared in the war of words which followed. Chauncy preached against him, and published with energy, while Prince and others defended him.[2] But the crowds continued to follow him, and the interest of the people consoled him for any coolness in the preachers. He writes at this time: —

"Well is it at present that there are 'Lords Brethren;' for, finding some of their pastors, without cause, shy of me, they have passed votes of invitation for me to preach in their pulpits; and sometime ago prevailed upon me to set up a lecture at six in the morning. Not expecting a very great auditory, I opened a lecture in one of the smallest meeting-houses, upon these words: 'And they came early in the morning to hear him.' How was I disappointed! Such great numbers flocked to hear that I was obliged to make use of two of their largest places of worship, where I believe seldom less than two or three thousand hearers assembled. . . . One morning the crowd was so great that I was obliged to go in at the window." [3]

[1] Sargent, *Dealings with the Dead*, ii. 630, 631.

[2] See one sharp series of brief notes between Chauncy and Prince in 4 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 238, 239. See also Timothy Cutler's letter in Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, iv. 303, copied in Tyerman, ii. 124. Other references will be found in Tyerman.

[3] Tyerman, ii. 145, 146.

Again, at another visit, in October, 1754, he writes: "Thousands waited for, and thousands attended on, the word preached. At the Old North, at seven in the morning, we generally have seven thousand hearers, and many cannot come in."

The commotion over Whitefield showed the people ready to be stirred on religious themes. Some of his figures, indeed, will hardly bear scrutiny when one considers the actual population of Boston and neighborhood; but there is little need to demonstrate the theological susceptibility of the populace. If there were, one might draw some proof from the circumstances attending the installation of Rev. Peter Thacher over the New North Church in 1720, as related by Sargent in his *Dealings with the Dead*.[1]

We have before noted the treatment of pirates, and the keen susceptibility of Boston to anything which interfered with her commerce. The evils from this source had scarcely disappeared before the agitation of war brought a double evil in perils from French cruisers, and even greater peril from British press-gangs. In Boston town-meeting, March 11, 1746, a committee, previously appointed to draw up a petition relating to grievances by warrants of impressment, made a report which presented considerations affecting the welfare of Boston rather than the rights of individuals. The petition of the Boston inhabitants says: —

"They have cheerfully complied with all the injunctions of Government, altho' their taxes, which are daily increasing, are a burden under which they are almost ready to succumb; but this notwithstanding, as also the present melancholy stagnation of trade and commerce, which is like to be continued during the war. Yet your petitioners have lately been distressed by no less than three several warrants for impressing seamen, which (altho' we apprehend 'em to be illegal) have been executed in an oppressive manner before unknown to Englishmen, and attended with tragical consequences; by which means the numbers of seamen impressed for his Majesty's ships, and those who have fled to the neighboring governments for protection from impressment, added to those who went in the sea service to Cape Breton, amount to more than three thousand."

The effect was to diminish the trade of Boston and greatly to increase both trade and privateering in the Southern colonies, which had no hand in the war, yet reaped all the advantage. The report containing the petition was signed, among others, by Captain Samuel Adams, and was accepted; but a fortnight later it was reconsidered as containing expressions which seemed to reflect upon the Governor and Council. The town disavowed any disrespect.

In November, 1747, occurred the Knowles riot, when Commodore Knowles, who had lost many seamen by desertion, sent his boats up to town from Nantasket where he lay, very early in the morning, and not only seized as many seamen as possible, but swooped down on the wharves and carried off landsmen and carpenters' apprentices. A mob collected in King Street

[1] See vol. i. pp. 126, 127.

below the Town House, where the General Court was sitting, and flung stones and brickbats into the council chamber. The Governor in vain tried to quell the tumult, and was compelled to retire to Castle William. The militia refused to answer the call of the Government, and a vast town meeting was held to consider the affair. The formal action of the town was spirited and dignified: —

"It being represented that the town had been charged, or the generality of the inhabitants, with abetting or encouraging the late tumultuous, riotous assembly which insulted his Excellency the Governor and the other branches of the Legislature, and committed many other heinous offences —

"*Resolved*, as the unanimous opinion of the town in this large meeting of the inhabitants, that the said riotous, tumultuous assembly consisted of foreign seamen, servants, negroes, and other persons of mean and vile condition; that this town have the utmost abhorrence of such illegal criminal proceedings, and will to their utmost discountenance and suppress the same, and will at the same time encourage by all ways and means whatsoever any of their inhabitants in making a regular orderly application to the proper powers for redressing all and every grievance which the town is under from the impressing of their inhabitants on board His Majesty's ships of war, which may have occasioned the said tumultuous, disorderly assembling."[1]

The Commodore was finally compelled to release the men he had impressed, and the militia conducted the Governor back to his house with great pomp and ceremony.[2]

There were certainly men among the townsmen of Boston who were not easily suppressed in their opinions by the weight of government. It had long been the custom for the people of Boston in town-meeting assembled to draw up instructions to their representatives to the General Court; and there are few more pregnant passages in the records than one which gives the action of a long and animated town-meeting held in 1744, when a committee, of which again Captain Samuel Adams was a member, brought in a draft of instructions which were to be given to the representatives, who happened now to be Thomas Cushing, Timothy Prout, Thomas Hutchinson, and Andrew Oliver. The composition of the delegation, as well as the discussion which followed the report, disclose the struggle which had already begun in the political life. The committee, consisting of Ezekiel Lewis, Samuel Welles, James Allen, Samuel Adams, and Abiel Walley, brought in a report in four paragraphs, which was read, and then discussed and voted upon, paragraph by paragraph. The first, which called for a longer time in the distribution of the expenses of the war, was accepted. The second, which looked to a more even adjustment of taxes, was also accepted; but the final sentence, which reads as follows, was amended by the omission of the words enclosed in brackets: —

"We cannot suppose, because in some extraordinary times, when a Party spirit has run high, there have been some abuses of our liberties and privileges, that therefore

[1] *Boston Town Records*, Nov. 20, 1747.

[2] Holmes, *Annals*, ii. 34. [More extended accounts of this riot will be found in Snow's *Boston*, 238; in Bryant and Gay's *United States*, iii 218. See also *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1874, p. 462. — ED.]

we should in a servile manner give them all up, [and have our bread and water measured out to us by those who Riot in Luxury and Wantonness on our Sweat and Toil, and be told, perhaps, by them that we are too happy because we are not reduced to eat grass with the Cattle."]

The third paragraph, calling for the abatement of taxes, was accepted, but the fourth and final one was wholly rejected:—

"We further expect, as you regard the good of Town or Country, that you will be very watchful, and do all in your power that none who have a visible temptation to prostitute the public interest and treasure to serve their own may be improved or have opportunity given them for it; we also desire you carefully to avoid men who, from a mean and servile complaisance to those in power, would compliment away our estates and liberties, nor let these despicable Fools, from the supple and contemptible figure they make, be thought below your care or notice. Remember that great mischief may arise from the deceitful cringing and fawning of the Spaniel, as well as from the Polluted and rapacious jaws of the mastiff." [1]

These be parlous words, and it is seen that the town forbore to present them as instructions to its representatives. But in the spirit which penned them in committee and defended them in stormy debate may be read the rising temper of the town. The field of men's energies had been shifted. The town-meeting was still the arena of debate in the community, but the questions which were discussed there were widening. It was no longer the welfare of the local churches which engaged the men in town and State; it was the autonomy of a community which was soon to be pitted against a great empire. In that change were involved wide differences in morals, manners, and the whole course of civic life.

[1] *Boston Town Records*, Sept. 25, 1744.

[*Note.* — The Bennett MS. quoted in this chapter is a bound quarto volume of 270 pages, preserved among the Sparks manuscripts, in Harvard College Library, having been given to Mr. Sparks by William Vaughan, at London, Dec. 2, 1840. It bears the following introduction: "*To Mr. Samuel Savile, of Currier's Hall, London, Attorney-at-law: Dear friend,* — I here present you with an abstracted Historical Account of that part of America called New England; to which I have added the History of our voiage thereto, Anno Domini, 1740." — ED.]

CHAPTER XVII.

TOPOGRAPHY AND LANDMARKS OF THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

BY EDWIN L. BYNNER.

IN the half century which elapsed between its settlement and the loss of the Colony charter Boston had grown, from a feeble scattering of tents and log-cabins huddled about the town-dock, to a flourishing town of four or five thousand inhabitants, with three churches, several comely public buildings, as many fine private residences, an excellent public school, with an infant college not far off, and ample fortifications.

This growth will be found remarkable upon a very slight consideration of the obstacles under which it took place, — the danger and difficulties of ocean traffic, the terrible severity of the early winters, the frequent ravages of fire and pestilence, the French and Indian wars,[1] and always and everywhere the contemptuous neglect or the obstructive jealousy of the home government.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century it may be said that, having weathered the perils of infancy, Boston had just fairly entered upon its growing period. The barriers of bigotry were at length broken down, the liberal provisions of the new charter welcomed all the world, but Papists, to citizenship, and the next quarter of a century accordingly is marked by a more rapid growth, — the population having increased from four or five thousand in 1684 to eighteen thousand in 1710.

In the absence of definite authority we are left to surmise the exact population of the town at the beginning of the Provincial period. From the report of Edward Randolph, although written some years previously and highly colored to serve his insidious purpose, we get, however, some suggestive estimates upon this and other matters of interest. He says: "There are men able to bear armes [in the colony] between 30 and 40,000, and in

[1] Palfrey, quoting Governor Hutchinson, ascribes the slow growth of the Massachusetts Province "to the wars which, with only two short intermissions, had been going on through the forty years since the outbreak under Philip of Pokanoket." Within that time he (Governor Hutchinson) calculates that five or six thousand of the youth of the country had perished by the enemy or the distempers contracted in the service. Palfrey, *History of New England*, i. 303.

the town of Boston is computed about 4,000," — which Hutchinson justly calls an extravagant computation. Twenty years afterward, in 1698, the Rev. Cotton Mather, in his sermon at the Boston lecture, gives a more moderate estimate: "In one twelvemonth about One Thousand of our Neighbours have one way or another been carried unto their long Home, and yet we are after all many more than Seven Thousand souls of us at this hour living on the Spot."

Taking other parts of Randolph's report with an equal grain of salt, they are not without value and interest. "The town," he says, "contains about 2,000 houses, most built with tymber and covered with shingles of cedar, as are most of the houses in the country; some few are brick buildings and covered with tyles." He adds further: "There are about 30 merchants that are esteemed worth from ten to twenty thousand pounds; most have considerable estates and very great trades, and are an industrious and thriving people. There are no servants but upon hired wages, except some few who serve four years for the charge of being transported thither by their masters; and not above 200 slaves in the colony, and those are brought from Guinea and Madagascar."

Unmistakable indications of the town's growth in the first quarter of the new century may be found in the number of public buildings erected. Besides seven churches, — King's Chapel, Brattle Street, the Old Quaker, the New North, the New South, the New Brick, and Christ Church, — and three new schools, — the Free Writing School on Cornhill, the school at the South End, and the writing-school in Love Lane, — there were built the Bridewell and Workhouse on Park Street, the Manufactory House, Long Wharf, the Mill Bridge, Master Cheever's house, — a public undertaking, — and the Powder-house on the Common; besides all which, the ferries to Chelsea and Charlestown were improved, and the fortifications on Fort Hill built and repaired.

Of public buildings of another character the list seems largely disproportionate to any conceivable need. The number of inns, taverns, and houses of public entertainment in this little Puritan town of four or five thousand inhabitants in 1684 may well astonish the ingenuous reader who judges of old-time conviviality by the stern tenor of the laws in other respects. As early as 1680 it was provided by the General Court that "the persons annually licensed after the first day of October next shall not exceed — i.e. in Boston — sixe wine tauernes, ten innholders, and eight retaylers for wine and strong licquors out of doores."

That this was by no means a lavish provision of the legislature is proved by an extract from the records four years afterward, in the last days of the colony, when it was provided that there might be "five or sixe more publicke houses in Boston, the selectmen of the towne of Boston yearely approving of the persons as meet and fit for ye employment."

That these inns were at all times the objects of jealous surveillance by the authorities is shown by the fact that at first officers were authorized to

take note of all hangers-on and loungers, inquire their business, and interfere to prevent any over-indulgence in good cheer. Later, an act of the legislature required the selectmen in each town to cause to be posted up in all public houses within the town "a list of the names of all persons reputed drunkards or common tipplers," while the innkeeper furnishing them with the liquor was subjected to a fine.[1] The story of the ingenuous Frenchman described by the Abbé Robin, who ventured to indulge himself in a little practice upon the violin on the Sabbath-day, although in the retirement of his own room at the inn, and the prompt interference of the indignant neighbors, will be remembered as a case in point; while more amusing still, as an extreme instance of the watchful care of the elders in this regard, is the solemn farce described by Sewall when he went, with several others, to "Treat with Brother Wing about his Setting a Room in his House for a man to shew Tricks in. He saith, seeing 'tis offensive he will remedy it. It seems the Room is fitted with Seats. I read what Dr. Ames saith of Callings, and spake as I could from this Principle, that the Man's Practice was unlawfull, and therefore Capt. Wing could not lawfully give him an accoīmodation for it. Sung the 90 Ps., from the 12th v. to the end. Broke up."[2]

But the growth of a town is gradual and mysterious, and no more to be marked from day to day than that of a plant or animal; and so for the first dozen years and more of the new period Boston presented an appearance little differing from that given in the last days of the colony; there were, to be sure, a few hundreds more people, a few score more buildings, a few dozen more streets; but Long Wharf was not yet built, the cows still held undivided possession of the Tramount; Deacon Colbron's field was away at the outer end of the town; and incautious or tipsy people were occasionally lost in traversing the wilderness of the Neck.

During the ten years succeeding the great fire of 1676 various laws were made with reference to streets and buildings, which undoubtedly resulted in great improvements in the outward aspect of the town. We learn from the records of the colony that "at a meeting of the Council, Dec. 28, 1676, upon complaint of Boston selectmen about [want of?] straightness of the streets, an order was passed that no man should rebuild upon the burnt district until the next meeting of the General Court." At the next meeting of the selectmen of Boston the above order was read, and the selectmen staked out the streets and declared that any man might rebuild, with their consent, who would observe their directions as to the new lines, making the streets broader and straighter. The action of the selectmen was approved by the Court, which ordered satisfaction for damages done in widening, etc. Three years later attention was directed to building materials, and it was enacted that —

[1] *Massachusetts Laws.* [See further on inns and taverns in Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume; and the position of some of the principal ones, as well as the names of successive keepers of them, are pointed out in the Introduction, also in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] Sewall's *Diary*, i. 196. [See Introduction, p. xxiii. — Ed.]

"This Court hauing a sence of the great ruines in Boston by fire, and hazard still of the same by reason of the joyning and neereness of their buildings, for prevention of damage and losse thereby, for future doe order and enact that henceforth no dwelling house in Boston shall be errected and sett vp except of stone or bricke, and couered with slate or tyle, on penalty of forfeiting double the value of such buildings, vnless by allowance and liberty obteyned otheruise from the magistrates, comissioners, and selectmen of Boston or major parte of them."

The next year this was suspended on account of the inability of the people to build in brick and stone, but it was soon afterward re-enacted with a penalty of one hundred pounds.[1] Ideas of solidity and elegance were evidently early associated with buildings of brick. Palfrey, in his remarks upon early architecture, says: —

"Frame houses with brick chimneys, and lathed and plastered within, very soon superseded in common use the rude shelters which had at first sufficed. Nor were there wanting mansions of more pretensions at the early time. When Coddington went from Boston to found his colony, he had already built there *a brick house* which, when old, he still remembered as a token of his departed magnificence."[2]

So, it is said, Sir William Phips used to tell his wife that —

"He should yet be *Captain of a King's Ship;* that he should come to have *the Command of better men* than he was now accounted himself; and that he should be the Owner of a *Fair Brick House* in the Green Lane of North Boston, and that, it may be, this would not be all that the Providence of God would bring him to."[3]

There are several descriptions of the town nearly contemporaneous with the beginning of the Provincial period, from widely different sources, which, however, agree in the main.

The visit of Jasper Dankers and his comrade in 1680 has already been referred to. They wrote a Journal of their American experiences, including their visit to Boston; their narrative is somewhat dull, but in many respects interesting as coming from an entirely impartial source. Of the town they say: —

"The city is quite large, constituting about twelve companies. It has three churches, or meeting-houses, as they call them. All the houses are made of thin, small cedar shingles nailed against frames, and then filled in with brick and other stuff; and so are their churches. For this reason these towns are so liable to fires, — as have already happened several times; and the wonder to me is that the whole city has not been burnt down, so light and dry are the materials. There is a large dock in front of it, constructed of wooden piers, where the large ships go to be careened and rigged; the smaller vessels all come up to the city. . . . Upon the point of the bay on the left hand there is a block-house, along which a piece of water runs, called the Milk ditch."

[1] [The law of 1692, with a petition of the inhabitants of Boston in 1696 asking that it may be repealed, and a note of the additional act passed in 1699, will be found in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1862, p. 84. See also Drake, *Boston*, p. 503. — Ed.]

[2] Palfrey, *History of New England*, i. 296.

[3] Mather, *Magnalia*, p. 168.

We are informed further that "the whole place has been an island, but it is now joined to the main land by a low road to Roxbury."[1] They attended church, "where, in the first place, a minister made a prayer in the pulpit of full two hours in length; after which an old minister delivered a sermon an hour long, and after that a prayer was made and some verses sung out of the Psalms." After which we should not, perhaps, be surprised to hear of the auditors that they "were very worldly and inattentive," or of the preachers that they "seemed to possess zeal, but no just knowledge of Christianity." The worthy Dutchmen visited Harvard College, of which they give an amusing, but doubtless truthful, account. They witnessed a review on the Common, which they describe as "a large plain on the side of the city;" and by the "high hill in the city, also with a light house upon it," they undoubtedly mean the Tramount and the Beacon.

Next in order of time, about 1686, comes Mr. John Dunton, the complacent and garrulous bookseller, whose quaint, good-natured, and facetious account of the townsfolk makes us regret that he did not add a few original words about the town itself, instead of reproducing the stale descriptions of Wood and Johnson; from his silence we can only infer that he found little that was new to add to their accounts.[2]

Quite otherwise was it with the scurrilous Ward, whom, however, a certain shrewdness of observation, and a vigorous though coarse humor save from the utter contempt he otherwise deserves. Two or three passages from his *Trip to England* in 1699, among many too gross for repetition, give his impressions of Boston in the last year of the century: —

"The Houses in some parts joyn, as in *London*, the Buildings, like their *Women* being *Neat* and *Handsome*; and their *Streets*, like the *Hearts* of the *Male Inhabitants*, are Paved with *Pebble*. In the Chief or high Street there are stately Edifices, some of which have cost the owners two or three Thousand Pounds the raising; which I think plainly proves Two old *Adages* true, — *viz.*, *That a Fool and his Money is soon parted*, and *Set a Beggar on Horseback he'll Ride to the Devil*, — for the Fathers of these men were *Tinkers* and *Peddlers*. To the Glory of Religion and the Credit of the Town there are four *Churches*, Built with *Clapboards* and *Shingles* after the Fashion of our Meeting-houses, which are supply'd by four Ministers, to whom some very justly have apply'd these Epithites, — one a *Scholar*, the Second a *Gentleman*, the Third a *Dunce*, and the Fourth a *Clown*. . . . Every Stranger is invariably forc'd to take this Notice, That in *Boston* there are more *Religious zealots* than *Honest men*, more *Parsons* than *Churches*, and more *Churches* than *Parishes*; for the *Town*, unlike the *People*, is subject to no *Division*. The Inhabitants seem very Religious, showing many outward and visible Signs of an inward and Spiritual Grace; but tho' they wear

[1] [This road over the Neck was fenced in 1724 by order of the General Court, the better to guide people in the night and in bad weather. — Ed.]

[2] [For other accounts of Dunton see the indexes of the present and of the first volume of this History. Some helpful descriptions by a French Protestant refugee who was in Boston in 1687 were printed some years ago by Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, of New York, as mentioned in a note to chapter vii. of this volume, and they are quoted in Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 47. It would be well, at the same time, not to forget La Mothe Cadillac's account in 1692, published in the *Maine Historical Collections*, vi. 284. — Ed.]

in their Faces the *Innocence* of *Doves*, you will find them in their Dealings as *Subtile* as *Serpents*. *Interest* is *Faith*, *Money* their *God*, and *Large Possessions* the only *Heaven* they covet." [1]

The evidence of an English traveller early in the next century, however, confirms the opinion already advanced that there were as yet few new features of general interest to describe. Captain Nathaniel Uring, who made a "Voyage to *Boston* in New England and the West Indies" in 1709, was an intelligent observer, and records his impressions with conscientious care. His last visit was in 1721. At that time Long Wharf had been built, and he describes the Neck as —

"So low that the spring tide sometimes washes the road, which, with little Charge might be fortified and made so strong that it would be impossible to force it.[2] The town is near two miles in length, and in some places three-quarters of a mile broad, in which are reckoned 4,000 houses; most of them are built with brick, and have about 18,000 inhabitants. The streets are broad and regular; some of the richest merchants have very stately, well built, convenient houses. The ground on which the town stands is moderately high, and very good water is found all over it; it is much the largest of any in America under the British Government. They have built several wharfs, which jut into the harbour, for the conveniency of shipping, one of which goes by the name of the *Long Wharf*, and may well be called so, it running about 800 feet into the harbour, where large ships with great ease may both lade and unlade; on one side of which are warehouses almost the whole length of the wharf, where the Merchants store their goods which they unlade, and those they ship off, and where more than 50 sail of vessels may lade or unlade at the same time with great conveniency; and the town altogether is most excellently situated for trade and navigation. It is very populous, and has in it 8 or 9 large meeting-houses, and a *French* Church, and but one *English*, and that built of wood; but I am informed since I was in that country they have another building with brick." [3]

The "one English" church referred to by Uring is of course the King's Chapel. The old chapel was built between 1687 and 1689, when Andros, having found it impossible to buy a suitable building spot from the stubborn Sewall and his brother Puritans, appropriated the corner of the burial-ground for his church. "Gleaner" calls this occupation of the land "a bare-faced squat." And the Rev. Increase Mather, speaking of the Episcopalians in 1688, says: "Thus at their own charge they built an house; but can the Townsmen of Boston tell at whose charge the land was purchased?" This, however, refers only to the parcel actually occupied by the original

[1] [See other extracts in Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 53. — Ed.]

[2] [Breaches in the walls, which were early built to keep back the sea along the Neck, were constantly being made down to a much later period. The town-lands hereabout were usually leased with a condition attached of keeping these walls in repair. The papers in the files of the City Clerk's office show frequent troubles arising from this cause. As late as 1764 John Hill and Samuel Wentworth, who held such leases, found this expense heavy enough to petition for consideration. — Ed.]

[3] See Uring's *Voyage, etc.*, reprinted in *New Hamp. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii., communicated by Mr. S. G. Drake of Boston. Also see *Hist. Mag.*, 1866, supplement, p. 119; Drake, *Boston*, p. 537; Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 434.

building; a deed having been subsequently found by the indefatigable "Gleaner," bearing date 1748, by which certain additional parcels needed for the enlargement of the church were granted by the selectmen to the wardens and vestry of King's Chapel.[1]

The first little building was of wood, and unpretentious enough. It was crowned by a steeple surmounted by a huge "cockerel," which, in the well-known cut[2] of the old chapel, soars into the clouds to a height almost rivalling the Beacon. "Just under" this ambitious bird, according to Greenwood, there was "a large and quite observable crown."[3] For several years the church was without pews, until, in 1693, some English naval officers from Sir Francis Wheeler's fleet, then in the harbor, made up a purse of £56 towards supplying the need, and the pews were soon afterward built. To offset its humble exterior the little chapel was furnished forth far more richly within than any other church of the day; besides "the Decalouge, viz., the tenn Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed drawne in England," it had a costly Communion service presented by the king and queen, besides "a cushion and Cloth for the Pulpit, two Cushions for the Reading Deske, a carpet for the Allter all of Crimson Damask, with silk fringe, one Large Bible, two Large Common Prayer Books, twelve Lesser Common Prayer Books, Linnin for the Allter. Also two surplises." All the gift of Queen Mary.

Fired by this royal munificence, the worthy warden of the Chapel has recorded with scrupulous care, but indifferent orthography, his own contribution: "To my labor for making the Wather cock and Spindel, to Duing the Commandements and allter rome and the Pulpet, to Duing the Church and Winders, mor to Duing the Gallaray and the King's Armes, fortey pounds, which I freely give. G. DYER."[4]

In 1710 the chapel was rebuilt to twice its original size, to accommodate the rapidly growing congregation. In the new building the pulpit was on the north side, directly in front of which was the state pew of the royal governors, with another near at hand for the officers of the British army and navy. In the western gallery was the "orgins," also mentioned by Warden Dyer, and the first ever used in America. High up on the pulpit stood a quaint old hour-glass richly mounted in brass, while along the walls and depending from the pillars were the escutcheons of the king, together with those of certain of the viceregal governors and other munificent donors of the church. Altogether we may well believe "it was a strange sight among the bare churches of New England."

After the lapse of nearly half a century this building in turn was found to be in a ruinous and dilapidated condition, and measures to rebuild were taken, which resulted in the well-known stone chapel now standing upon the spot. The erection of this building is largely due to the energetic

[1] [See a note of the petition asking for this land in 1747, with fac-similes of the signatures, in Dr. McKenzie's chapter in this volume.—ED.]

[2] [See Vol I., p. 214. — ED.]

[3] Greenwood, *King's Chapel.*

[4] Ibid.

efforts of Dr. Caner, the rector of the period, who lived close by in a rough-cast wooden house, on the north side of the old burying-ground, and who, on the evacuation of the town by the British, in March, 1776, went away with them, taking along the church vestments, plate, registers, and records, a part of which last only was recovered from his heirs in 1805.[1]

It was to make room for this building that the old Latin school formerly standing just east of the church on School Street was taken down, which furnished occasion for a shaft from Mr. Joseph Green, the noted wit and poet of the day.[2]

KING'S CHAPEL.
ERECTED IN THE YEAR 1749.

A prominent place in the early history of Boston must always be accorded to its old-time inns, the centres of so much of its life and affairs, the resort at once of judge and jury, of the clergy and the laity, of the politician and the merchant; where the selectmen came to talk over the affairs of the town, and higher officials to discuss the larger interests of the province; where royal governors and distinguished strangers were entertained alike with the humblest wayfarer and the meanest citizen; where were held the carousals of roistering red-coat officers, and the midnight plottings of mutter-

[1] Greenwood, *King's Chapel.*

[2] [This quatrain is quoted in Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

ing, stern-lipped patriots; where, in fine, the swaggering ensign of the royal army, the frowning Puritan, the obnoxious Quaker, the Huguenot refugee, and the savage Indian chief from the neighboring forest might, perchance, jostle each other in the common tap-room. Faint echoes only of all these convivial meetings, momentous discussions, and secret plots have come down to us, where fuller records might, perhaps, throw a needed light upon many obscure points in our annals.

Of the various old inns which have acquired fame in connection with noted men and events of the province, one of the best known and most frequented was the old Blue Anchor Tavern, which stood on the east side of Washington Street, a little south of State Street. Previous to 1684 it had already become a popular resort for members of the General Court, officers and attendants upon the law courts, and others visiting the town on public business. It was also a favorite haunt of the convivial Dunton, who lived a little further up the street opposite the Town House. At the date of his visit in 1686 it was kept by George Monck, already described in Dunton's own language. Chief-Justice Sewall, it appears, was not unacquainted with the good cheer at the "Blue Anchor," for we read in his Diary under date of 1685: "This day about 31 Ministers meet. Mr. Higginson Prayes excellently; Governour gives the question; dine all together at Monk's."[1] In the inventory of one of the former landlords we find the rooms in the old inn described as "a little room, court chamber, fore-street[2] rooms, garret, and parlor."[3]

Another old tavern, equally well known, was the Royal Exchange, situated on the southwest corner of State Street and Exchange Street. This, too, is spoken of by Sewall, who tells of dining there with Sir William Phips and a distinguished company, in 1690;[4] while the same year there is a further entry to the effect that "Col. Shrimpton's sign, the Royal Exchange, is blown down; the keeper of it ran away on Satterday."[5] At a later day it was kept by the popular London cook and publican Luke Vardy, who is thus whimsically described by Joseph Green, in his satire on a masonic celebration in 1749: —

> "Where 's honest *Luke*, — that cook from London?
> For without *Luke* the *Lodge* is undone;
> 'T was he who oft dispell'd their sadness,
> And fill'd the *Brethren's* hearts with gladness.
> For them his ample bowls o'erflow'd,
> His table groan'd beneath its load;
> For them he stretch'd his utmost art, —
> Their honours grateful they impart.
> *Luke* in return is made a *brother*,
> As *good* and *true* as any other;
> And still, though broke with age and wine,
> Preserves the *token* and the *sign*."[6]

[1] Sewall's *Diary*, i. 89.

[2] Rooms fronting on Fore (now Washington) Street.

[3] Whitmore's notes to Dunton's *Letters*.

[4] *Sewall Papers*, i. 338.

[5] Ibid., 340.

[6] Joseph Green, *Entertainment for a Winter's Evening*.

It would seem that "honest Luke" was so much "broke with age and wine" that he had already given up the hostelry at the time the above was written, for the writer expressly says, further on: —

> "From church to *Stone's* they go to eat,
> In order walking through the street." [1]

Another old ordinary of the day, which was held in high estimation, was the "Bunch of Grapes;" centrally located "near the Town House," on the corner of Kilby and State streets, it was a convenient resort for business or pleasure. Hither, in 1728, Governor Burnet, after having been received with a most extraordinary parade and ovation, was escorted to dine, — the Province House not being ready for his reception. In July, 1753, we read that the town committee appointed to see to building a new market were directed to "give their attendance at Mr. William Coffin's, the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, on Thursdays weekly, from six to eight o'clock in the evening;" and where we may be sure, if they did not sup, the worthy committee-men relieved the dry details of business with a modest dram. Other associations connected with this famous old tavern belong to a later period.[2]

In this brief passing notice of the chief public buildings of the period the famous Manifesto Church comes next in order. In January, 1698, the parcel of land called Brattle Close, upon which the church was afterward built, was conveyed by Thomas Brattle to Thomas Clarke and others, "for the erection of a house of worship." [3] As described by one of its pastors in a series of memorial sermons: [4] —

> "The old church, originally erected by the undertakers in 1699, was built of wood. It had a tower and bell on the west end, and a door on the south side, opposite to which was the pulpit. The pews were square, and the house was constructed with two galleries; so that, though a small building, its general plan resembled that of the Old South of the present day. Its window-frames were of iron. It had never been painted inside or outside. It had been considerably enlarged during the ministry of Mr. William Cooper; and as late as 1766 additional pews were constructed to meet the wants of the society. It had now been built over seventy years; and withal had nothing very pleasing in its external appearance or internal accommodations, and nothing very striking connected with it, unless it were a memorable hour-glass for the pulpit, which is said to have been a foot high, enclosed in a gilded or brass frame. The records say that at the sale of the old house this hour-glass 'was reserved for the use of the Society,' but what became of it cannot be ascertained."

In 1772, towards the close of the period, the old house being no longer adequate for the needs of the society, it was determined to rebuild; whereupon Governor Bowdoin offered his valuable estate on the corner of Tremont Row and Howard Street for the location of the new building.

[1] [See Introduction, p. xix. — Ed.]
[2] [See Introduction, p. xiv. — Ed.]
[3] [See Dr. McKenzie's ch. in this vol. — Ed.]
[4] [Dr. S. K. Lothrop, *History of Brattle-Street Church*. See other authorities mentioned in Introduction, p. xvi, of Vol. I. — Ed.]

The offer, after some deliberation, was declined, it is thought mainly through the influence of Thomas Hancock; indeed, the latter's offer of a bell and a subscription of a thousand pounds if the building should be erected on the original site, may well have had something to do with the decision. The new building was begun June 23, 1772. It will be remembered by many now living, and was famed for its Revolutionary associations.[1]

It is to be regretted that an equally clear and authentic account cannot be given of that curious old structure, the mysterious Triangular Warehouse, which stood for many years on the north side of the town dock, opposite the swing bridge, and was taken down in 1824. We are told that its origin is "involved in a happy obscurity." What special cause

THE TRIANGULAR WAREHOUSE.[2]

for congratulation is to be found in this uncertainty of origin is not quite clear, unless it be the furnishing a guessing problem for Yankee wits. The singularity of its construction certainly provoked much conjecture as to its purpose and object.

"It was built of brick on a stone foundation, and had a slated roof. There were two principal stories in the building, with a good cellar underneath. The lower story appeared to have been arched, with very many doors and windows. On each corner and in the centre of the roof there was a tower, such as is represented in the plate, topped with a ball. The centre ball was of wood; the others were of stone, all fixed on iron spires set in lead. Conjecture has made this edifice to have been a fort built

[1] A complete and beautiful model of the building is preserved in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in which not only the exterior, but an accurate representation of the interior may be seen, with the pews, pulpit, choir, organ, and clock, in their respective places.

[2] [See Shurtleff, *Desc. of Boston*, pp. 404, 684; and the Introduction to this vol., p. xiii. — Ed.]

for the protection of the town, or a custom-house for the accommodation of government; there is, however, good reason to believe that it was not erected for any publick purpose, but that it was built about the year 1700 by London merchants for a commercial warehouse. It had been a place of considerable business, and for some time the public scales for weighing large draughts were kept there. . . . It was constructed with great strength, the bricks were of a larger size than those now used, and the foundation stood upon a sandy marsh, beneath which there is found a solid blue clay at about thirteen feet below the level of Ann Street."[1]

But more important than any building, public or private, and, indeed, of greater effect on the advancement of the town than any enterprise thus far undertaken, was undoubtedly the construction of Long Wharf, in 1710. This was due to the efforts of one Oliver Noyes and his associates, who in that year were granted leave "to build a wharf with a sufficient common sewer from Andrew Faneuil's corner to low-water mark, to be of the width of King Street." There was to be also a public thoroughfare thirty feet wide, upon one side, and a space in the middle sixteen feet in width for the accommodation of boats lading and unlading; while the outer, or seaward, end was to be reserved to the town for a battery, if they should choose so to use it. This was simply an extension of King or State Street a thousand feet or more into the sea; for one side of the wharf was very soon afterward lined with shops and warehouses, thus giving the effect of a continuous street. It is early described as "a noble Pier 1,800 or 2,000 feet long, with a Row of Warehouses on the North Side for the use of Merchants. The Pier runs so far into the Bay that Ships of the greatest Burthen may unlade without the Help of Boats or Lighters. From the head of the Pier you go up the chief Street of the Town."[2]

On Bonner's map of 1722 we see the whole north side of the wharf occupied by an unbroken line of buildings.[3] There is reason to believe that the stores and shops upon Long Wharf were designated by numbers before the system became general in the town. In some old advertisements letters were used instead of numbers.[4] The maps of the provincial period show that a portion of what has been known in our day as T Wharf was the only part of the old out-wharf, or barricado of 1672, which remained in any serviceable condition.[5]

[1] Snow, *History of Boston*, p. 107.

[2] Neal, *History of New England*, p. 226.

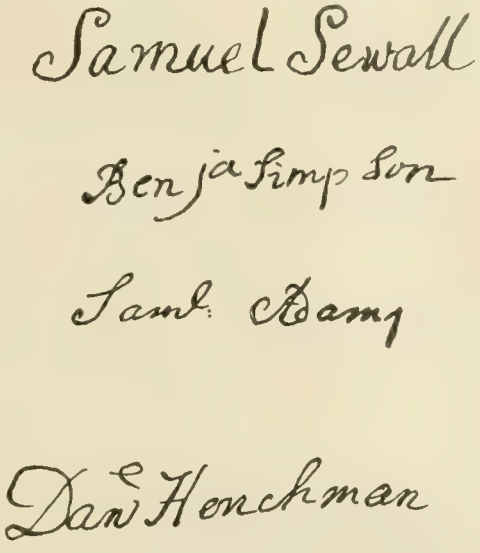
[3] [These are better seen in Bonner's sketch of the water-front, as reproduced in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1864. They also appear in Revere's and other views of Boston of the last century. See Introduction to this volume, pp. xx, lii, for other items about the construction of the wharf. — Ed.]

[4] See Drake, *History of Boston*, p. 537, *note*.

[5] [The story of the construction of this out-wharf has been given in Vol. I., p. 226, and further details will be found in *Gleaner Articles*, No. 5; Drake's *Boston*, p. 395; Snow's *Boston*, 160. In 1728, March 29, a committee was appointed to inspect its ruinous condition, and they reported that the conditions on which it was built had been neglected in not keeping the structure in repair, and that the rights of the proprietors would be forfeited if it was not rebuilt in three years; and June 25, this report was accepted by the town. Delays, however, occurred, and in 1733 a committee reported that nothing had been done. Henry Gibbs, in 1734, petitioned to be allowed to build a new wharf to take its place; but his petition was dismissed. Various papers relating thereto are preserved in the files of the City Clerk's office. — Ed.]

The erection of Long Wharf in 1710 marks the close of the first quarter of a century since the loss of the charter.

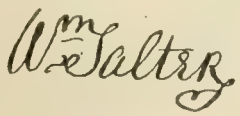
Besides the more important public buildings above described, various minor structures and improvements added each its little mite to the growth and embellishment of the town. Among those deserving mention were the Free Writing School on the present Tremont Street, built in 1683–84, — the autograph of whose first master, John Cole, with its elaborate and clumsy flourish, may be seen in the Introduction to this volume, — the powder-house [1] on the Common, the Mill-bridge, the windmill on Fort Hill, the fortifications on the Neck,[2] and the paving of the streets (a most important measure), besides divers elegant private residences, the exact date of whose construction is uncertain. The effect of the Building Acts, moreover, must by this time have been perceptible; the town of course taking on, with every new structure of brick or stone, an aspect more and more solid and substantial.



SOUTH-END PETITIONERS FOR ANOTHER SCHOOL, 1715–16.

The list of streets of 1708 had also been published,[3] showing a wide-stretched inhabited area; although it must not be forgotten that certain of these highways and byways were streets only in name, and others then, and for a long time afterward, were sparsely enough settled, as appears on Bonner's map published fourteen years later. The Tramount especially was as yet unoccupied, save for a few houses upon the eastern slope of Cotton Hill; Beacon Street, doubtless, extended no further than the Almshouse; and all beyond was as wild a waste as when, in 1688, the decorous Sewall went in swimming at Blackstone's Point; while the fact that it was not until three years afterward, in 1713, that shooting was prohibited on the Neck, shows the condition of things at the South End, beyond Boylston Street.

[1] [See S. G. Drake, *Boston*, pp. 532, 591, 631; S. A. Drake, *Landmarks*, 329. The *Mass. Archives*, "Military," viii. 604, show a petition for the removal of the powder-house from Boston, and the Council appointed a committee to find a place for it in Cambridge.



William Salter was its keeper in 1736. — Ed.]

[2] [These defences were built in 1710 more thoroughly than before. See notes upon the subject in Shurtleff's *Boston*, p. 140; in *Sewall Papers*, ii. 309; and in Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 424. — Ed.]

[3] [Sewall speaks (May 27, 1708) of "the Broad Side of *Boston Streets*, which came out this week" (*Sewall Papers*, ii. 225); and a copy of this sheet, showing the streets as named by the selectmen (May 3) is preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society's library. It is re-

The frequency and extent of the early fires proved a serious check to the growth and prosperity of the town. The slightly-constructed wooden buildings which offered no resistance to the flames, and the want of engines,[1] or of any effective means — except the expensive alternative of blowing up contiguous buildings — to stay their progress, rendered these conflagrations grievous public calamities.

Four considerable fires, without counting those of minor importance, occurred in the first twenty-five years of the period. Concerning that of 1690, one of the two most severe, Chief-Justice Sewall makes the following entry in his Diary: —

"*Vae malum!* about 2 a'clock after midnight a fire breaks out on t'other side the Mill Crick, which gets over to this side and consumes about fourteen Dwelling-Houses, besides Warehouses. Madam Leverett and Mrs. Rock are great Sharers in the Loss."

But the fire of 1711, the most sweeping and disastrous that had yet occurred, burned down all the houses — "some of them very capacious buildings" — on both sides of Cornhill, from School Street to Dock Square, besides the First Church, the Town House, all the upper part of King Street, and the greater part of Pudding Lane, between Water Street and Spring Lane. In all nearly one hundred houses were destroyed, of which the rubbish taken from the ruins was used to fill up Long Wharf. "Thus the town of Boston," says the Rev. Cotton Mather, in his sermon on the event, "just going to get beyond four-score years of age, and conflicting with much labour and sorrow, is, a very vital and valuable part of it, soon cut off and flown away."[2]

In recording the havoc of this great fire, besides the loss of the two principal public buildings of the town, and the turning of a hundred or more families houseless into the streets, there is to be added the tragic fate of seven or eight men whose lives were lost in blowing up buildings or otherwise striving to arrest the progress of the flames.[3] The fire, according to an account in the *News-Letter* published directly after the event, "broke out in an old Tenement within a back-yard in Cornhill, near the First Meeting-house, occasioned by the carelessness of a poor Scottish woman by using Fire near a parcel of Ocum, Chips, and other combustible Rubbish."[4]

printed in the *Report on the Nomenclature of Streets* (City Document, 119, of 1879), as well as later lists, like that which appeared in the *Vade Mecum for America*, Boston, 1732. — ED.]

[1] There is reason to believe that there were in the town at the time of this fire two engines, — one at the North and the other at the South End. "These engines were constructed of wood, with iron hoops" See Dr. Belknap's Letter to Judge Minot, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 188.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 52.

[3] Including several sailors who went up into the cupola of the First Church to save the bell. "They were seen at work just before the roof fell in, and all perished in the flames." Belknap's Letter, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 189.

[4] [See *Sewall Papers*, ii. 323; also Introduction to this volume, p. xxxiv, where will be found the autographs, from petitions on file, of various sufferers by the fire. — ED.]

This wide-spread desolation at length aroused the townsmen to the necessity of taking more efficient measures of defence against this their now most dreaded enemy.[1]

The houses which were rebuilt along Cornhill soon after the fire "were of brick, three stories high, with a garret, a flat roof, and balustrade." Snow describes some of them as standing when his history was written, in 1825; and thirty years later Drake tells of several still remaining on both sides of

THE OLD CORNER BOOK-STORE.

Washington Street, while one at least has come down to us, and is still in a state of excellent preservation, — to wit, the Old Corner Book-store, on the corner of the present Washington and School streets. This spot, in the midst of a neighborhood teeming with historical association, has continued to be a centre of interest and affairs since the days when Mrs. Anne Hutchinson held here her Antinomian *séances*, under the very nose of Governor Winthrop, when "over against the site of the old corner store dwelt the

[1] [See Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume. — ED.]

notables of the town, — the governor, the elder of the church, the captain of the Artillery Company, and the most needful of the craftsmen and artificers of the humble plantation; and at a short distance from it were the meeting-house, the market-house, the town-house, the school-house, and the ever-flowing spring of pure water."[1]

The Old Corner Store is supposed to have been built directly after the fire of 1711. It is an excellent example of what is known as the colonial style of architecture, and is thought to be the oldest brick building now standing in the city. It bears the supposed date of its construction, 1712, imprinted upon a tablet on its western gable. Well known to the writers and readers of this generation as the headquarters of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the old stand of Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, it is still occupied by the popular book-store of Messrs. Alexander Williams & Co.[2]

With characteristic energy and promptness the damage done by the fire was made good. The Society of the First Church rebuilt upon the old spot, which had, it seems, already become hallowed ground. "Methinks," says Mather, in the sermon above quoted, "I find myself preaching a *funeral* sermon for that ancient and famous edifice which had from the days of our grandfathers (I suppose *mine*[3] preached the first sermon in it, sixty-five or six years ago) been the place of our most considerable solemnities." To which natural outburst of feeling he adds the following amusing and thoroughly characteristic touch: "I could not pass the honorable rubbish of that building without making this reflection, — That the HOLY ONE seems to put us in mind of that *shameful negligence* with which too many people in this town *treated the weekly lecture there.*"[4]

The new building was of brick, and three stories in height, and must have been, when finished, the most costly church edifice of its time, although, from the cuts[5] handed down to us, it appears but a plain building, with no pretensions to architectural beauty. Besides a bell, it contained the first organ ever used in a Congregational church in the country, while three years later it was still further dignified by the addition of the town-clock, which was placed upon its sloping roof, just over the façade and under the small bell-tower. This building remained standing until the society removed to Chauncy Place.

Meanwhile, committees were appointed by the town and the province to confer about "constructing a House to accommodate both the Town and the Colony." It was agreed that "the Province was to bear one half of the expense, the county of Suffolk and the town of Boston each one quarter." In 1714 we find that the town voted "235 pounds fourteen shillings and eight-pence," as its share of the building fund. The new structure was, of course, of brick, and must have been some time in process of erection, for

[1] Shurtleff, *History of Boston;* see also the Introduction to this volume, p. xxxiv.

[2] For a complete list of all the former owners and occupants of this famous corner, see Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 671.

[3] The Rev. John Cotton.

[4] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 55.

[5] [See one in Dr. McKenzie's chapter, p. 219 of this volume, with a note giving references to reminiscences of the edifice. — ED.]

there is no mention made of its being occupied until March 8, 1714, when it was used for a town-meeting.

The Town House was destined to be again partially destroyed by fire before the end of the period, Dec. 9, 1747. "It was repaired in the year following in its present form," says Pemberton, writing in 1794, "and is in length one hundred and ten feet, in breadth thirty-eight feet, and three

THE OLD STATE HOUSE.[1]

stories high. On the centre of the roof is a tower, consisting of three stories, finished according to the Tuscan, Dorick, and Ionick orders. From the upper story is an extensive prospect of the harbour into the bay, and of the country adjacent." [2]

[1] [See also the old view, reproduced in the *Evacuation Memorial*, 1876. There is another view on the cover of the *Bost. Mag.*, 1785. The above is from *Mass. Mag.*, August, 1791. — Ed.]

[2] *A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*, printed in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 241. There are manuscript notes by the same writer in the Historical Society's keeping.

Pemberton's description of the interior is interesting as being doubtless an accurate picture of this principal building of the province during the last half of the period. He says: —

"The lower floor of the building serves for a covered walk for any of the inhabitants. On this floor are kept the offices of the clerks of the supreme judicial court and the court of common pleas. The chambers over it are occupied by the General Court, the senate in one and the representative body in the opposite chamber. The third story is appropriated for the use of the committees of the General Court. On the lower floor are ten pillars of the Dorick order, which support the chambers occupied by the legislature. This building is in Cornhill, one mile two hundred and seventy-nine yards from Washington Street, the late fortification entrance from the Neck into the town."

This building, hallowed by so many grand and stirring memories, still stands, in outward aspect much as it was; but within, alas! how

"Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen, —
Fallen from *its* high estate!"

Here absolutely nothing remains to tell of the scenes of its former dignity and glory. A confused assemblage of railroad, insurance, and brokers' offices now fills the walls which once echoed to the tread of the Royal Governors, who came hither amid salvos of artillery to have their commissions read to the unwilling people; the walls which echoed to the voices of the early patriots who here sounded the alarm-note that awoke the nation to successful resistance; the walls which have re-echoed, now the stately proclamations of the death and accessions of British sovereigns, and anon that far more solemn and thrilling proclamation, — the Declaration of American Independence; the walls, in fine, which have resounded with the honored footsteps of Washington and of Lafayette, who were brought hither crowned with the laurels of victory to receive a people's homage.

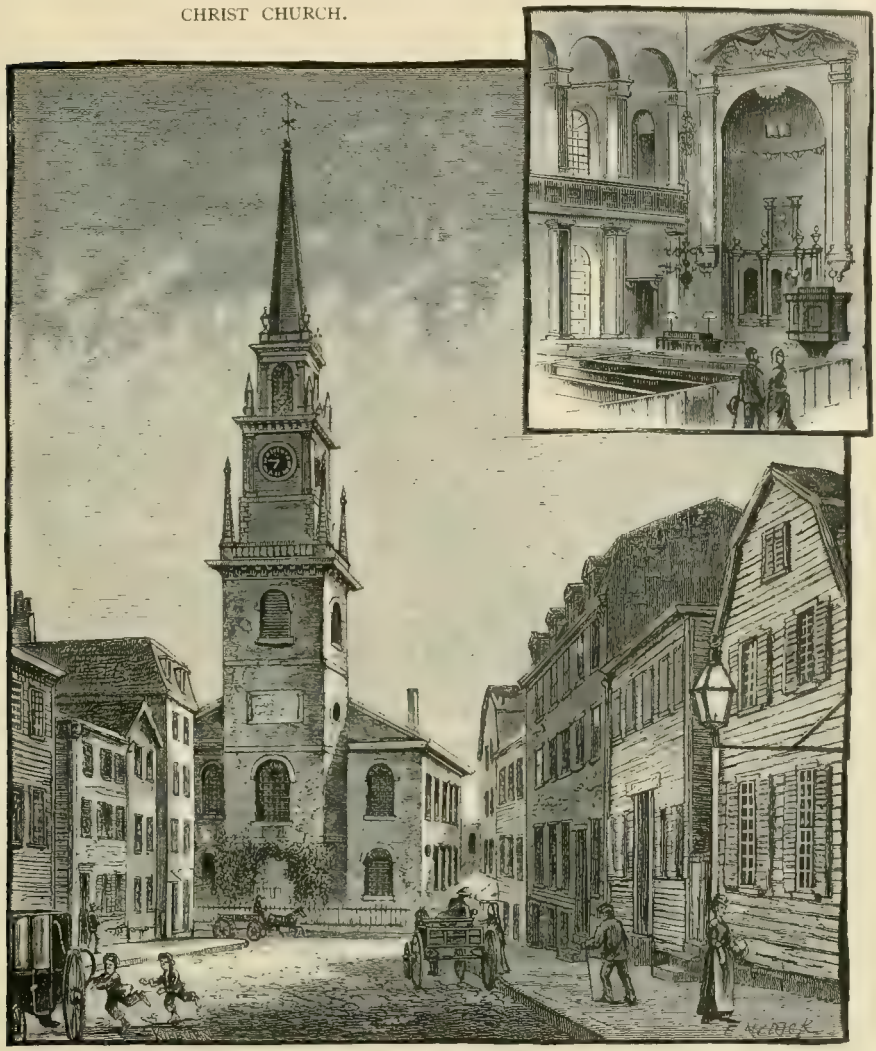
While all this alternate ravage and repair was going on at the South End, north of the Mill-creek several memorable buildings were erected which deserve more than the passing mention that can here be afforded them. One of these was the small wooden building of the New North Church, — erected in 1714, and enlarged in 1730, — whose story has been told in another chapter.[1]

But a structure more interesting, from its architecture and location, and more famous as being associated with incidents in our history never to be forgotten, is the well-known Christ Church, on Salem Street. This was the house of the Second Episcopalian Society of Boston, built in 1723, in a style which may well be called the New England classic. Placed upon higher ground than any other church edifice in the town, it must have formed one of the most prominent and interesting landmarks of the period. The first steeple was blown down by a tempest early in the present century,

[1] [By Dr. McKenzie. — Ed.]

crushing in a neighboring dwelling in its fall, and was rebuilt by the accomplished architect Mr. Charles Bulfinch. From the old steeple flashed forth the famous warning to Adams and Hancock of the movement of the British troops towards Lexington, as told by Paul Revere.[1] Mention has been elsewhere made of its chime of bells.[2] Among the church silver there are

CHRIST CHURCH.



[1] [The place of the display of these lanterns is not agreed upon among antiquaries. The subject will be more fully treated in Vol. III. — Ed.]

[2] [The ringing of the church bells at stated hours on week days marked a custom which prevailed all through the Provincial period, and which has continued to our day. Various bills on the City Clerk's files show the particular hours of the different neighborhoods. In 1734 Lindall Williams rang the bell of the First Meeting-house at five, nine, and eleven o'clock. In 1757 John Roulstone rang the Old South bell at five, one, and nine; John Ranstead rang the New South at eleven, one, and nine; Thomas Williston, the "Brick bell" at eleven; David Lenox, the "New Brick bell" at eleven; and John Williston, the Old North at five, one, and nine o'clock. — Ed.]

several pieces presented by King George II., bearing the royal arms; while included in the church furnishings are a couple of brass chandeliers said to have been taken from a French prize ship in 1758.[1]

Various alterations have been made in the interior since the church was first built. The former centre aisle and large altar-window have been closed, and the walls enriched with various paintings and mural ornaments, among which is a monument to Washington, the first ever erected in the country.

As was the custom in many of the old churches, there are a number of tombs under the building, concerning one of which the following curious circumstance is related by Shaw: —

"Some years since, while the workmen were employed in the cemetery, building tombs, one of them found the earth so loose that he settled his bar into it the whole length with a single effort. The superintendent directed him to proceed till he found solid earth. About six feet below the bottom of the cellar he found a coffin, covered with a coarse linen cloth, sized with gum, which, on boiling, became white, and the texture as firm as if it had been recently woven. Within this coffin was another, protected from the air in a similar manner, and the furniture was not in the least injured by time. The flesh was sound, and somewhat resembling that of an Egyptian mummy. The skin when cut appeared like leather. The sprigs of evergreen deposited in the coffin resembled the broad-leaved myrtle; the stem was elastic, the leaves fresh and apparently in a state of vegetation. From the inscription, it was found to be the body of a Mr. Thomas, a native of New England, who died in Bermuda. Some of his family were among the founders of Christ Church. His remains when discovered had been entombed about eighty years."

This, now the oldest church-building in Boston, is still in excellent preservation, and its time-honored walls and quaint interior will richly repay the antiquary, the student, or the mere curiosity-seeker for the small trouble of a visit to the North End.

Meantime the town grows apace. Bonner's map, published in 1722, and elsewhere described,[2] gives a very fair notion of its extent at that date. Among other interesting features to be remarked is the presence of a goodly number of trees, — doubtless for the most part fruit trees, — scattered through the thinly-settled fields north and south of Summer Street, and in the gardens lying between the present Washington and Tremont streets, and along the steep hill-sides of Beacon Street, as far as the alms-house,[3] — showing that some attention had already been paid to horticulture. The inhabitants, moreover, had increased to eighteen thousand[4] and more; additional streets had been paved, a postoffice established by Parliament, while the rumble of an occasional coach or chariot over the cobble-stones attracted the wondering notice of the idle and the curious.[5]

[1] Rev. Mr. Eaton's *Historical Account of Christ Church*, p. 27.

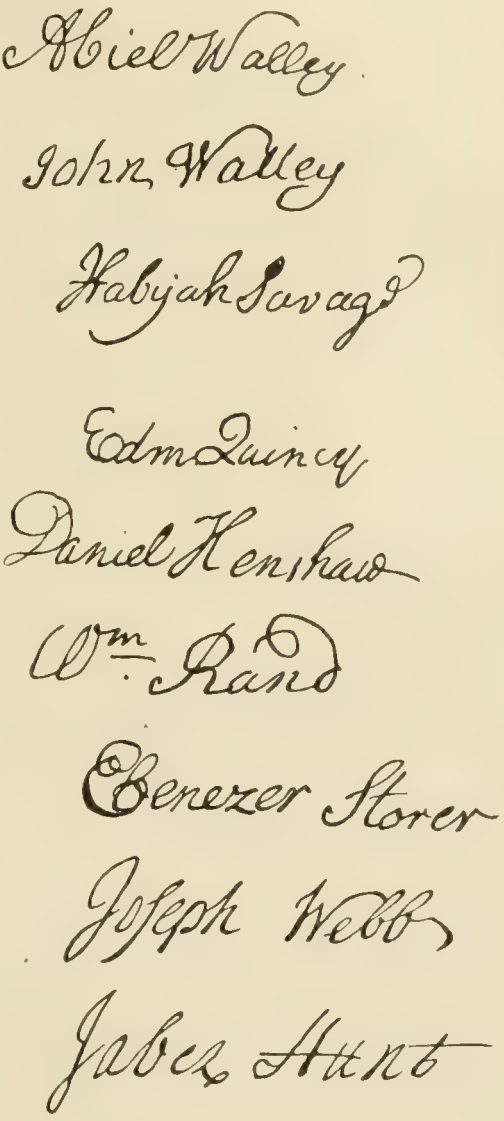
[2] See the Introduction to this volume, p. liii.

[3] It is remarkable that all these trees are at the South End, while north of the Mill Creek scarcely one appears.

[4] This estimate is taken from the account of Captain Nathaniel Uring, who visited Boston again in 1717 and 1720; and, although not official, is doubtless based upon reliable information obtained by him at the time.

[5] Coaches are mentioned as being in use as early as 1669; but even as late as 1750 there were still very few.

A few years previous to the publication of Bonner's map, — in 1718, — a great stir had been created in the town by the arrival of a number of Irish spinners and weavers, bringing the implements of their craft. Directly the "Spinning Craze," as it was aptly called, took possession of the town, and the women, young and old, high and low, rich and poor, flocked to the spinning school, which, for want of better quarters, was set up on the Common, in the open air. Here the whir of their wheels was heard from morning till night; premiums were offered for the best work, and the enthusiasts went about proudly clothed in the home-spun products of their own hands.[1] The fashion, however, like so many popular foibles, was as short-lived as it was furious; but it had one memorable result — the building of Manufactory House. This structure, which was located in Long-Acre Street, is described as a "handsome large brick building, on the east side of the street.[2] An act of the General Court, laying an excise on carriages and other articles of luxury, was appropriated to this building, designed originally for the purpose of carrying on manufactures in the town, particularly the linen manufacture, which was begun here with a spirit exerted too violently to continue long."[3]



PETITIONERS FOR A DIVISION BY WARDS.[4]

[1] [See Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Corner of Tremont Street and Hamilton Place.

[3] Pemberton, *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston.*

[4] [The document from which these signatures are taken is dated March 1, 1734–35, and is preserved in the City Clerk's office (*Original Papers*, ii. 66). The town, March 9, accepted the report of a committee (Jacob Wendell, William Tyler, Jeffrey Bedgood, John Hill, and Thomas Hubbard) for making such a division. An earlier apportionment by precincts had been made in 1713. See Shurtleff's *Description of Boston*, p. 129; Record Commissioners' *First Report*, p. 15. This early division is shown by pricked lines in Burgiss's map. — Ed.]

This building owes its notoriety to the sturdy defence here made by Elisha Brown, in 1768, against the combined forces of the county and the province, civil and military. Colonel Dalrymple, it seems, wanted the building for quarters for his troops, the 14th Royal Regulars, and accordingly obtained an order from Governor Bernard directing Brown to vacate. This, Brown, who was in possession under a lease from the Province, emphatically declined to do; and, when the sheriff was sent to oust him, boldly shut his door and defied the minions of the law, even when subsequently reinforced by a file of soldiers. The Governor, meanwhile, considering doubtless the state of public opinion at the time, chose not to pursue the matter, and left the triumphant Elisha in possession.

At this time the Province had already bought the mansion-house of Peter Sergeant, Esq., and set it apart as a gubernatorial residence. Previous to this the governors had lived where they could best find quarters.[1] Complaint had been made some years before of the want of an official residence, by Lord Bellomont, who querulously recommended that one should be built, and spoke of a fitting spot "in the best part of the town, where Sir Edmund Andros lived." Of its external appearance and the change effected by its new owners, a sufficient account has been given in another chapter.[2]

Of the interior we have little account, — Hawthorne's well-known picture of the house in its decay belonging to a later page; but from the few hints given the ready fancy may easily rear again the vanished walls, and call back the old-time scenes of stately ceremonial, official pomp, or social gayety, many a dinner, rout, or ball where dames magnificent in damask and brocade, towering head-dress and hoop petticoat, — where cavaliers in rival finery of velvet or satin, with gorgeous waistcoats of solid gold brocade, with wigs of every shape, the tie, the full-bottomed, the ramillies, the albemarle, with glittering swords dangling about their silken hose, — where, in fine, the wise, the witty, gay and learned, the leaders in authority, in thought and in fashion, the flower of old provincial life, trooped in full tide through the wainscoted and tapestried rooms, and up the grand old winding staircase with its carved balustrades, and its square landing-places, to do honor to the hospitality of the martial Shute, the courtly Burnet, the gallant Pownall, or the haughty Bernard.

At about the time of the purchase of the Province House a new church was built at the South End, which, to distinguish it from the Third Church, was called the New South. The project was formed at the old Bull Tavern on Summer Street, by "sundry inhabitants at the southerly end of the town,"

[1] Andros lived somewhere on Cotton Hill, according to Drake (*Landmarks*, 228), who infers it from a clause in the description of Lady Andros's funeral by Sewall, where he says the soldiers made "a guard from the governor's house down the Prison Lane to the south meeting-house." Andros is also said to have lived at one time on Washington Street a little north of Summer, and to have had a country residence in Dorchester besides. Phips dwelt on the corner of the present Salem and Charter Streets, in the "fair brick house" which he had coveted when young. Bellomont complains of having to pay one hundred pounds a year rent for a house, besides an extra charge for a stable.

[2] [See Dr. Ellis's chapter in this volume, where a cut of the edifice is given. — Ed.]

who petitioned, Sept. 20, 1715, "for leave to erect a meeting-house at said south end, and for a grant of that piece of land called Church Green in Summer Street for the said house, to be sixty-five feet long and forty-five broad; and by the situation and name of said land it was, no doubt, intended by our forefathers for that purpose." [1]

THE LONG LANE MEETING-HOUSE.

The above two dimensions form the only description of the first building that has been vouchsafed to us; but when the church was rebuilt, early in the present century, from the designs of Mr. Charles Bulfinch, we have abundant details of the new building, which was undoubtedly one of the finest in the city; and we are very ready to believe that it occupied "one of the most beautiful locations in town," in the days when Summer Street was lined with stately dwelling-houses and shaded by arching elms, and from the

[1] [See the Introduction, p. xxx, and Dr. McKenzie's chapter, in this volume. — ED.]

church portico one could gaze at will far down over the blue waters of the harbor.

But more interesting in many ways was the church originally called the Long Lane Meeting-house, founded about the year 1729 by a small colony of Scotch and Irish emigrants, headed by the Rev. John Moorhead, an earnest and enthusiastic young Irishman. Their beginning was humble enough; so humble indeed, that their first building was nothing but a barn hastily altered over to suit their convenience, and later enlarged by a couple of small wings. This house, located on the corner of Bury (or Berry) Street and Long Lane, — since Channing and Federal streets, — was replaced in 1744 by a commodious and convenient building, about which, however, there was nothing noteworthy save an inscription upon two of its columns, a jumble of Latin and English so oddly disposed as to the sequence of the words that even those skilled in both languages found it an enigma.[1] This pulpit was distinguished in after years by the labors of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, Dr. Channing, and Dr. Gannett; but the church is chiefly memorable for the meeting there in 1788 of the convention to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The State House having been found too small for the purpose the convention adjourned, doubtless at the suggestion of Hancock who was presiding, to the Long-Lane meeting-house, which hence received the name of the Federal-Street Church, by which it was ever afterward known. The old building, as seen in the accompanying cut, was after the fashion of many of the earlier churches, and not remarkable architecturally.

But of still greater interest than all these, richer in historic association, redolent of more precious and stirring memories, was a building erected in 1729, — a building destined to become forever famous for the words spoken and the deeds done within its walls; a building which happily still stands a hoary relic of the past, a silent witness of some of the grandest acts and impulses of patriotism that dignify and illustrate our history. This it need hardly be said, is the Old South Church. Says Dr. Wisner, writing in 1830: —

> "It was finished with two galleries, as at present, and the pulpit in the same position as now, but larger and higher than this, with a sounding board projecting from the wall above the casing of the window; and with two seats directly in front, one, somewhat elevated, for the deacons, and one, still more elevated, for the elders. On each side of the middle aisle, and nearest the pulpit, were a number of long seats for aged people; and the rest of the floor, except the aisles and several narrow passages, was covered with square pews."[2]

The terror which such an array of elders and deacons, facing and overlooking the congregation, must have inspired among the younger fry can

[1] Snow, *History of Boston*, p. 222.

[2] Wisner, *History of the Old South*, — "Historical Tracts." There is an excellent plan of the "Pues on ye Lower flore in ye Metting House" in the appendix to Dr. Wisner's tract, in which the position of the pulpit, and the names of the occupants of the several pews, may be seen.

be now only feebly imagined; and we are therefore duly relieved to learn, from the following vote passed at the first church meeting after the new house was built, that there was probably a place set apart for them somewhat removed from this awful surveillance: —

THE OLD SOUTH.

"*Voted*, That the deacons be desired to procure some suitable person to take the oversight of the children and servants in the galleries, and take care that good order be maintained in time of divine worship."

It was in the lofty pulpit that towered above all these deacons and elders that the Rev. Thomas Prince was praying for deliverance from the dreaded invasion of the French fleet under D'Anville, in 1746,[1] when —

"a sudden gust of wind arose (the day had till now been perfectly clear and calm), so violent as to cause a loud clattering of the windows. The Rev. pastor paused in his prayer; and, looking round upon the congregation with a countenance of hope, he again commenced, and with great devotional ardor supplicated the Almighty to cause *that wind* to frustrate the object of our enemies and save the country from conquest and popery. A tempest ensued, in which the greater part of the French fleet was wrecked on the coast of Nova Scotia. The Duke D'Anville, the principal general, and the second in command, both committed suicide. Many died with disease, and thousands were consigned to a watery grave. The small number who remained alive returned to France without health and without spirits." [2]

Longfellow with excellent spirit has thus paraphrased the prayer of the old divine: —

"O Lord! we would not advise:
But if in thy Providence
A tempest should arise,
To drive the French fleet hence,
And scatter it far and wide,
Or sink it in the sea,
We should be satisfied, —
And thine the glory be.

"This was the prayer I made,
For my soul was all on flame.
And, even as I prayed,
The answering tempest came.
It came with a mighty power,
Shaking the windows and walls,
And tolling the bell in the tower,
As it tolls at funerals." [3]

This, too, is the pulpit where Warren, having climbed in through the window by means of a ladder, stood, and with unflinching firmness pronounced his anniversary harangue [4] upon the Boston massacre, in defiance of official threats, in defiance of the scoffing soldiery who crowded the church and invaded the very pulpit [5] in the vain attempt to overawe the dauntless orator.

Within these same walls, likewise, took place many another meeting of the early patriots, where the first faint sparks of resistance and rebellion were fanned into a burning and consuming fire. Hither came flocking from Faneuil Hall — which was too small to hold them — the excited throng that resulted in the famous Tea Party. It was in 1775, only two years later, that the old meeting-house was turned into a riding-school for Burgoyne's regiment of cavalry; "the pulpit and pews, and all the inside structure, being taken out and burnt for fuel, except the sounding-board and east galleries, the latter of which were left for the accommodation of spectators;

[1] [See the note in Colonel Higginson's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] Wisner, *Historical Sermons*.

[3] "A Ballad of the French Fleet," published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1877.

[4] An annual oration upon "The danger of Standing Armies stationed in populous cities in times of Peace" had been instituted. Hancock, Warren, and Lovell were among the first orators.

[5] Thatcher's *American Medical Biography*, ii. 164.

and in the first gallery a place was fitted up where liquor[1] and refreshments were furnished to those who came to witness the feats of horsemanship here exhibited. Many hundred loads of dirt and gravel were carted in and spread upon the floor. The south door was closed; and a bar was fixed over which the cavalry were taught to leap their horses at full speed. In the winter a stove was put up, in which were burnt for kindling many of the books and manuscripts from Mr. Prince's library."[2]

It was not until 1782 that the society returned to the old church, which, having been refitted and repaired, was opened with a service of purification, at which the choir sang, as an appropriate anthem: "He hath raised up the tabernacle of David that was fallen; he hath closed up the breaches thereof; he hath raised up the ruins; he hath built it as in the days of old, and caused his people to rejoice therein. Praise the Lord!"

In the twenty years succeeding the rebuilding of the Old South two more churches were added to the list of those already described, in locations which of themselves show the rapid spread of the town, — Hollis Street, situated at the extreme south, and West Church situated at the extreme west end, of the town. The former was built in 1730, on a piece of land given by Governor Belcher for the purpose, the petition asking for "liberty to build a Meeting-house and house for the Ministry, near the Main Street leading to Roxbury, of timber."[3]

West Church, on the corner of the present Cambridge and Lynde streets, was built in 1736, only a few years later. Like that of Hollis Street, the first structure was a small frame building; it was occupied during the Revolution as a barrack by the British, who tore down the steeple on the pretext that it had been used by the rebels in signaling their friends in Cambridge.[4] This society has had a succession of distinguished pastors down to the present time. The old house was removed early in the present century (1806), and replaced by the substantial brick structure now standing upon the spot.

Several old inns which, though of no especial historic interest, were well-known features of provincial Boston from the middle to the close of the period, and relieved the monotony of old Newbury Street with their quaint swinging signs, representing a small menagerie of quadrupeds, were the "Lion," the "Lamb," and the "White Horse." These were near neighbors, being all crowded into that small stretch of the way between West and Boylston streets. The "Lamb" was the original of the present Adams House, and stood upon the spot now occupied by that hotel.[5] A droller conceit for

[1] "A *grog shop* was erected in the gallery, where liquor was sold to the soldiery, and consequently produced scenes of riot and debauchery in that holy temple." — *Recollections of a Bostonian in Columbian Centinel.* Others, however, say that the soldiery were not allowed in the gallery, which was reserved for the officers and their lady friends.

[2] Wisner's *Historical Sermons.*

[3] [See further in Dr. McKenzie's chapter, and the Introduction to this volume, p. xxxix. — ED.]

[4] [A sketch of this church may be seen in the contemporary view from Beacon Hill, at the time of the battle in Charlestown, which will be given in Vol. III. — ED.]

[5] For an excellent description of these taverns see Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 392. See also the Introduction to this volume, p. xxix.

a sign was that of the old Salutation Inn, on Salutation Alley, at the North End, which was contemporaneous with those above-mentioned. This house was also called the "Two Palaverers," from the representation on the sign of two old gentlemen in wigs, cocked hats, and knee-breeches saluting each other with much ceremony. Here met the famous North-End caucus, of which Warren and Hancock are thought to have been members.[1]

Meantime changes were taking place about the Common, between the date of Bonner's map in 1722 and the edition of it which Price issued in 1733, if that can be called an edition in which the date was put in with a pen.[2] There had been changes, however, in the plate. For instance, a row of trees appears planted along the Mall. In 1732 we find an order of the town to add "another row at a suitable distance from the former; and to set up a row of posts with a rail on the top of them."[3] Five years later the Common was separated from the [Granary] burying-ground by a fence running up the hill. The Bridewell had already, in 1712, been built upon Park Street; in 1738 a workhouse was added, which is described as a large brick building, one hundred and twenty feet long and two stories high, with a gable roof. It was designed for the reception of vagrant, idle, and dissolute persons, who were employed in picking oakum and other similar tasks, and who when they deserved it doubtless received "the discipline of the whip," as did the inmates of the Bridewell.[4] To these buildings was added, in 1737, the structure which was destined to form for a long time a prominent landmark of the neighborhood, and to give a name to the adjoining burying-ground. The Granary had first been built further up the street, near the Almshouse, but was ultimately moved down to the corner of Long-Acre Street.[5] It was a long, plain, wooden building, of sufficient capacity to hold twelve thousand bushels of grain, in which were stored up, a few years later, in anticipation of the coming revolution, a goodly wealth of provisions, to be afterward doled out to the needy and suffering people. Opposite the burying-ground, on the east side of Long-Acre Street, lived Adino Paddock, who some years later set out the fine row of English elms, which flourished down to our own day, a conspicuous ornament of the street.[6] Paddock was the first coach-maker of the town, and a man of substance and character; he evidently kept a sharp eye upon his infant trees, as "Gleaner" tells of his darting across the street upon one occasion and vigorously shaking an idle boy who was making free with one of the sacred saplings.

[1] [See Introduction to this vol., p. ix. — Ed.]

[2] [See the Introduction, p. liv, for reasons pointing to an earlier issue with Price's name, and the note on early views of Boston at the end of this chapter. — Ed.]

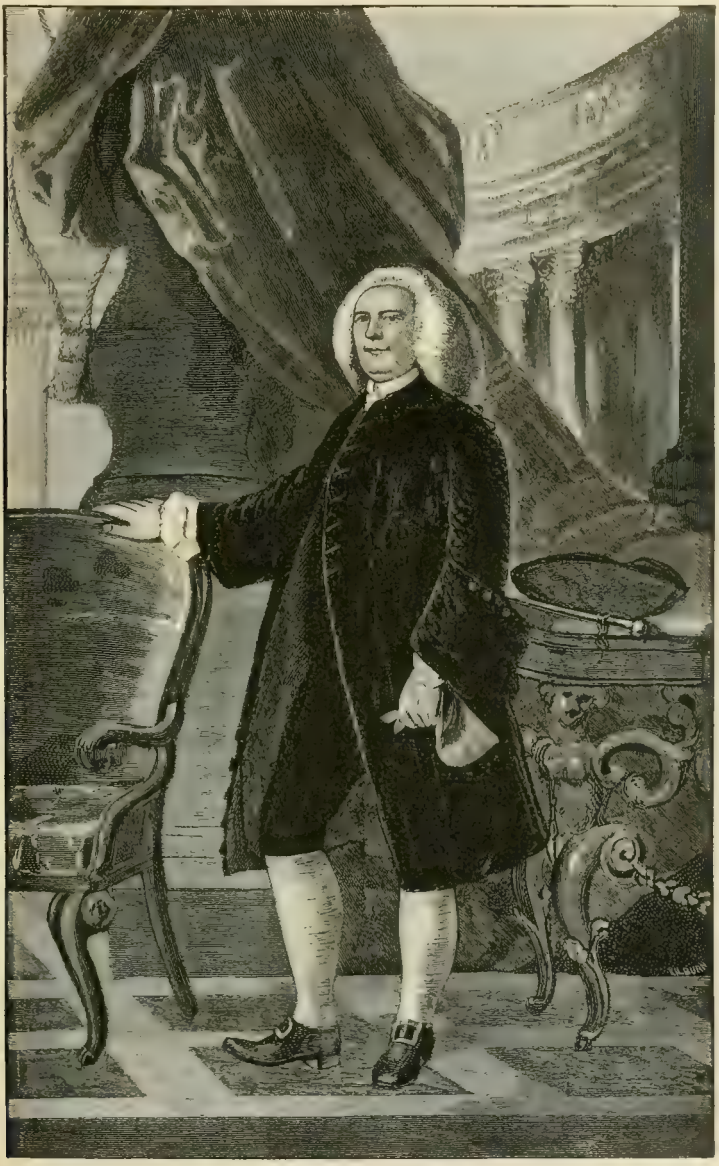
[3] [The three rows of trees on the Tremont-Street Mall are said to have been set out, — the outer row in 1728, the middle row in 1734, and the inner row in 1785. See Shurtleff, *Boston*, p. 372. — Ed.]

[4] Pemberton, in *Massachusetts Historical Collection*, iii, 252

[5] [See Introduction, p. xxvi. — Ed.]

[6] The trees were brought from England, and were thought to have been planted in 1762. They were cut down a few years ago, despite the indignant protest of the press and a large number of prominent citizens. Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, p. 368, has a chapter on "Paddock's Mall."

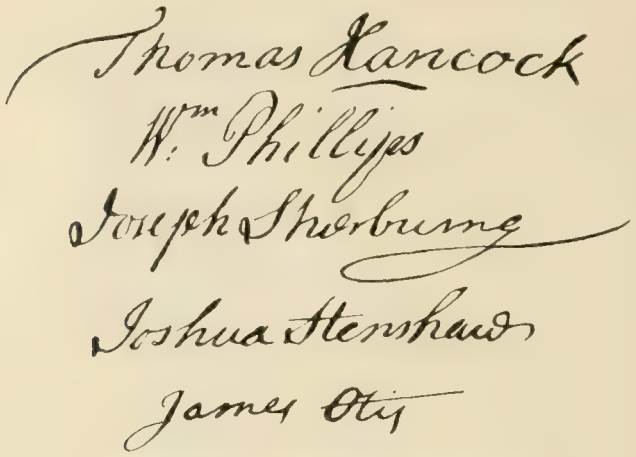
A glance at Price's view will show equally marked changes in other parts of the town, will show Cotton Hill at this time, 1743, nearly covered with buildings; while rows of trees are seen extending along the crest of Beacon Hill even west of Park Street. The northeastern spur of the Tramount had long since been invaded. In this neighborhood, indeed, were already



THOMAS HANCOCK.[1]

[1] [This cut follows a picture, by Copley, hanging in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. A companion likeness of Mrs. Hancock also belongs to the College Crayons of the two, likewise by Copley, of half-length size, are in the possession of the family. Perkins, *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 69. Thomas Hancock was born in 1703 and died in 1764. — Ed.]

gathered some of the finest private residences of the province. The author of the "Gleaner Articles" has gone foot by foot over all this ground, together with a wide area to the north, east, and west, and with laborious care set forth the metes and bounds of the old-time fields and pastures, enlivening his dry professional details with a rich store of antiquarian information. His history of the title of the State-House lot and vicinity is exceedingly curious and entertaining, but too full of technical details to be quoted. Suffice it to say that, in 1752, it appears to have been in the possession of one Shute Shrimpton Yeamans, who conveyed to Thomas Hancock, concerning whose title the author makes the following startling statement: —



COMMITTEE FOR PRESERVING BEACON HILL.[1]

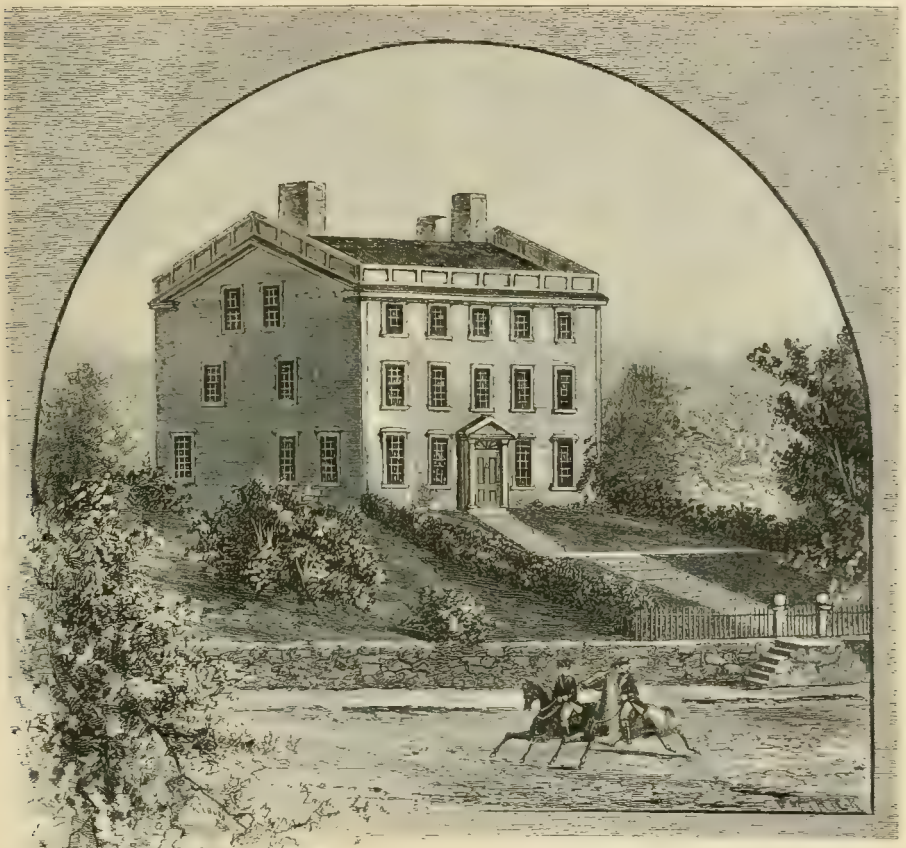
"John Yeamans dying, the estate became again his son's, who in 1752 conveyed to Thomas Hancock (81 f. 168), 'a piece of land near Beacon Hill, containing two acres, late the estate of my great-grandfather Samuel Shrimpton, bounded south on the Common, west on said Thomas Hancock, in part, and in part on Common land; then turns and is bounded north on Common land, then west on Common land, then north on Common land, then east on the street or highway leading from the Common to Beacon Hill.' Now there were about 75,000 feet of land or nearly *two acres* in the State-House lot, and the above description evidently proceeds on an erroneous idea that the *Common lands of the town included nearly all Beacon Hill.* But we have seen the old deed of 1670 to John Turner, by which the town right is limited to six rods square and the highway leading to it. And from the Selectmen's minutes of Jan. 17, 1753, we find that on petition of Thomas Hancock an investigation was had of the town's rights, which were then also in like manner limited to six rods square and the thirty feet highway.

"The result is that Thomas Hancock thus obtained all Beacon Hill one hundred years ago *without paying one cent for it*, and he and those coming after him retained possession by pasturing cows there. These ruminating animals, while quietly chewing the cud in that splendid cattle-field (where, by the way, they must have been the observed of all observers), also silently eat up the inheritance of poor Shute Shrimpton Yeamans and his heirs. One of these very heirs, a high officer of the Common-

[1] [The preservation of the hill had by this time become an object of concern. Thomas Hodson and others had already begun digging gravel in their lots on the north side; and the destruction of the hill becoming imminent, and there being "no prospect of the town being able to purchase his land," this committee was instructed in 1764 to apply to the legislature for an act of protection. Their efforts only put off the evil day. — Ed.]

wealth (General William H. Sumner), as he looked at them year after year from the State-House windows, was probably wholly unconscious that they were feeding at his expense."

This magnificent estate came eventually, 1777, into the possession of the patriot, John Hancock, whose historic mansion will be described in the next volume.



THE BROMFIELD MANSION.[1]

Of the residences in this part of the town at this time the most remarkable, both from its size and commanding site, was the fine old mansion built, in 1722, by Edward Bromfield, a prominent merchant, and afterward sold to his son-in-law William Phillips: —

[1] [This cut follows a pencil drawing by Miss E. S. Quincy, which she kindly sent to the Editor. It was made in 1845, just before the destruction of the old house. This is said to have been the first house erected on Beacon Street. Edward Bromfield, the builder, died in 1756, and Mr. Phillips bought it in 1764, and died in the house in 1804. His daughter Abigail married in the mansion Josiah Quincy, Jr., the Revolutionary patriot, in October, 1769. Miss Quincy points out that the nearest end window in the upper story showed the orifice in which the young Boston scientist, Edward Bromfield, son of the first owner, placed his solar microscope. — ED.]

"It was of three stories, and richly furnished according to the fashion of the last century. There were large mirrors in carved mahogany frames with gilt mouldings; and one apartment was hung with tapestry, representing a stag-hunt. Three steep flights of stone steps ascended from Beacon Street to the front of the mansion; and behind it was a paved court-yard, above which rose successive terraces filled with flowers and fruit-trees. On the summit, a summer-house, elevated higher than the roofs of the houses which, in 1861, form Ashburton Place, commanded a panoramic view of the harbor and environs. Some noble trees near it, a landmark before the Revolution for ships approaching the coast, were cut down by the British during the siege of Boston. The hill on which this mansion stood — between those of Governor Bowdoin and David Sears, both of subsequent erection — was levelled in 1845, and the site is now marked by Freeman Place Chapel and the adjoining houses on Beacon Street."[1]

A little to the west, almost rivalling the above in solidity and elegance, stood in the latter part of the period[2] the fine mansion of Governor James Bowdoin, which, like its neighbor, was set back at some distance from the street and approached by long flights of stone steps. It is about these same steps that the droll incident is related that at a dinner party once given by the governor "a rain occurred, and the weather becoming cold the steps were found to be entirely covered with ice. Under any circumstances there would have been almost a certainty that life or limb would be put in jeopardy by an attempt to *walk down;* and the guests had probably done justice to the generous wines of their host, a circumstance which tended to increase the difficulty. At last they all concluded to *sit down* on the upper step, and so hitch along from step to step in a perfectly *safe* though it must be confessed in a somewhat ungraceful manner."[3]

Farther down the hill, opposite the King's Chapel, was another notable dwelling, the residence of one of the most eminent and public-spirited citizens of the day, whose name and bounty, by a happy conjunction of associations, still live as household words among us, and seem destined to remain as a lasting heritage to the town he loved so well. A descendant of one of the French Huguenots, from La Rochelle, Peter Faneuil came to Boston early in life, where on account of a family quarrel he succeeded unexpectedly to the estate of his wealthy old uncle Andrew Faneuil, and became in time the richest merchant in the town. He lived in a style that suited his estate. His dwelling, the old mansion inherited from his uncle, was withdrawn some little space from the street. The crest of the former owner, — a grasshopper, — similar to the vane on Faneuil Hall, yet glittered on a summer-house in the garden, which commanded a view only inferior to that from Beacon Hill."[4]

Here worthy Peter lived and held his state after the old-time liberal fashion, with his negro slaves, his store of silver plate, his coach and chariot,

[1] *Quincy Memoir*, p. 87.

[2] John Erving conveyed to James Bowdoin, 1756. See *Gleaner Articles*. See Introduction, p. xlvii.

[3] *Gleaner Articles*, p. 81.

[4] *Quincy Memoirs*, p. 88. The summer-house is to be seen as a conspicuous object in Price's 1743 view of Boston.

and fine-groomed English horses. Dressed in his snuff-brown velvet suit and full-bottomed wig,[1] his portly figure must have been a familiar and welcome spectacle at church, on 'change, upon the platform of public meetings, in the closet of private consultation, — in every place and emergency, in fact, where his sound practical sense and well-filled purse could subserve the common weal.

But Mr. Faneuil's crowning act of munificence was the gift of the hall which bore his name. It was indeed a noble gift, of which, be it said, the

THE FANEUIL-PHILLIPS HOUSE.[2]

town showed itself not unmindful. For its particular history the reader must refer to another chapter.[3] It is well known that after its reconstruction, in 1763–64, James Otis, making the dedication speech, by a happy prompting of the feeling of the hour, consecrated it forever in the hearts of

[1] See his portrait in the chapter on the "French Protestants in Boston."

[2] [This engraving follows a pencil sketch by Miss Quincy, kindly furnished by her. — Ed.]

[3] [By Mr. C. C. Smith, on "The French Protestants in Boston," where a view of the second structure will be found. See the present volume, p. 267. — Ed.]

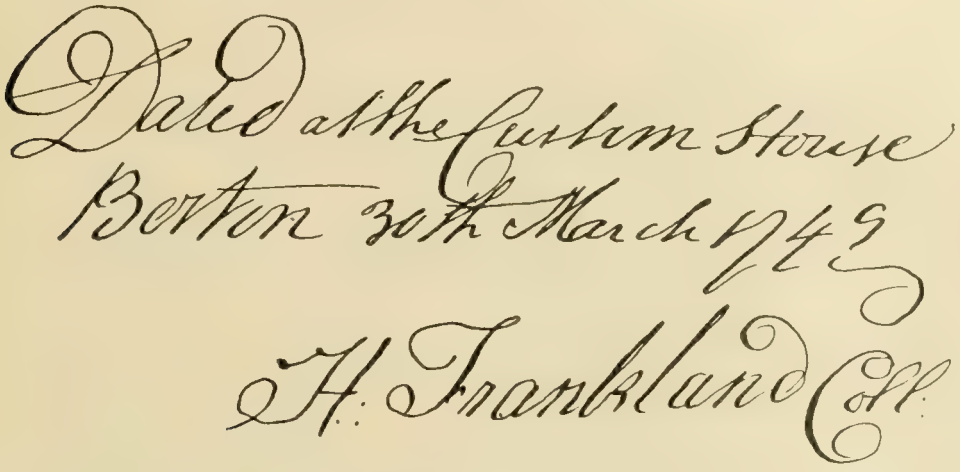
the people, under the title of "the cradle of liberty." The title was prophetic; many and many a meeting memorable in the events of the time, memorable in the annals of the town and of the country, were held in these hallowed walls towards the close of the period. Nor is this all. Its associations belong to all subsequent times, and it has continued down to the present day to be the scene of some of the most momentous events in our history.

THE BORLAND-JULIEN HOUSE.[1]

Meantime, it will not escape attention that we are drifting far enough away from the severe simplicity, the homely economy, and the narrow ways of the Colony. Notions of transatlantic taste and luxury having once crept in, spread apace; the royal governors and their friends, coming over in their gorgeous finery, aped the grandeur of the English court, and introduced new fashions of equipage and of hospitality which, with the increase of

[1] [This is another of the old landmarks, associated with the name of a French restaurant-keeper in the early part of this century. The building disappeared in July, 1824. The old house was built by Deacon Henry Bridgham, in 1670 (see Introduction, p. xxix), and during a part of the Provincial period was the residence of Francis Borland, a noted merchant of the town. It fell to his heirs, and Monsieur Julien bought it in 1794. See Shurtleff, *Description of Boston*, ch. liv., for a full and interesting history of the estate. — ED.]

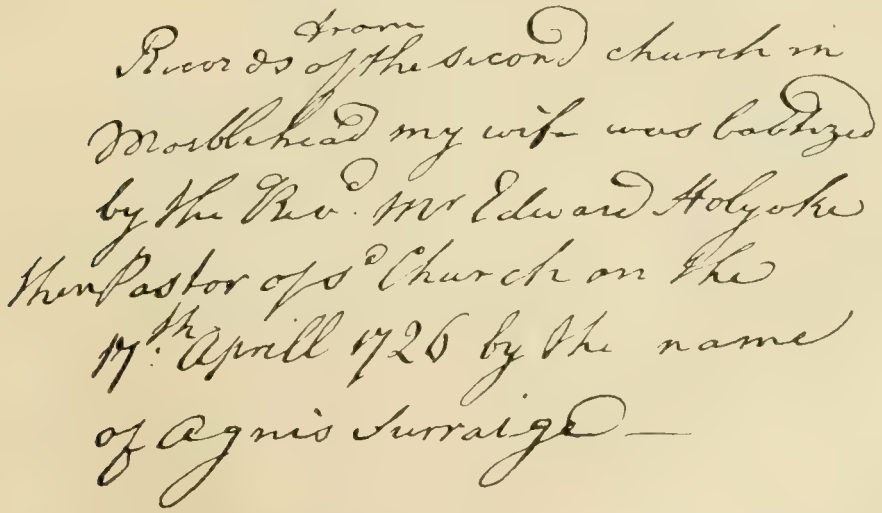
wealth and the weakening of church discipline, all contributed to produce a marked change in the mode of living. Evidences of this change have already been afforded in glimpses into several of the old households of the


Dated at the Custom House
Boston 30th March 1749
H. Frankland Coll.

period. Two more, and those perhaps the most remarkable, should be added to the list. One is the famous Frankland[1] House on Garden-Court Street and Bell Alley, at the north end of the town: —

"It was built of brick, three stories high, and contained in all twenty-six rooms. A spacious hall run through the centre, from which arose a flight of stairs so broad and easy of ascent that Frankland used to ride his pony up and down with ease and

[1] Sir Charles Henry Frankland was a lineal descendant of Cromwell; he belonged to a noble English family, had been thoroughly and expensively educated; was a man of extensive acquirements, literary tastes, and the friend of such wits as Horace Walpole, Henry Fielding,


Records from the second church in
Marblehead my wife was baptized
by the Rev. Mr Edward Holyoke
then Pastor of s^d Church on the
17th April 1726 by the name
of Agnis Surraige —

and Lord Chesterfield. He was appointed to the post of Collector of Boston in 1741, at the same time that William Shirley was made governor. Frankland, the story of whose life is varied and romantic, resigned his lucrative office in 1757 to go to Portugal on account of his

safety. The parlors were ornamented with fluted columns, elaborately carved, and richly gilded pilasters and cornices; the walls were wainscoted and the panels embellished with beautiful landscape scenery; the mantel-pieces were of Italian marble, and the fire-places of the finest porcelain, which exhibited views of singular excellence. The floor of the eastern parlor was laid in diamond-shaped figures, and had in the centre a unique and curious tessellated design, consisting, it is said, of more than three hundred different kinds of wood, — as mahogany, ebony, satin-wood, etc., — encircling the coat of arms of the Clarke [1] family." [2]

Next door to this stately dwelling, and rivalling it in splendor of appointments, stood the fated house of Lieut.-Governor Thomas Hutchinson, which was well-nigh destroyed on the night of Aug. 26, 1765, during the excitement of the Stamp-Act trouble, by an infuriated mob, which not only gutted the house, carried off a large sum of money, drank or wasted an enormous amount of wine with which his Tory Excellency's binns were stored, but left the streets widely strewn with plate, jewels, clothes, papers, and other valuables, as appears from Governor Bernard's proclamation of the following day; indeed, so clean a sweep was made of his wardrobe that the honorable Chief-Justice was forced to open court next day without his wig and gown.[3] The house thus destroyed was for a long time one of the chief architectural ornaments of the North End, having been the birthplace of Hutchinson, whose father had lived there before him. From the front on Garden-Court Street there stretched back to Hanover and Fleet streets the beautiful garden through which the Governor escaped on the night of the mob. The house itself was built of brick and painted, the plainness of the façade being relieved by a representation of the British crown over every window, and by a row of Ionic pilasters, the capital of one of which, richly adorned with a sculptured crown and festoon, is preserved in the collection of the Historical Society. Mrs. Lydia Maria Child has given an eloquent description of the interior, in her novel of *The Rebels*: —

health. Other authorities say that he was removed for not attending to his duties. See his *Life* by Elias Nason. [The story of Frankland's connection with the poor tavern girl, Agnes Surraige, her accompanying him to Europe, her rescue of him from the ruins occasioned by the great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755, and his subsequent marriage with her out of gratitude, is well known from being the subject of Dr. Holmes's poem of Agnes. Lady Frankland survived her husband, and was living on his estate at Hopkinton, in this State, at the outbreak of the Revolution, when she was suffered to pass the provincial lines, and join the king's friends in Boston. She went thence to England, married Mr. John Drew, of Chichester, and died April 23, 1783, aged fifty-seven. A leather-bound pocket diary of Sir Charles Henry Frankland is preserved in the Cabinet of the Historical Society. It covers a good deal of his stay in Lisbon and Portugal, and in it he entered a variety of precepts, maxims, recipes, copies of inscriptions, memoranda of expenses, together with notes of current events and experiences. The only reference to his wife is in the words shown in the annexed fac-simile.

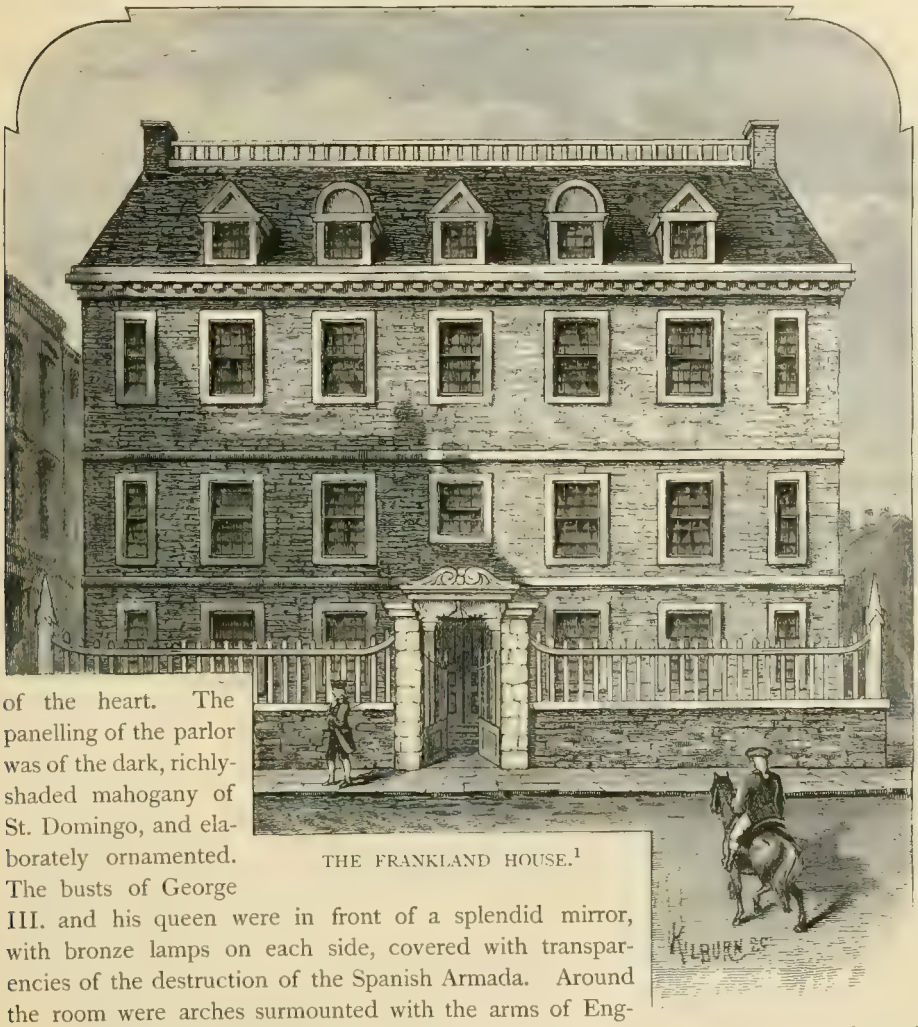
He enters in another place: "Nov. 1, 1755. — During my residence in Portugal happened the great earthquake, on which day I was most providentially saved: I was buried in ruins. . . . I hope my providential escape will have a lasting good effect upon my mind" — Ed.]

[1] Benjamin Clarke, merchant, and his sister, children of William Clarke, sold this estate Jan. 6, 1746–47, to Thomas Greenough, who in turn sold to Frankland.

[2] Nason's *Life of Sir Charles Henry Frankland*. See also Mr. Scudder's chapter in this volume, and the Introduction, p. xi.

[3] Thomas Hutchinson held at one time the various offices of Chief-Justice, Lieut.-Governor, and Judge of Probate.

"The hall of entrance displayed a spacious arch, from the roof of which a dimly-lighted lamp gave a rich twilight view. The finely carved and gilded arch, in massy magnificence, was most tastefully ornamented with busts and statues. The light streamed full on the soul-beaming countenance of Cicero, and playfully flickered on the brow of Tulliola, the tenderness of whose diminutive appellation delightfully associates the father with the orator, and blends intellectual vigor with the best affections



THE FRANKLAND HOUSE.[1]

of the heart. The panelling of the parlor was of the dark, richly-shaded mahogany of St. Domingo, and elaborately ornamented. The busts of George III. and his queen were in front of a splendid mirror, with bronze lamps on each side, covered with transparencies of the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Around the room were arches surmounted with the arms of England. The library was hung with canvas-tapestry emblazoning the coronation of George II., interspersed with the royal arms. The portraits of Anne and the Georges hung in massive frames of antique splendor, and the crowded shelves of books were surmounted with busts of the house of Stuart. In the centre of the apartment stood a table of polished oak."

[1] [This follows a view painted over the mantel of its west room. Mr. Rowland Ellis, who owned the house previous to 1831, has the inlaid arms which formed the floor centre. The late Dr. Winslow Lewis had four of the panels with landscapes and escutcheons from this room; his daughter, Mrs. Gay, retains two of them. — Ed.]

At this same table may, perhaps, have been written the Lieut.-Governor's well-known History of the Colony and the Province. The whole house, it will be remarked, bristled with evidences of obsequiousness to the Crown on the part of its owner, who, be it said, was an object of public odium long before the discovery by Franklin of his treacherous letters to the home government.[1]

Rope-making had formed one of the principal branches of industry of the town from the early days of the colony. The rope-walks were numerous, and, located as they were in different parts of the town, may be counted among the minor topographical features that merit a passing attention. Part of Governor Hutchinson's estates on Pearl — formerly called Hutchinson — Street, having been confiscated and sold by the Commonwealth, were converted into rope-walks; there were besides extensive rope-walks at the West End, others at the North End, and at the bottom of the Common. The bloody affray of 1770 has rendered John Gray's walks on Atkinson Street historical. "Gleaner" has given a careful and detailed list of the various walks, and an account of the grounds they occupied. He concludes that there were all "together 14 rope-walks in Boston, which were probably spinning all at once for a period of at least sixty years." As to their position, the following comment will be found a convenient guide to the memory: "It is remarkable how extensively the initial 'P.' figures in regard to the location of these old rope-walks, — Purchase Street, Pearl Street, Pinckney Street, Poplar Street, and the Point on which the Poor-house was built."[2]

Meantime in all these years the various burying-places of the town were enlarged as need required; or, more properly it may be said, as need compelled, if we are to accept the almost incredible statement in the petition of "John Chambers and others, grave-diggers," in 1740, to the effect that the Chapel and South Burying-places "are so filled with dead bodies that they are obliged oft-times to bury them four deep."

Previous to this, in 1717, the selectmen were authorized to enlarge this burying-place, by taking in part of the highway on the easterly side, if it could be done without "too much straightening said highway;" but notwithstanding the astonishing state of affairs brought to the notice of the town by the grave-diggers above noted, it was not until sixteen years afterward, in 1756, that an additional burying-ground was provided by the purchase of "a portion of Colonel Fitch's pasture, at the bottom of the Common," — which consisted of about two acres, and then belonged to Andrew Oliver, Jr.[3] As a proof, however, of the indifference of the town and the community to a fact which would now be regarded with a sentiment nearly akin

[1] As has been narrated in an earlier chapter. See Dr. Ellis's, on "The Royal Governors." The position of the house is shown in the Introduction, p. xi.

[2] *Fifth Report of the Record Commissioners*, p. 35.

[3] See Introduction, p. xxxvii.

to horror, it may be added that the over-crowded Chapel and Granary grounds still continued to be used for interments long after the opening of that upon Boylston Street. The Copp's Hill ground has been enlarged at various times; the last addition to what is distinctly called the Old Burying-Place was made in 1711, when the town bought of Sewall and his wife a considerable part of the old Hull pasture.[1] Besides these, the Quakers had a small ground adjoining their church in Leverett's Lane, — now Congress Street, — which was first used in 1708, and discontinued in 1826, when all the remains were exhumed and taken to Lynn.[2]

In all the old burying-grounds the singular disposition of the grave-stones in regular straight lines, or serried rows skirting the edges of the paths, is due to an extraordinary freak of a Superintendent of Burials early in the present century, who, in his intense desire to see things neat and tidy, took up the stones from their original position and arranged them to suit his mathematical eye, thus destroying the only trace to the last resting-place of some of the greatest and most honored names in our history. One knows not whether to join in the righteous indignation of "Gleaner," who "saw this sacrilegious official act perpetrated,"[3] or in the sardonic merriment of the *Sexton of the Old School*, who says with excusable facetiousness: —

"Of all the pranks ever perpetrated in a grave-yard, this surely is the most amusing. In defiance of the *lex loci*, which rightfully enjoins solemnity of demeanor in such a place, and of all my reverence for Isaac Johnson and those illustrious men who slumber there, I was actually seized with a fit of uncontrollable laughter, and came to the conclusion that this sacrilegious transposition must have been the work of Punch or Puck, or some Lord of Misrule. As I proceeded to read the inscriptions my merriment increased, for the gravestones seemed to be conferring together upon the subject of these extraordinary changes which had befallen them; and repeating over to one another, '*As you are now, so once was I.*'"[4]

Thus have been rapidly passed in review the chief topographical changes of the town during the ninety years and more succeeding the loss of the first charter. By a reference to Price's edition of Bonner's map, published in 1769,[5] it will be seen that the town had then reached a population of twenty thousand, which, while it is far less than the rapid progress of the early years of the period promised, must still be held a goodly number, considering the threatening aspect of affairs between the Province and the Crown, the frequent ravage of pestilence and fire,[6] and the grievous drain of the French and Indian wars. But the town seems to have had an air of

[1] See Introduction, p. viii.

[2] See Introduction, p. xv.

[3] *Fifth Report of the Record Commissioners*, p. 10.

[4] *Dealings with the Dead*, i. 224.

[5] See Introduction, p. lv.

[6] [The most extensive conflagration, beside those already named marking the Provincial period, was that of 1760, of which there is an account by William Cooper, the town clerk, in the *Boston Post-Boy*, March 24, 1760, reprinted in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1880. Christopher Kilby sent £200 to the sufferers. See his memoir in the *Register*, xxvi. 43–48. A fire society had been formed in 1733. See *Brinley Catalogue*, Nos. 1634–35. — Ed.]

wealth, solidity, and prosperity out of proportion to its mere numbers, as is evidenced by the account of Oldmixon thirty years and more before the Revolution. He says: —

"A gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of people, their houses, their furniture, their tables, their dress and conversation, which perhaps is as splendid and showy as that of the most considerable tradesmen in London. Upon the whole, Boston is the most flourishing Town for trade and commerce in the English America. Near six hundred sail of ships have been laden here in a year for Europe and the British Plantations. The goodness of the pavement may compare with most in London; to gallop a horse on it is three shillings and fourpence forfeit." [1]

Much similar evidence might be adduced, if needful, to show that after the alternate storm and sunshine of a century and a half the wilderness had fairly begun "to blossom like the rose;" and that Provincial Boston, with its new churches, its fine public buildings, its stately residences, its beautiful gardens, its nicely paved streets, its Common fenced in and planted with trees, its "superb pier," its busy docks and ferries, its forest of shipping, its fine forts [2] and batteries, its spinning ropewalks and whirling windmills, had already so invaded and transformed the once grand and solitary Tramount, that sturdy William Blackstone would have gazed in bewilderment at the winding shores along which he might have ridden upon his ambling bull, and the worshipful Isaac Johnson might have hunted as vainly for his garden as modern antiquaries have for his grave.

Edwin Lasselle Bynner

[1] Oldmixon, *British Empire in America.*

[2] [There is a history of Fort Independence, and of the earlier defences on its site, in the *Historical Magazine*, Oct. 1861. Uring had described the Castle as "a strong, regular, well-built fort, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon." See the notes to Colonel Higginson's chapter in this volume, for the care bestowed on its defences during this period. — ED.]

VIEWS OF BOSTON DURING THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD. — The Editor has given in another place (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1880, p. 68) his reasons for believing that the earliest engraved view of Boston was the original condition of the plate of what is now known as Price's 1743 view. But of this original condition we know no copy; but the argument for its existence formerly, if not now, is this: Dr. Greenwood, in his *History of King's Chapel*, mentions an engraved view of Boston of the date 1720, and gives an excerpt from it in a vignette to show the original King's Chapel, — the same which is given somewhat enlarged in this History, Vol. I. p. 214. The correspondence of this little picture with a section of the 1743 view is so close, even to the bad drawing of the buildings, that the conclusion was inevitable that they followed the same original. The differences further helped the investigation. In the 1743 view the Hancock House, built in 1737, appears, together with some shrubbery, on the slope of Beacon Hill, and are not given in Greenwood's vignette. This seemed to show that Greenwood had copied from a plate dated before 1737. Further, it was found that a key-numbering of the buildings went across the plate from left to right, and from 1 to 49, and that all these buildings were built before 1731, while buildings built subsequently were numbered by another sequence beginning with 50. This would carry the plate back of 1731. A curious error furnished another proof. In the

margin No. 10 reads "the South Meeting-house, built 1669;" but looking to the picture we find No. 10 to show the body of the old meeting-house, topped with the present spire erected in 1729. So it would seem that after the new edifice was built, in 1729, the engraver added its spire to the old house, but neglected to alter the marginal reading. As the New Brick and Christ Church, erected in 1721 and 1723, are numbered in the earlier sequence, the plate was thought to date probably a year later than 1723, and before 1729. An examination of the files of the *New England Courant* has confirmed this line of argument, as the following advertisements will show: —

Oct. 8, 1722. "A View of the Great Town of *Boston*, taken from a Standing on Noddle's Island, and designed to be cut on Copper, will be carried on by Subscription, as such expensive Works generally are. Those Gentlemen that would encourage such a Design may see the View at Mr. *Price's*, Print and Map-seller, over against the Town House, where Proposals are to be had, and Subscriptions taken in."

Nov. 12, 1722. "Whereas, there has been an advertisement lately published of a design to print a view of this Town of Boston, taken from Noddle's Island, — this is to certify that the undertaker, William Burgis, desires all gentlemen to be speedy in their subscriptions, in order to send the Drawing to England this fall, that he may conform to the proposals to that end lately published. N. B. — Sufficient security is given to conform to the conditions of the said proposals, or to return the advance money."

May 27, 1723. "The Prospect of the Great town of Boston, taken from Noddle's Island, and designed to be curiously cut on Copper plate, will be carried on by subscription, as such expensive works commonly are. Those gentlemen that would encourage this design may subscribe to the same at Mr. Thomas Selby's, at the Crown Coffee House, where the Proposals may be seen. The Price is set lower than it was at first. . . . Subscriptions are also taken by William Price, . . . the undertaker, [who wishes] all gentlemen to be speedy in their subscriptions, in order to the speedy sending of the drawing for England."

THE CARWITHAM VIEW OF BOSTON.

Dec. 23, 1723. "Whereas, a northeast prospect of the Great Town of Boston has been taken, which is not so much to advantage as the southeast prospect, now to be seen at Mr. Price's, Print and Map-seller, over against the Town House; also the proposals for all persons that are willing to subscribe for the same, in order to its being sent to London, to be engraven by the best hand."

July 17, 1725. "To be sold by Mr. William Price. . . . A new and correct Prospect of the Town of Boston, curiously engraved, and an exact plan of the town, shewing its streets, lanes, and publick buildings."

This appeared in several subsequent numbers of the paper. The plan must have been Bonner's, and it may refer to the edition between 1722 and 1733, of which there is a conjecture in the Introduction (p. liv).

It is probable that we have a representation of this original Price view in the smaller engraving, which was issued in London and entitled "South-East View of the City of Boston in North America. I. Carwitham, Sculp. London. Printed for Bowles and Carver, No. 69 St. Paul's Church Yard." This is the inscription on a copy in the Public Library; another, owned by Miss Eliza Susan Quincy gives "Great Town" for "City," and the imprint is "Printed for Carington Bowles, Map and Printseller, at No. 69 in

St. Paul's Church Yard, London." This plate measures 18 by 12 inches, and in the Quincy copy the key-numbering corresponds to the *original* sequence in the Price view. The Public Library copy has no numbering. Both are colored, and Miss Quincy says her copy belongs to a set of similar pictures, imported in the last century by Ebenezer Storer, treasurer of Harvard College, to be looked at in an instrument with magnifying glasses. We find James Buck, "at the Spectacles in Queen Street," advertising in 1750 such sets of "prints completely coloured, proper for view in Cameræ Obscuræ." An engraving of this Carwitham view is given herewith.

The Price view of Boston, dated 1743, was dedicated to Peter Faneuil. This was just after that merchant had given the hall known by his name to the town, and it was an easy compliment for Price to pay to revamp the old plate, and to insert the dedication. A heliotype of this plate, very much reduced, is given herewith, following the best copy known to me, that in the Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Other copies are in the Public Library and in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Cabinet. The former had belonged to the Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., the second mayor of that name; and while in his possession a reduced lithographic fac-simile of it, omitting however some features, was published, and this lithograph is the original of the Albertype copy recently made. An examination of this 1743 view easily reveals an altered plate. Beside the secondary sequence of key-numbers, the new Faneuil Hall is clearly inserted; the south battery is extended from a condition corresponding to the Carwitham print, so as to embay an area of the tide, and is called "The Mole," and "a new battery of 35 guns;" while the end of Long Wharf is stretched further seaward by a battery called "Shirley's Battery."

A fac-simile of a small copper-plate view, from the titlepage of the *American Magazine*, in 1743, has been given in Mr. Goddard's chapter in this volume.

The view next in date is Governor Pownall's, 1757, of which a reduction is given in Colonel Higginson's chapter in this volume. The large engraving can be found in Drake's *History of Boston*.

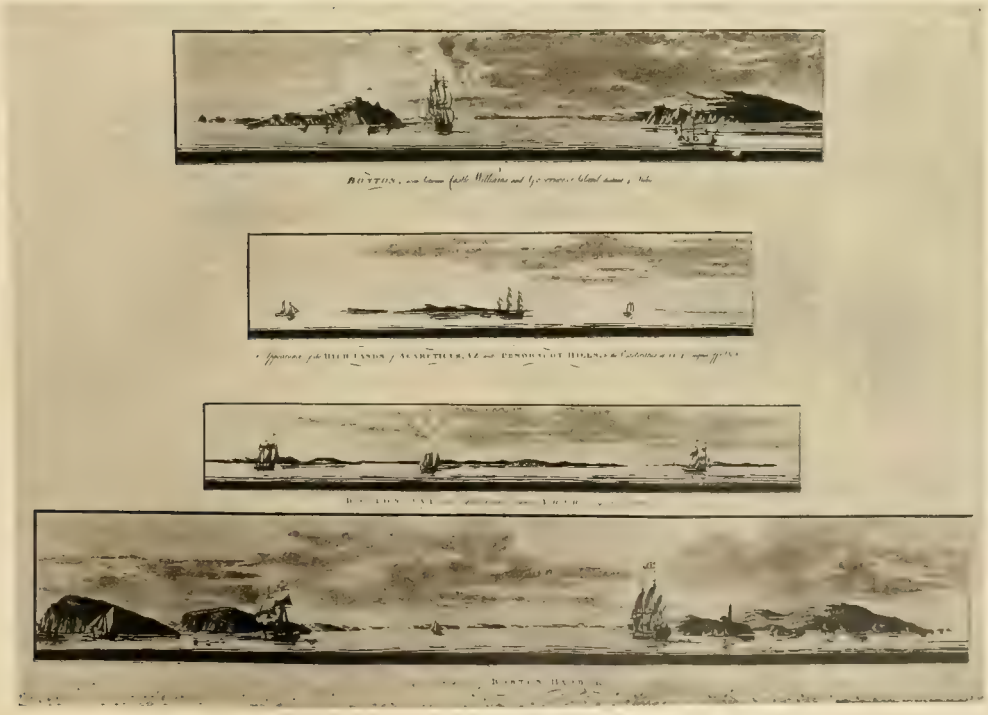
In 1768 Paul Revere engraved his well-known plate, of which a reduced heliotype is given herewith. It is called "View of part of the town of Boston in New England, and British ships of war landing their troops, 1768," and has this legend on it: "On Friday, Sept. 30, 1768, the ships of war, armed schooners, transports, etc., came up the harbor and anchored round the town; their cannon loaded, a spring on their cables, as for a regular siege. At noon on Saturday, Oct. 1st, the fourteenth and twenty-ninth regiments, a detachment from the 59th regiment, and train of artillery with two pieces of cannon, landed on the Long Wharf; there formed and marched with insolent parade, drums beating, fifes playing, and colours flying, up King Street, each soldier having received sixteen rounds of powder and ball." It is also said to be "Engraved, printed, and sold by Paul Revere, Boston." The vessels delineated, as per marginal key, are "Beaver," "Senegal," "Martin," "Glasgow," "Mermaid," "Romney," "Launceston," "Bonetta." The inscription reads: "To the Earl of Hillsborough, his Majesty's Secretary of State for America, this view of the only well-plan^{d} expedition formed for supporting the dignity of Britain, and chastising y^{e} insolence of America, is humbly inscribed." The plate is 15½ by 10 inches, and has been often reproduced in fac-simile, — in Bryant and Gay, *United States*, iii. 356; *Evacuation Memorial of the City of Boston*, p. 18; Dearborn, *Boston Notions*, p. 126, etc.

There is a second engraved view of Boston by Revere, 3 by 5¼ inches, which appeared in *Edes and Gill's North American Almanac and Massachusetts Register for the year* 1770, and it is reproduced in fac-simile in S. G. Drake's *Boston*, p. 747, and in S. A. Drake's *Landmarks*, p. 119. The plate is called "Prospective View of the Town of Boston, the Capital of New England; and of the landing of troops in the year 1768, in consequence of letters from Gov. Bernard, the Commissioners, etc., to the British ministry."

A third view by Revere appeared in the *Royal American Magazine*, 1774, and a fac-simile of it somewhat reduced is given in Mr. Goddard's chapter. Sometime before the Revolution, and probably not far from 1770, a large view of Boston from the water was taken and published in aquatint by J. F. W. Des Barres, as one of a series of coast views connected with the charts of the British Admiralty, which were issued during the war. Another of these sheets, giving views of the harbor, is likewise herewith given in heliotype. Later views belong to the Revolutionary series. — ED.

VIEW OF PART OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND

Taken by the British Engineers about 1770.



Taken by the British Engineers about 1770.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BOSTON FAMILIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM H. WHITMORE,
Chairman of the Boston Record Commissioners.

IN the last chapter of the first volume of this History a list was given of forty of the most prominent families of Boston in the seventeenth century. Their names were: —

1. Winthrop. — 2. Bellingham. — 3. Endicott. — 4. Leverett. — 5. Bradstreet. — 6. Hough. 7. Hibbens. — 8. Gibbons. — 9. Davie. — 10. Richards. — 11. Savage. — 12. Cooke. — 13. Hutchinson. — 14. Oliver. — 15. Hull. — 16. Brattle. — 17. Tyng. — 18. Alford. — 19. Scarlett. — 20. Joyliffe. — 21. Gerrish. — 22. Payne. — 23. Middlecott. — 24. Usher — 25. Jeffries. — 26. Lidgett. — 27. Saffin. — 28. Ruck. — 29. Whittingham. — 30. Shrimpton. — 31. Stoddard. — 32. Sergeant. — 33. Sheaffe. — 34. Gibbs. — 35. Lynde. — 36. Lyde. — 37. Clarke. — 38. Cotton. — 39. Allen. — 40. Mather.

The next century, or rather the period from 1692 to 1775, was marked by the rise, and often by the decline, of many other names. In fact, with but few exceptions, the names of the Colonial period disappear early in the eighteenth century, and new leaders appear. The times changed rapidly. Trade and commerce created wealth, and social importance soon, as usual, waited upon fortune. The political questions of the day became of importance, and men rose to prominence on account of their ability in the political field, though not allied with the cliques which had formerly held control. The Crown officers became a class by themselves; and for the last half century prior to the Revolution officers of the British army and navy were stationed here in sufficient numbers to form a noticeable part of society. Boston gradually became the centre of social life, and as such she attracted a certain part of the population of other towns. The difficulties of travel and the lack of large fortunes prevented any great changes, however, and Boston was during that period mainly peopled by citizens born here.

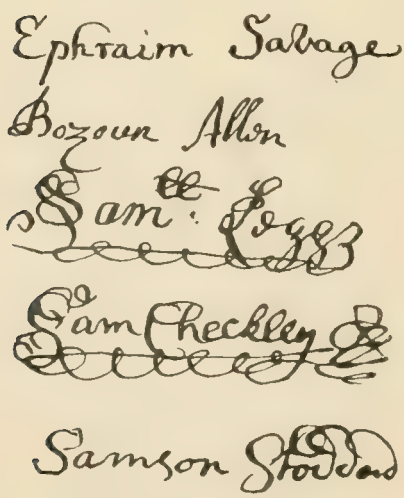
I will begin by giving some official lists which will serve as a guide in estimating the social position of certain families: —

REPRESENTATIVES FROM BOSTON, 1700–74. — Capt Timo Clark, 1700. — Isaiah Tay, 1700, 1716, 1718–20, 1722–25. — James Barnes, 1700, 1708–10. — Capt Bozoon Allen, 1700.

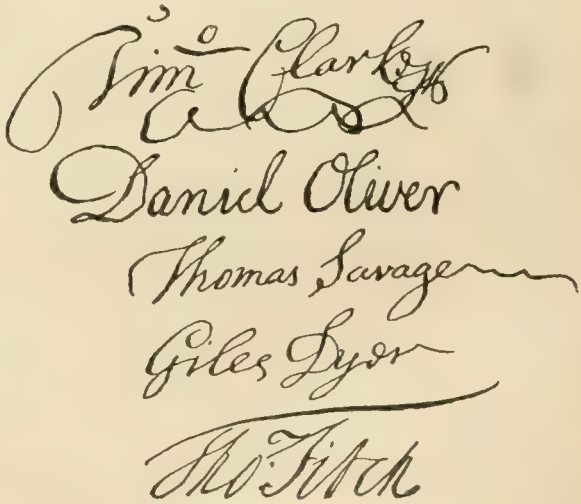
— John White, 1701, 1702. — Cap^{t} Sam^{ll} Legg, 1701, 1702. — Nath^{ll} Oliver, 1701. — Cap^{t} And^{r} Belcher, 1701. — Cap^{t} Samuell Checkly, 1702, 1704–7. — D^{r} Thomas Oaks, 1702, 1704–7. — Cap^{t} Ephraim Savage, 1702, 1704–8, 1710. — Elizur Holyoke, 1703–7. — John Clark, 1708–12, 1720–23. — Cap^{t} Thomas Hutchinson, 1708–12. — Cap^{t} Thomas Fitch, 1709, 1711, 1712. — Addington Davenport, 1711, 1712. — Cap^{t} Oliver Noyes, 1714–16, 1719, 1720. — Co^{ll} Adam Winthrop, 1714, 1715. — Edward Hutchinson, 1714–16, 1718. — John Ruck, 1714. — Elisha Cook, Jr., 1714–16, 1719–23, 1727–37. — William Payn, 1715, 1716. — Anthony Stoddard, 1716. — Cap^{t} Habijah Savage, 1717, 1718, 1732. — Cap^{t} Joseph Wadsworth, 1717, 1718, 1726, 1727. — William Clark, 1719–22, 1724, 1725. — William Hutchinson, 1721. — Ezekiel Lewis, 1723–31. — Thomas Cushing, 1724–31. — John Ballantine, 1726. — Nathan^{ll} Green, 1727. — Samuel Welles, 1727–34, 1745, 1746, 1753, 1754, 1756, 1760. — Oxenbridge Thatcher, 1731, 1733–36, 1763–65. — Thomas Cushing, Jr., 1731–45. — Timothy Prout, 1735–37, 1740–44. — Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., 1737, 1738, 1740, 1742–48. — John Wheelwright, 1737. — John Read, 1738. — Major Samuel Sewall, 1738. — Edward Bromfield, 1739–42. — James Allen, 1739–42, 1747, 1748, expelled; re-elected 1748–54. — Christopher Kilby, 1739. — Cap^{t} Nathanael Cunningham, 1739. — Andrew Oliver, 1743–46. — Thomas Hubbard, 1746–59. — Samuel Adams, 1746, 1747, 1765–74; Oct^{r} session, 1774. — John Tyng, 1748–52, 1755–59. — Samuel Waldo, 1749. — Harrison Gray, 1750–52. — James Bowdoin, 1753–55. — William Cooper, 1755. — Thomas Flucker, 1756-60. — Benjamin Prat, 1757–59. — Royal Tyler, 1760–64. — John Phillips, 1760–62. — James Otis, 1761–69, 1771. — Thomas Cushing, 1761–74; Oct^{r} session, 1774. Thomas Gray, 1764, 1765. — John Hancock, 1766–74; Oct^{r} session, 1774. — James Bowdoin, 1770. — John Adams, 1770. — William Phillips, 1772–74; Oct^{r} session, 1774, 1776. In 1776: William Cooper, John Pitts, John Brown, Benjamin Austin David Jeffries, Oliver Wendell, Nathaniel Appleton, Dr. Joseph Gardner, Caleb Davis, Henry Hill, Allen Otis.

Delegates to Provincial Congress, 1774. — Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Dr. Joseph Warren, Dr. Benjamin Church, Oliver Wendell, John Pitts.

Selectmen of Boston, 1700–74. — Daniel Oliver, 1700, 1701, 1703–8, 1711, 1712. — Joseph Prout, 1700–8. — John Marion, Jr., 1700, 1701, 1703–5, 1714–25. — Tim^{o} Clark,



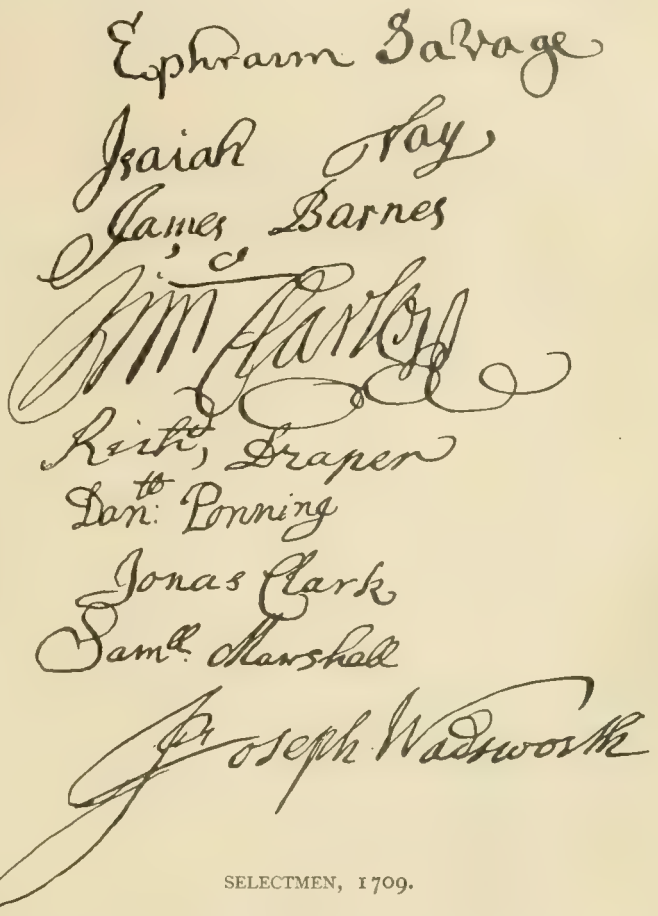
Selectmen, 1696.



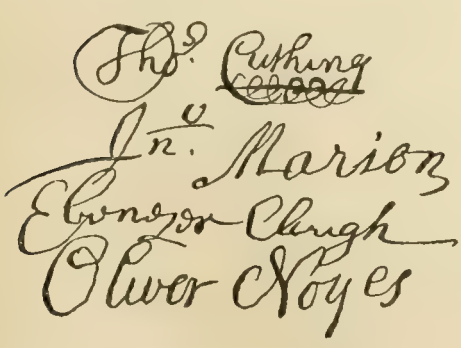
Selectmen, 1703, 1704.

1700–7, 1709, 1710. — Elizer Holioke, 1700, 1701. — James Barnes, 1700, 1701, 1706, 1709, 1710. — Robert Gibbs, 1700–2. — Isaiah Tay, 1701, 1709–12, 1719, 1720, 1722-25. — John

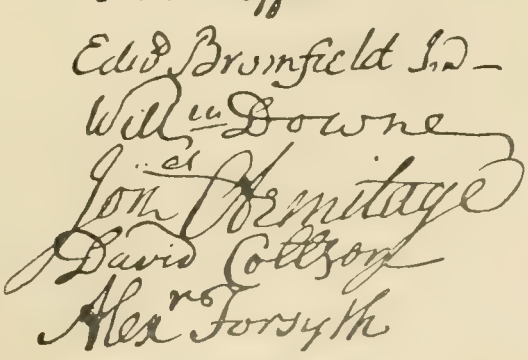
Barnard, 1701, 1703–6. — John George, 1701, 1713; Gyles Dyer, 1701–4; Rich[d] Draper, 1701, 1709 (in room of Messrs. Tay, Holyoke, and Oliver for 1701). — Robert Howard, 1702, 1704. - Major Thomas Savage, 1702–4, 1712. — Thomas Fitch, 1703–5. — Thomas Jackson, 1704, 1705. — Elias Heath, 1705, 1706. — Daniel Powning, 1705–10. — Thomas Cushing, 1707, 1708, 1711, 1719–22, 1724–26. — Cap[t] Thomas Hutchinson, 1706, 1707. — Stephen Minot, 1707, 1708, 1723–25. — Abraham Blish, 1707. — Francis Thresher, 1707, 1708. — Cap[t] Oliver Noyes, 1708, 1711, 1719–21, dec[d]. — Jonas Clark, 1709, 1710. — Samuel Marshall, 1709, 1710. — Cap[t] Ephraim Savage, 1709, 1710. — Joseph Wadsworth, 1709–14, 1716–18. — Cap[t] Edward Martyne, 1710. — Edward Hutchinson, 1711–14. — Paul Dudley, 1712. — Francis Clark, 1712, 1713. — John Ruck, 1713, 1714. — John Colman, 1713. — William Payn, 1713. — William Welsteed, 1714, 1715, 1717, 1718. — Grove Hirst, 1714. — Cap[t] Edw[d] Winslow, 1714. — Cap[t] Habijah Savage, 1715–18. — Samuel Greenwood, 1715–18. — John Charnock, 1715–18. — John Baker, 1715–18, 1726–28. — Elisha Cook, 1719–23. — William Clark, 1719–23. — Eben[r] Clough, 1719–23. — William Hutchinson, 1721. — Cap[t] Nathaniel Green, 1721–26. — Ezekiel Lewis, 1724–26. — Henry Deering, 1724–26. — Jona[n] Waldo, 1726–28. — Timothy Prout, 1726–29. — Oxenbridge Thatcher, 1727–30. — John Hunt, 1727–



SELECTMEN, 1709.

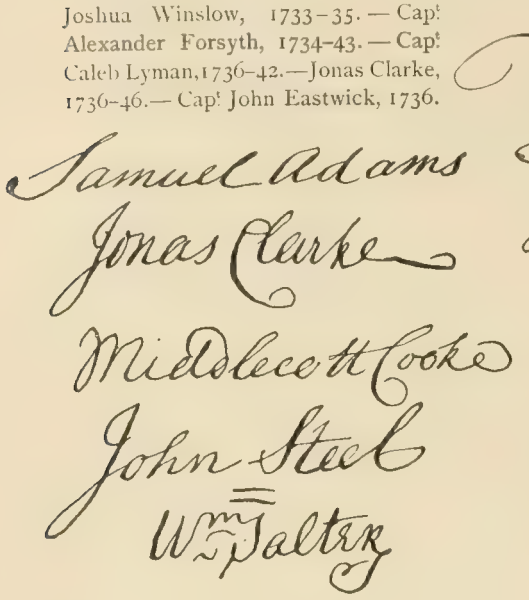


SELECTMEN, 1720, 1721.

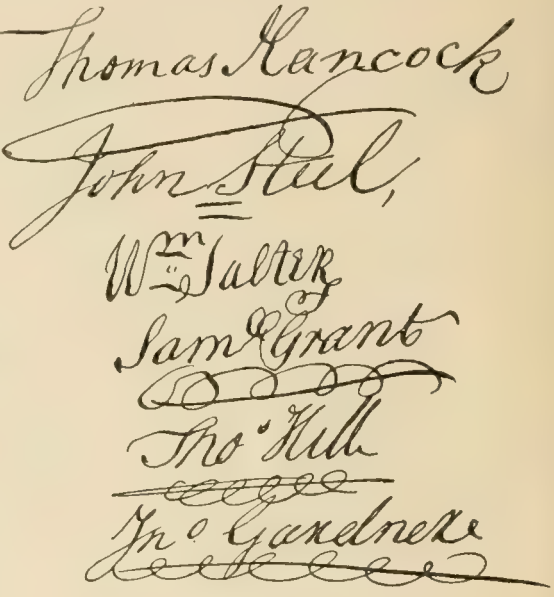


SELECTMEN, 1734.

29. — David Farnum, 1727–29. — Jona^{s} Williams, 1727–29. — Sam^{l} Adams, 1729–32. — Jon^{s} Loring, 1729–31. — Samuel White, 1730–32. — Joshua Cheever, 1730–32. — Andrew Tyler, 1730–32. — Benjamin Fitch, 1730–32. — Cap^{t} John Osborn, 1730, 1731. — Edward Bromfield, 1732, 1735. — William Downe, 1732–35. — Edward Bromfield, Jr., 1733, 1734. — Jonathan Armitage, 1733–39. — David Colson, 1733–39. — John Jeffries, 1733–43. — Joshua Winslow, 1733–35. — Cap^{t} Alexander Forsyth, 1734–43. — Cap^{t} Caleb Lyman, 1736–42. — Jonas Clarke, 1736–46. — Cap^{t} John Eastwick, 1736.

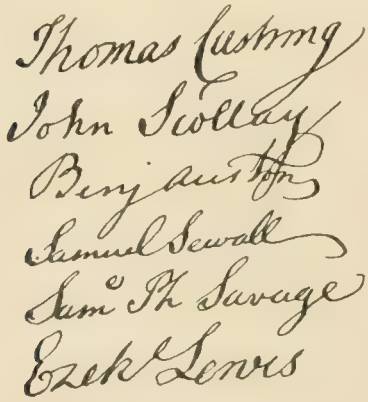


SELECTMEN, 1744.

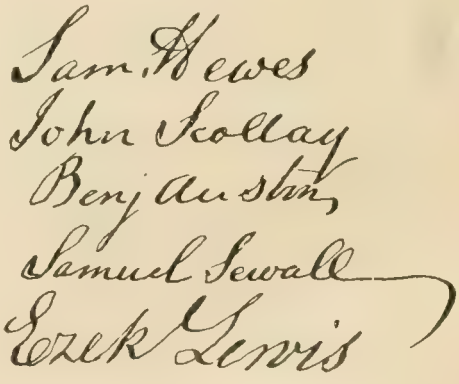


SELECTMEN, 1750.

— Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., 1737–40, 1743, 1744. — Thomas Hancock, 1740–46, 1748, 1749. — Middlecott Cooke, 1740–45, 1748, 1749. — Cap^{t} John Steel, 1741–49. — William Salter, 1744–49. — Samuel Adams, 1744–47. — Cap^{t} Henry Atkins, 1745, 1746. — Abiel



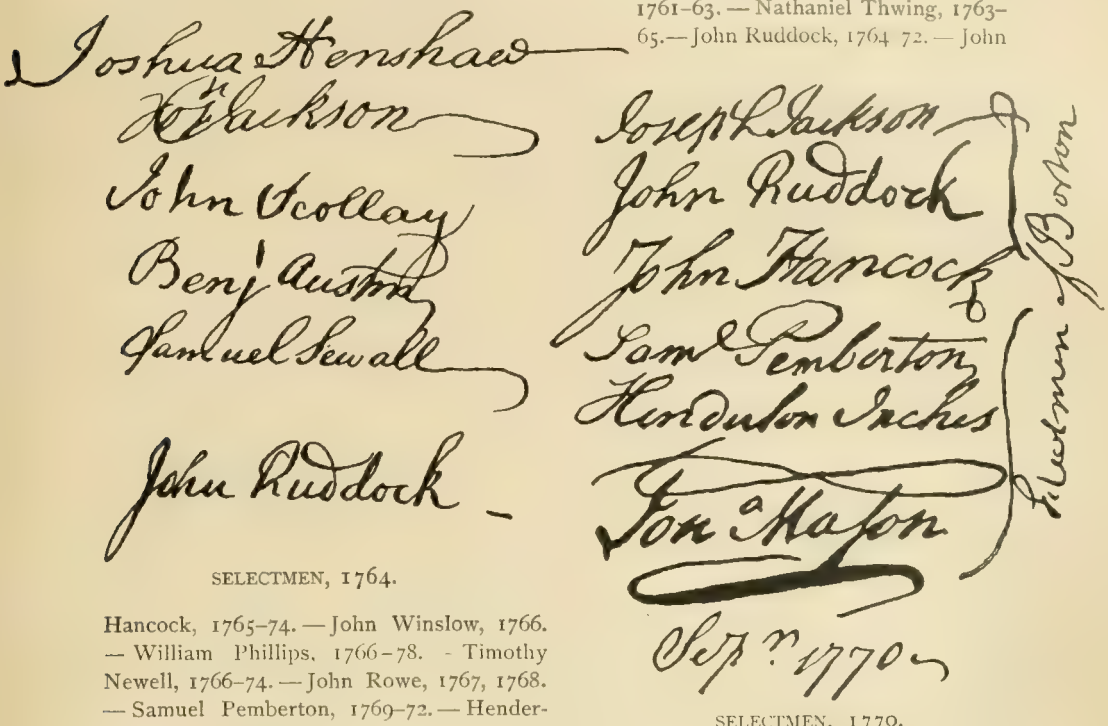
SELECTMEN, 1761.



SELECTMEN, 1762.

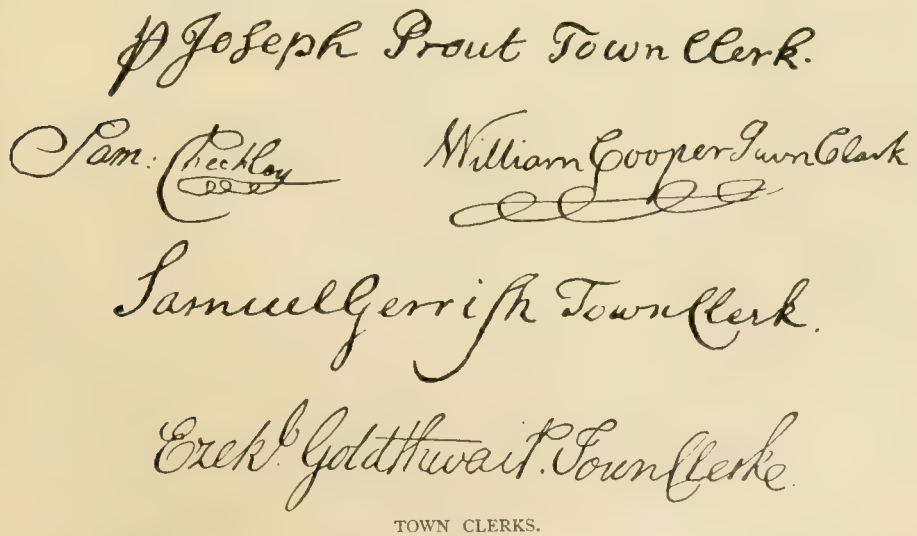
Walley, 1746, 1747. — John Tyng, 1747, 1748. — Jeremiah Belknap, 1747. — Samuel Grant, 1747–49. — Thomas Hill, 1748, 1749. — John Gardner, 1749. — John Gardner, 1750. — Thomas Hancock, 1750–53. — John Steele, 1750–53. — Samuel Grant, 1750–57. — George Holmes, 1750–52. — Joshua Henshaw, 1750–60, 1764–70. — Thomas Hill, 1750–57. — Joseph Jackson, 1752–60, 1764–72. — Thomas Cushing, 1753–63. — Samuel Hewes, 1754–63. —

John Scollay,[1] 1754–64, 1773, 1774. — Andrew Oliver, Jr., 1758–60. — Benjamin Austin, 1758–60. — Samuel Sewall, 1761–68. — Samuel P. Savage, 1761, 1762. — Ezekiel Lewis, 1761–63. — Nathaniel Thwing, 1763–65. — John Ruddock, 1764 72. — John Hancock, 1765–74. — John Winslow, 1766. — William Phillips, 1766–78. - Timothy Newell, 1766–74. — John Rowe, 1767, 1768. — Samuel Pemberton, 1769–72. — Henderson Inches, 1769–71. — Jonathan Mason, 1769–71. — Ebenezer Storer, 1771, 1772. — Samuel Austin, 1772–74. — Thomas Marshall, 1772–74. — Oliver Wendell, 1773, 1774. — John Pitts, 1773, 1774.



SELECTMEN, 1764.

SELECTMEN, 1770.



TOWN CLERKS.

[1] [John Scollay was chairman of the board, 1774–90. A portrait of him by Copley was owned by the late Dr. Jacob Bigelow. Perkins, *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 105. — Ed.]

TOWN CLERKS. — 1701. Joseph Prout. — 1720. Samuel Checkley.[1] — 1733. Samuel Gerrish. — 1741. Ezekiel Goldthwait. — 1761. William Cooper.

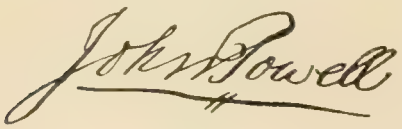
TOWN TREASURERS. — 1704. Joseph Prout. — 1719. Joseph Wadsworth. — 1749. David Jeffries.

We may well begin our sketch of the newer families with —

41. Sir William Phips, Knt.[2] He was not born in Boston, but came here to enjoy his strangely-acquired fortune; and he was the greatest example of a sudden rise from poverty. He left no children, but his wife's nephew, Spencer Bennett, became his heir; and as Spencer Phips, Lieut.-Governor for many years, was fairly to be considered a Bostonian. He resided mainly at Cambridge; and his daughters married Andrew Boardman, John Vassall, Richard Lechmere, and Joseph Lee. His only surviving son, David Phips, married Mary Greenleaf, of Boston, in 1753, and was later a refugee with his family of three sons and three daughters.

42. Lieut.-Governor William Tailer, Jr., was the son of William Tailer, a great Boston merchant who committed suicide in 1682, and Rebecca, sister of Lieut.-Governor William Stoughton. This William Tailer left the son above noted and a daughter, Elizabeth, wife of John Nelson, Lieut.-Governor. The Lieut.-Governor married, first, a daughter of Nathaniel Byfield, and secondly Abigail, daughter of Benjamin Gillam, and widow of Thomas Dudley. The cousins of Lieut.-Governor William Tailer were Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. John Danforth, and Mehitable, wife of Thomas Cooper; these being the daughters of James and Hannah (Stoughton) Minot.

43. Lieut.-Governor William Dummer was one of the three sons of Jeremiah Dummer of Boston. Of these, Jeremiah was agent for the colony in England, and died unmarried, in 1739; he was one of the very few provincials who attained to any position in the mother country. Samuel, the second son, seems to have made a fortune in Jamaica, settled at Wilmington, Mass., and died in 1737, leaving an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married the Rev. Daniel Rogers, of Littleton. The third son, William, for many years acting-governor of the Province, left no children, but devised most of his property to the children of his sister Anne, wife of John Powell. Through this line the family has been continued in Boston, though not in the name; but the endowment of Dummer Academy has perpetuated the memory of the charitable governor.[3]



44. Lieut.-Governor William Shirley[4] was born in England, descended from a family settled at Ote Hall and Wiston in Sussex, cadets of the family raised to the peerage as Earls Ferrers. By his wife Frances (Barker), born

[1] [Colonel Samuel Checkley, born 1653; arrived 1670; married, 1680, Mary, daughter of Joshua Scottow; had eleven children, one being the Rev. Samuel Checkley; and died Dec. 27, 1738. See *Sewall Papers*, iii. 231. — ED.]

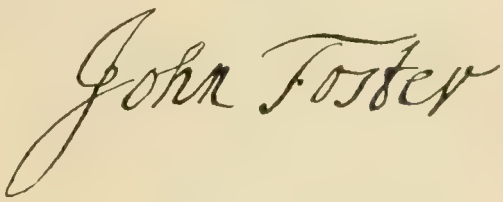
[2] [See his portrait, p. 36. — ED.]

[3] [See Mr. Whitmore's note on this family in *Sewall Papers*, i. xxi. — ED.]

[4] [See the frontispiece of this volume. — ED.]

at London in 1692, he had four sons and five daughters. Only one son survived him, Thomas, made a baronet in 1786, whose only son died *s. p.* in 1815. Of the daughters, Elizabeth married Eliakim Hutchinson, Frances married William Bollan, of London, Harriet married Robert Temple, and Maria married John Erving.

45. Lieut.-Governor Thomas Hutchinson.[1] We have already (see Vol. I., No. 13, p. 579) given the early history of this family. Elisha Hutchinson had two sons, Thomas and Edward; Thomas married, in 1703, Sarah, daughter of Col. John Foster.[2] His sons were Governor Thomas and Foster;[3] his daughters married the Rev. William Welsteed, John Davenport, William Merchant, the Rev. Samuel Mather, and George Rogers. Edward Hutchinson married Lydia Foster, and left Edward, Sarah, and Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. Nathaniel Robbins. Foster Hutchinson married Margaret Mascarene, and was a refugee. His children were Foster and Elizabeth. Governor Thomas Hutchinson married Margaret Sanford, granddaughter of Governor Peleg Sanford, of Rhode Island, and had three children. They were refugees, and their marriages will be explained under the next number.



46. Andrew Oliver (see Vol. I., No. 14, p. 580), son of Daniel Oliver,[4] was Lieut.-Governor. By his first wife Mary, daughter of Thomas Fitch, he had a son Andrew, who married Mary, daughter of Benjamin Lynde, and had the Rev. Thomas-Fitch. This branch of the Olivers remained here, and two grandsons of the Rev. Thomas-Fitch are Dr. Fitch-Edward Oliver of Boston, and the Rev. Andrew. A third brother of these last was Peter, a well-known author, who died here in 1855. Lieut.-Governor Andrew Oliver married, secondly, Mary Sanford, and thus became brother-in-law of Governor Hutchinson. He had by her fourteen children. The daughters married Samuel Waldo, Edward Lyde, John Spooner; and Sarah married her cousin Thomas Hutchinson. Their daughter, Mary Oliver Hutchinson, mar-

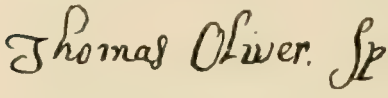
[1] [See his portrait, p. 68. — Ed.]

[2] [Colonel Foster died Feb. 9, 1710–11. See *Sewall Papers*, ii. 300; also see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, October, 1863, p. 325. — Ed.]

[3] [Foster and Thomas Hutchinson had a dry-goods store below the Swing Bridge, in 1765. — Ed.]

[4] [This Daniel Oliver was for many years a councillor, and he died in 1732. His descendant, Dr. F. E. Oliver, owns an excellent likeness of him by Smibert. His will contains the following provision: "*Imprimis*, I give and bequeath my house adjoining to Barton's Rope-walk, called Spinning House, with the lands as now fenced in, — about fifty feet square, — with all the profits and incomes of it, as it now stands in my books (since built), forever to be improved for learning poor children of the town of Boston to read the Word of God, and to write if need be, or any other work of charity for the public good, according to the discretion of my executors and executrix, hereafter mentioned, with the advice of the ministers of the brick South Meeting-house and their successors; and at the decease of my said executors and executrix, to be put into the hands of the selectmen or overseers of the poor of the town of Boston, as the minister or ministers of the said South Brick Meeting-house shall advise, to improve said charity for said public use." The will was signed, Dec. 17, 1731, and proved Aug. 7, 1732. — Ed.]

ried her cousin William S. Oliver, and their daughter, Mary H. Oliver, married Frederick Hutchinson; and there were two or three more intermarriages. Peter Oliver, chief-justice of the Province, brother of Lieut.-Governor Andrew Oliver, married Mary, daughter of William Clarke; his son Peter married Sarah, daughter of Governor Hutchinson; Andrew married Phœbe Spooner, and his daughter Elizabeth married George Watson. All these Olivers were refugees. From another line, branching off in the second generation, was Peter Oliver, who married Sarah Newdegate, and had four sons. Of these, Nathaniel married Elizabeth Brattle, and had Nathaniel, who married Martha Hobbs. This son, Nathaniel (born 1713, died 1769), married Mercy, daughter of Jacob Oliver, and had the Rev. Daniel (born 1753, died 1840), father of Henry K. Oliver, late mayor of Salem (born 1800, and still living). Thomas Oliver, cousin to Daniel Oliver, was born at Boston in 1646. His mother married, secondly, Edward Jackson, and thus he was brought up in Cambridge. He was representative for eighteen years, and speaker in 1708. He had two wives, and by them many children, most of whom died young. His son Thomas was of H. C., 1719. One of his daughters married Benjamin Prescott, and was the ancestress of famous men.



47. Sir Charles Hobby, Knt., as one of our few titled natives, may deserve the next place. He was the son of William Hobby, and was knighted for brave conduct in Jamaica, at the time of the earthquake in 1692. In 1705 he was urged for the post of Governor of Massachusetts, but being "a gay man, a free liver," etc., he did not succeed. He left a widow but no children at his death in 1715, and his mode of life may explain the small estate remaining to his heirs.

48. Captain Robert Temple came over in 1717, with a number of Scotch-Irish emigrants. He was undoubtedly a descendant of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stowe, baronet, probably through his third son, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Temple of Dublin, who had a son Thomas. Robert Temple married here Mehitable Nelson, who was granddaughter of Robert Nelson, by Mary, daughter of Sir John Temple of Staunton-Barry. Captain Temple owned the Ten-Hills Farm. His children were Robert Temple, who married the daughter of Governor Shirley, and had three daughters, — one married to Christopher Temple Emmett, and another to Hans Blackwood, Lord Dufferin, — John Temple (afterward noticed), and William Temple, who was twice married, leaving a son Robert, whose three sons live in New York. John, the second son of the emigrant, was an officer under the Crown, and married Elizabeth, daughter of James Bowdoin, afterward Governor of Massachusetts. This John was acknowledged heir to the baronetcy in 1786, and left a son, Sir Grenville Temple, whose grandson is the eleventh baronet. A daughter of Sir John Temple married Lieut.-Governor Thomas Lindall Winthrop, of Boston, father of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

49. John Nelson,[1] above-mentioned, came to Boston and was prominent in the Andros period, and for some years later. By his wife, Elizabeth Tailer, he had two sons; also daughters, who married Captain Robert Temple, Captain Thomas Steele, Nathaniel Hubbard, and Henry Lloyd. His son Temple Nelson married Mary, daughter of Lieut.-Governor John Wentworth, of New Hampshire.

SIR CHARLES HOBBY.[2]

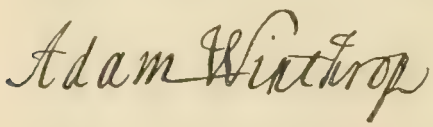
[1] [See his portrait, p. 15. — Ed.]

[2] [This cut follows a portrait now belonging to the Boston Athenæum, and on deposit at the Art Museum. It was bequeathed by Mrs. Waterhouse to the Athenæum as "the picture of my kinsman, Sir Charles Hobby, done by Sir Peter Lely." As Sir Peter died before Hobby went to England, this authorship has been discredited, and the assignment given to Sir Godfrey Kneller. Sir Charles had been captain of the Artillery Company in 1702, and colonel of the Boston regiment. It is sometimes said that his knight-

50. Samuel Sewall was a prominent man in this century, and his fortunate habit of keeping a diary will preserve his memory for generations. He was born in England, son of Henry Sewall of Rowley, Mass., grandson of Henry Sewall, mayor of Coventry. Back of this the line cannot be traced, and the emigrant hither does not seem to have taken a very conspicuous place. Samuel Sewall married the only child of John Hull, the rich mint-master, and in 1684 became an assistant. He was made one of the judges of the Supreme Court under the new charter, and was chief-justice from 1718 to 1728, when he resigned. Of his children, Samuel, Jr., married Rebecca, daughter of Governor Joseph Dudley; but the line soon ceased in the name. The Rev. Joseph, another son, married Elizabeth Walley, and had a son who married Elizabeth Quincy, from whom came Samuel, also chief-justice; descendants of the name still reside in Boston and the vicinity. The daughters of Samuel Sewall, Sr., married Grove Hirst, Samuel Gerrish, and the Rev. William Cooper.[1]

51. Isaac Addington, usually called Secretary Addington, was the son of Isaac Addington and Anne, daughter of Thomas Leverett.[2] The daughters of the first Isaac married Captain Samuel Moseley, Nehemiah Pearce, Captain Eleazer Davenport, and Colonel Penn Townsend. Isaac Addington, Jr., was speaker in 1685, assistant in 1686, secretary in 1690 and for nearly twenty-five years thereafter, and judge. He married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Griffith Bowen, by whom he had a daughter, who died young; and, secondly, Elizabeth (Norton), widow of Colonel John Wainwright, of Ipswich.

52. The Davenports in Boston come from Eleazer Davenport, who married Rebecca Addington. Their oldest child was Judge Addington Davenport, a member of the Council, etc.; born 1670, died 1736. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Wainwright; her sisters married Adam Winthrop and Paul Dudley, The judge had children, — the Rev. Addington, John, Elizabeth, wife of William Dudley, and Lucy, who married the Rev. Ebenezer Turell. The Rev. Addington Davenport, of Trinity Church, married, first, Jane, daughter of Grove Hirst; and, secondly, Anne, daughter of Benjamin Faneuil. John Davenport, the other son of the judge, married Abigail, daughter of Thomas Hutchinson.



53. In the notice, in Vol. I. p. 578 (No. 11), of the Savage family we

hood was given for his share in the Port Royal Expedition (see this vol., p. 105), and it has been even alleged that a consideration of £800 had something to do with it. See Hutchinson's *Mass. Bay*, ii. 153. His sister Judith married John Colman; their son Benjamin was father of Judith Colman, who married Thomas Lee; and the daughter of this last, Mrs. Louisa Lee Waterhouse (died in 1863), left Hobby's portrait to the Athenæum, and that of the Rev. Benjamin Colman to Harvard College I am indebted for this information to Colonel Henry Lee. — ED.]

[1] [The family connections of Judge Sewall are elaborately traced by Mr. Whitmore in the *Sewall Papers*, i., Introduction. A portrait of Samuel Sewall is given on p. 148, and of Joseph Sewall on p. 241 of the present volume. — ED.]

[2] [See Addington portraits in Vol. I., pp. 576, 577. — ED.]

omitted to trace Thomas, son of the first Thomas Savage. This son married Elizabeth, daughter of Joshua Scottow, and had Thomas, Habijah, and Arthur; also daughters Elizabeth Wadsworth, Faith Waldo, and Lydia, wife of Timothy Prout. Thomas, 3d, married Margaret Lynde, and had two daughters, — Margaret, wife of John Alford, and Elizabeth, wife of John Winslow. Habijah married Hannah Phillips, and had sons Thomas, Habijah, and Arthur. Arthur, son of Thomas Savage, Jr., married Faith Phillips, and had sons Arthur and Samuel-Phillips. This last named married Sarah Tyler; he presided at the meeting at the Old South which decided that the tea should not be landed. Of his children, William lived in Jamaica and had several children, of whom Hope married Lemuel Shaw. Two other sons of Samuel P. Savage were Major Joseph and Henry, both officers in the Revolution. Of their sisters, Lucy married Amos Bigelow, Faith married Henry Bass, and Sarah married George Thatcher.

54. The Phillips family has long been known and esteemed in Boston. The founder was the Rev. George P., of Watertown, whose son the Rev. Samuel, of Rowley, was father of Samuel Phillips, goldsmith, of Salem. This last married Mary Emerson, a granddaughter of Deputy-Governor Symonds, and had two sons, — the Rev. Samuel, of Andover, and Colonel John,[1] of Boston. The first of these had three sons, — Samuel, of Andover, and John, of Exeter (who were the founders of Phillips Academy in Andover), and William, of Boston. Samuel, son of the last-named Samuel, was lieut.-governor, and left one son, Colonel John. William, of Boston, married Abigail Bromfield, and left a large estate to his son William, who was also lieut.-governor. This last William had two sons, Jonathan and Edward. The former, by his wife Rebecca Salisbury, left an only son William, who died a few years ago leaving an enormous fortune to a distant bearer of the name. Edward married, first, Mary Salisbury, and secondly Theresa Henshaw; and by the latter had an only son, Edward B. Phillips, who died in 1848, and left $100,000 to Harvard College. The daughters of Lieut.-Governor William Phillips married Samuel H. Walley and the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess. The other branch, springing from Colonel John, son of Samuel the goldsmith, was more especially Bostonian. By his wife, Mary Buttolph, this John had William, of Boston, who married Margaret, daughter of Jacob Wendell; and had Margaret (who was the wife of Judge Samuel Cooper, of Boston) and John. This last was the first mayor of Boston; married Sarah Walley, and had sons Thomas W., the Rev. John C., George W., Wendell, and Grenville T.; also daughters married to Francis Jenks, Alonzo Gray, Dr. Edward Reynolds, and the Rev. George W. Blagden. The members of this generation are too well known to require any further description.

55. The Wendells are a Dutch family; settled at Albany, and came here in the last century.[2] Abraham Wendell died here in 1734, leaving a son John, who married Elizabeth Quincy, and a daughter Elizabeth, who married Edmund Quincy. Jacob Wendell, brother of Abraham, colonel of

[1] [See p. 468, *note*.—Ed.] [2] [The Wendell arms are figured in the *Heraldic Journal*, i. 49.—Ed.]

the Boston regiment, councillor, etc., married Sarah, daughter of Dr. James Oliver, and had twelve children. The sons were Jacob, who married Elizabeth Hunt, John-Mico, who married Catharine Brattle, and Oliver. The daughters married Richard Wibird, John Hunt, Nathaniel Oliver, Samuel Sewall, William Cooper, John Penhallow, and William Phillips. Judge Oliver Wendell, son of Jacob, married Mary, daughter of Edward Jackson, and had Sarah, who married the Rev. Abiel Holmes; and these became the parents of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes.

56. James Lloyd, who died at Boston about 1693, married, first, Griselda, daughter of Nathaniel Sylvester, and secondly Rebecca Leverett. He had sons Joseph and Henry, the latter marrying Rebecca, daughter of John Nelson. Of their ten children, Henry was the ancestor of the Lloyds of Lloyd's Neck, L. I.; while the youngest was Dr. James L., of Boston, who died in 1810, aged eighty-two. Dr. James Lloyd married Sarah Comrin, and had, besides a daughter Sarah (wife of Leonard Vassall Borland), a son James. This last was an eminent merchant, senator from Massachusetts, etc.; he married Hannah Breck, and died in 1831 without issue. His grand-nephew, James Lloyd Borland, dropped the last name, and died in 1849, aged twenty-eight.

57. The Borlands begin with John, of Boston, who died in 1726, whose brother Francis was minister at Glasford, Scotland. John left an only son Francis, who married Jane Lindall, and had, with two sons, a daughter Jane, wife of John Still Winthrop. John Borland, son of Francis, married Anna Vassall, and had twelve children, of whom Leonard Vassall Borland married Sarah Lloyd. Their son John was father of James Lloyd, M. Woolsey Borland, and Dr. J. Nelson Borland, of Boston.

58. John and Samuel Vassall, of London, brothers, were among the first patentees of Massachusetts, though neither came here. John's son was William, who came over here, but left in 1646. Samuel, by a son John, had grandsons William and Leonard, born at Jamaica; and Florentius, son of this latter William, though never here, owned a large tract of land in Maine. Major Leonard Vassall, above noted, came here before 1723, and was one of the founders of Trinity Church. His first wife was Ruth Gale, by whom he had seventeen children; his second wife was Widow Phebe (Penhallow) Gross, who survived him, and married, thirdly, Hon. Thomas Greaves, and fourthly Francis Borland. The surviving children were sons John, William, and Henry; also daughters married to Dr. Benjamin Steadman, John Miller, Jonathan Prescott, George Ruggles, John Borland, and William Knight. The three sons of Leonard Vassall were prominent in Boston and Cambridge.[1] Colonel John Vassall married, first, a daughter of Lieut.-Governor Spencer Phips; and his son John married Elizabeth, sister of Lieut.-Governor Thomas Oliver, to whom his sister Elizabeth was married. He was a refugee. William, second son of Leonard Vassall, married Ann Davis, and secondly Margaret Hubbard. He was sheriff of Middlesex

[1] [See the Introduction, p. xxxi. — Ed.]

County, and a mandamus councillor; he had sixteen children, and was a loyalist at the time of the Revolution. Colonel Henry Vassall, third son of Leonard, married Penelope, daughter of Isaac Royall, and left Elizabeth, wife of Dr. Charles Russell.

59. The Lindalls[1] were a Salem family, whereof Timothy was a merchant here from 1704 to 1715, and had several children born here. He had three wives and seven children, but only one daughter lived to marry. This was Jane, who married Francis Borland; and, as she was an heiress, the name of Lindall has been preserved through her descendants. It is presumed, but not ascertained, that the wife of James Pitts, of Boston, belonged to this family.

60. The Brinleys, of Boston, are derived from Francis Brinley, of Newport, R. I., whose son Thomas settled in Boston, married Mary Apthorp, and died in London in 1693, leaving children, — Elizabeth (wife of William Hutchinson) and Francis. This last named settled in Roxbury,[2] and married Deborah Lyde, and had five sons and two daughters; the latter married Colonel John Murray and Godfrey Malbone. Of the sons, Thomas was a mandamus councillor, and lived on Harvard Street; he married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of George Cradock, was a refugee, and left no children. Another son, Edward, married Sarah, daughter of Thomas Tyler, and left many descendants. A third son, Nathaniel, also married his cousin Catharine Cradock, was a resident in South Street, and was of Tory proclivities. He removed to Tyngsborough, where his son Robert married Elizabeth, daughter of John Pitts.

61. James Pitts seems to have been rather a late comer to Boston, though he was an eminent merchant, and a graduate of Harvard in 1731. He married Elizabeth, daughter of James Bowdoin, and had sons John, Samuel, and Lindall. The eldest son, John, married a daughter of John Tyng. The second son, Samuel, married a daughter of William Davis, and had five sons and two daughters. The third son, Lindall, married Elizabeth, daughter of Timothy Fitch, of Medford, and left issue. All three of the sons were prominent on the side of the patriots at the Revolution, and the name is preserved in one of our streets to the present day.[3]

62. Charles Apthorp, who died in Boston in 1758, aged sixty years, was born in England and educated at Eton; he was a merchant here, and paymaster and commissary to the British troops. He married Grisel, daughter of John and Griselda (Lloyd) Eastwick, whose mother was daughter of Sir John Lloyd. The family chronicler says that our James Lloyd was of the same family. Charles Apthorp had eighteen children, of whom fifteen survived him, and eleven married. The sons were Charles Ward Apthorp, of New York; John, who went to England and married a sister of Sir Horace Mann, and, returning to Boston, married secondly Hannah Greenleaf; James, Thomas, William, and, the most noted one, the Rev. East Apthorp,

[1] [See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, vii. 15. — Ed.]

[2] [See F. S. Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 327. — Ed.]

[3] [See Introduction, p. xlviii. — Ed.]

Episcopal minister at our Cambridge. He married here a daughter of Foster Hutchinson, and took a second wife after his return to England. The daughters of Charles Apthorp married Barlow Trecothick, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, Nathaniel Wheelwright, James McEvers, and Robert Bayard. The name is still represented among us.

63. Samuel Salisbury, son of Nicholas and Martha (Saunders) Salisbury, was born in 1739, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Sewall. He was a deacon of the Old South. They had ten children, of whom two sons and six daughters married. The latter married Stephen Higginson, John Leverett, Jonathan Phillips, John Tappan, Aaron P. Cleveland, and Edward Phillips. Many descendants of this worthy couple remain.[1]

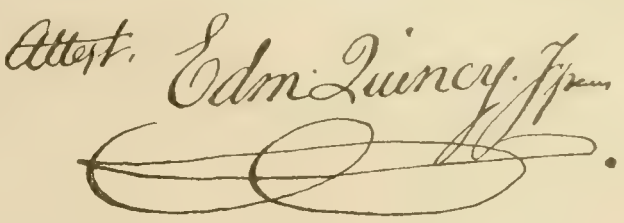
64. The Marions were long in public service here. John Marion, who died in 1705, aged eighty-five, by his wife Sarah had five sons and three daughters. His oldest son, John, was deacon of the First Church, and was twice married; by his first wife, Ann, he had a son Joseph, and by his second wife, Prudence Balston, he had none; he died in 1728, aged seventy-seven. Joseph, son of John, Jr., was a notary public, register of probate, and, in 1714, secretary *pro tem.* He married Ellen, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Bridge of the First Church; and had daughters married to Theodore Cooke, William Story, Thomas Dodge, and John Jenkins. Samuel Marion, another son of the first John, was twice married, — his second wife being Mary, daughter of Deacon Edward Wilson, — and had three sons, who left issue. These were Samuel (whose three wives were Mary Ellis, Mary Moss, and Ann Phillips), Isaac, who married Rebecca Knight, and John, who married Dorothy Tudor.

65. The Rev. Thomas Bridge, who came here in 1704, was installed as colleague at the First Church in the year following. Besides the daughter, Ellen, who married Joseph Marion as above noted, he had Elizabeth (wife of Bryant Parrot), Lydia (married Benjamin Gray), Copia (married Richie Love), and Sarah (married John Gorman).

66. The Quincy family has been so long identified with Boston, that we are apt to forget that it was not with us from the start. Edmund, the emigrant, settled at Mount Wollaston, now Quincy, and had a daughter, besides an only son Edmund, who married Joanna Hoar. The latter had daughters married to John Hull, David Hubbard, Ephraim Savage, the Rev. John Rayner, Jr., the Rev. D. Gookin, John Hunt, William Savil, and the Rev. D. Baker. The eldest son of Edmund, Jr., Daniel, married Ann Shepard, and had a son John, councillor and speaker, who married Elizabeth Norton. A daughter of this John married the Rev. William Smith, whose daughter married President John Adams. The line of Daniel continued only in female branches. Judge Edmund Quincy, son of Edmund, Jr., by a second wife (daughter of Major-General Gookin, and widow of the Rev. John Eliot, Jr.), married Dorothy Flynt. He was agent of the colony to England, and died there in 1738, leaving sons Edmund and Josiah, and daughters

[1] [See *Sewall Papers*, i. xxxiv. — Ed.]

married to John Wendell and Edward Jackson. Of these, Edmund married Elizabeth Wendell and had nine children, from whom there are numerous descendants, both of the Quincy name and of other families. Josiah Quincy,[1] younger son of Judge Edmund, married three times; his second son, Samuel, was the solicitor general, and a refugee. His third son, Josiah, Jr., was an ardent patriot, and died on his return from Europe in 1775, leaving by his wife, Abigail Phillips, an only child, Josiah.[2] This latter, the well-known mayor of Boston from 1823 to 1828, who died in 1864 aged ninety-two, was long the best known and most evident representative citizen here. By his wife, Eliza S. Morton, he had Josiah, Jr., also mayor of Boston (whose children are Josiah P. and General Samuel M.), and Edmund, known as an able writer and an ardent abolitionist.



67. Colonel Thomas Fitch, a representative and councillor, who died in 1736, was son of Thomas and Martha (Fiske) Fitch, and probably grandson of Zachary Fitch, of Dedham. Thomas Fitch married Abiel, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, and had a son (who married Martha, but died *s. p.* before the father), and also a daughter Mary, wife of Lieut.-Governor Andrew Oliver. Fitch's heirs were his daughter, Martha-Allen, and grandson Edward, *alias* Thomas Fitch Oliver; his other relatives were his sister Sarah, wife of Thomas Warren, and Mary, wife of Thomas Hunt. Colonel Fitch deserves mention as having owned a large section of Boston Common, lying on the northerly side of Boylston Street.[3]

68. Mention has already been made of the Clark family (Vol. I. p. 586, No. 37), following Savage's account. This proves to be erroneous in some respects. Colonel Thomas Clark, the speaker and assistant, married Mary, sister of Israel Stoughton, and had only two children, — Mehitable Warren and Elizabeth, wife successively of John Freke and Elisha Hutchinson. The other Thomas Clark, his contemporary, was captain in Colonel T. C.'s regiment, owned land on Boylston Street, was a locksmith or blacksmith, and a reputable citizen. He had an only son Thomas, and daughters Leah Baker, Deborah Byfield, and Elizabeth Stevens. Thomas Clark, Jr., mariner, had a daughter Hannah, wife of John Maudsley, of Dorchester; went to England and married again, Judith (who remarried —— Grafton), and had a daughter Theodosia, who married a Sherman. Elizabeth-Stevens above named, died a childless widow. Leah, wife of Thomas Baker, had four children, — Thomas and John, Rachel (wife of George Waldron) and Mary. In noticing the John Clarks an omission was also made. The Dr.

[1] [See his portrait, p. 121. — Ed.]

[2] [Portraits of the second and third Josiahs will be given in a later volume — Ed.]

[3] [See Introduction, p. xxxvii, where the transmission of these estates, now a part of the Common, is traced. — Ed.]

John C. who married Martha Whittingham was son of an earlier Dr. John, of Newbury, who married Martha, sister of Sir Richard Saltonstall, and came to Boston to practise; he died in 1664. The second Dr. John Clark, besides the son Dr. John who was speaker, etc., had a son William — born in 1670, died in 1742 — who was a great merchant. He lived in Clark Square, in a fine house afterward bought and occupied by Sir Henry Frankland.[1] He left a widow Sarah, sons Robert and Benjamin, and daughters Sarah, Rebecca, and Martha. The third Dr. John Clark, speaker, etc., had three wives, — Sarah Shrimpton, Elizabeth Hutchinson, and Sarah Crisp. His son Dr. John (4) had sons John and William, and a daughter who married the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew. The son John, the fifth doctor, had a son Dr. John, sixth, who married Abigail Tailer, and was father of the seventh Dr. John Clark, who had an only daughter Emily, wife of Joseph Merriam, of Lexington. Another family of Clarks may be here mentioned. The Rev. Jonas Clark, of Lexington, who married Lucy Bowes, granddaughter of the Rev. John Hancock, had sons Thomas (town clerk of Boston 1809–22, and clerk of the common council 1822–32), John (a distinguished physician), and Henry, whose son Henry G. was city physician for many years. This family springs from Hugh Clark of Watertown and Roxbury.

AUTOGRAPHS.[2]

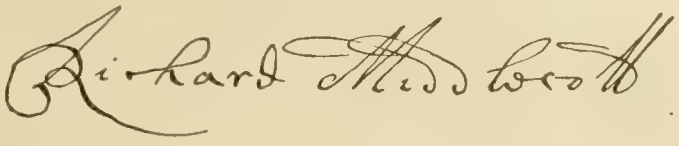
69. Edward Bromfield, third son of Henry Bromfield, of Haywood House, co. Hants, was born in 1648, and came to Boston in 1675, where he was a representative and councillor. His second wife was the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, by whom he had a daughter, married to the Rev. John Webb, and a son Edward. The latter married Abigail Coney, and was a representative for the town on the liberal side. His sons were Edward, who died at the age of twenty-three, a youth of great promise, Thomas, an eminent merchant in London, and John; his daughters married William Phillips, Jeremiah Powell, and William Powell. The son John married Ann Roberts in 1774, and was father of John Bromfield, a Boston merchant who died in 1849, and who, besides giving twenty-five thousand dollars to the Boston Athenæum, left over one hundred thousand dollars to charitable purposes.[3]

[1] [See Introduction, p. xi. — Ed.]

[2] [These are respectively of the Boston Chirurgeon, dated 1684, and of the speaker of 1709. See *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1860, p. 171. — Ed.]

[3] [There is an account of the Bromfield family, by D. D. Slade, in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1871; see also *Heraldic Journal*, iii. 187. A view of the Bromfield Mansion on Beacon Street is given in Mr. Bynner's chapter. — Ed.]

70. We have briefly mentioned the Payne family (Vol. I. p. 581, No. 22), but it deserves a further notice. Tobias Payne, of Fownhope, co. Hereford, was bred as a merchant in Hamburg; then went to Barbadoes, and came here in 1666. He married Sarah, daughter of John Winslow and widow of Miles Standish, by whom he had an only child, William. The widow married, thirdly, Richard Middlecott. William Payne married, first, Mary, daughter of James Taylor, and secondly Margaret Stewart, of Ipswich; he was collector, sheriff, and commissioner of the excise, and died in 1735, leaving a large family. The daughters married Jonathan Sewall, John Colman, Jr., and John Phillips; of the sons, Tobias married Sarah, daughter of Kenelm Winslow, and had an only daughter; John was register of probate, and Edward was a merchant. This last-named Edward married Rebecca Amory, and had Rebecca, wife of Governor Christopher Gore, and William, who married Lucy, daughter of Ellis Gray and widow of Dr. William J. B. Dobell; he left twin sons, Edward W. and William E., who both died unmarried. Mary and Sarah, twins, sisters of Edward, lived with him in the large double house on Beacon Street, next west of the Boston Athenæum. We have already noted that the widow of Tobias Payne married, thirdly, Richard Middlecott. They had children, — Edward, who went to England, "where he purchased his Father's Life in an estate at Wormister of £300 per ann., which was entailed on him by his Uncle;" Mary, who married Henry Gibbs, "son of Counsellor Gibbs of Barbados;" Jane, who married Elisha Cooke; and Sarah, who married Louis Boucher, a merchant, who had children, — Ann, Sarah, and Jane, besides three who died young. He was lost at sea in 1715, but there was a Louis Boucher in 1742, member of the First Baptist Church.

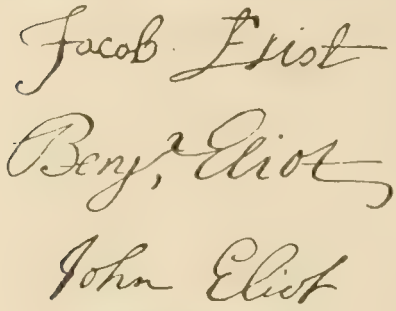


71. James Taylor, long treasurer of the province, was the son of Christopher Taylor, leather-dresser of London. He left two sons, Christopher and William, and daughters married to John Kellsoll, of New York, David Craigie, Edward Pell, William Payne, William Robie, Samuel Phips, and Christopher Jacob Lawton. Christopher died unmarried; William moved to Lynn, where his father had a large estate, and had only two daughters, — Rebecca, wife of Timothy Orne, and Anne, wife of Benjamin Parker. This family, so soon extinct in the male line, seems not to be related to that of Lieut.-Governor William Tailer. (See *ante*, No. 42.)

72. The Eliots are certainly entitled to mention here, although that old landmark, Eliot Street, is likely to lose its name. The famous "Apostle to the Indians," the Rev. John Eliot,[1] had brothers Philip, Jacob, of Boston,

[1] [It may be worth while to record here that a second edition, 1880, of the reprint edited by Small, of the *Indian Primer* of 1669 (see Vol. I. p. 478) has been issued with an account and fac-

and Francis, of Braintree. John left descendants now mostly in Connecticut. Philip had only daughters married to John Smith, Richard Withington, and John Aldis; Francis had only daughters married to Caleb Hobart, John Poulter, John Whitmore, and Stephen Willis. Jacob had sons Jacob and Asaph, and daughters who married Theophilus Frary, Thomas Wyborne, Peter Hobart, and Thomas Downes. Asaph Eliot married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Davenport, and had Elizabeth, wife of Isaac Royall, and John, who married Sarah Downes. Jacob Eliot, Jr., married Mary, widow of William Wilcox of Cambridge, and had, with daughters married to Elizur Holyoke and William Davis, three sons, Joseph, Benjamin, and Jacob. The last two died without issue. Joseph married Silence, and had Deacon John and Rev. Jacob; of whom John married thrice, and had a son Joseph, of Needham, and two daughters. The Rev. Jacob Eliot, of Lebanon, Connecticut, died in 1766, aged sixty-five, leaving sons from whom there may be issue of the name. These Eliots and their relatives owned a large tract at what was then the South End of the town. The Eliot house was where the Boylston Market[2] is, and their land reached from Washington Street west to the Back Bay. Through it Eliot Street was laid out, and the Frarys, Downes, Lowders, and other allied names will be found on deeds of all that property. There was another noted family whose name is more properly spelled Elliott, but later generations have adopted the shorter spelling. Two generations of Andrew Elliotts were of Beverly; the third was a bookseller of Boston, and died in 1749. His son, Samuel Eliot, married Elizabeth Marshall, and had Samuel, a noted merchant here. The latter was father of William H. and our late mayor, Samuel A. Eliot. Charles W., the son of the mayor, is President of Harvard College; and Samuel, son of William H., was President of Trinity College, Hartford, and later was Superintendent of Schools in this city. The Rev. Andrew Eliot, uncle of the mayor, was minister of the New North Church; and his son, the Rev. John Eliot, was the author of the well known biographical dictionary.



THE SOUTH END ELIOTS.[1]

73. Andrew Belcher of Cambridge (son of Andrew B., who married Elizabeth Danforth) married at Hartford the daughter of Jonathan Gilbert. He came to Boston, was a prosperous merchant, and a councillor. He

simile of *A Christian Covenanting Confession*, following a copy of the broadside, in Indian and English, preserved in the University Library at Edinburgh, and which is marked as having been brought from New England in 1690. Mr. Small supposes it unique, and it may be in that form, for it varies typographically and textually from the only copy known to us heretofore, and which is owned, as stated in Vol. I. p. 467, by the Congregational Library in Boston. — ED.]

[1] [These autographs are respectively of date, 1685, 1708, and 1732. There is an account of the Eliot family in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, July, 1869, p. 336. — ED.]

[2] See Introduction, p. xxxvii.

married, secondly, Hannah, widow of Isaac Walker and daughter of Theophilus Frary, and owned land next to the Eliots on Washington Street. His daughters married George Vaughan, Daniel Oliver, Oliver Noyes; his son Jonathan was Governor of Massachusetts, 1730–41, and died Governor of New Jersey. The governor married, first, a daughter of Lieut.-Governor Partridge, of New Hampshire, and had a daughter married to Byfield Lyde, besides sons Andrew and Jonathan, the latter of whom was Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia. There was an early settler named Edward Belcher, who lived on Boylston Street, and who had a son Edward, Jr.[1] Edward, Sr., married, secondly, Christian, sister of William Talmage, and their only daughter married Samuel Flack. All these parties are to be found on our early deeds, but no relationship is known between Edward Belcher and the family at Cambridge.

74. Nathaniel Williams, H. C. 1693, whose father and grandfather bore the same names, was fitted for the ministry, but he became the successor of Master Cheever of the Boston school. He served from 1703 to 1734, and was succeeded by John Lovell, who served till the Revolution. Nathaniel Williams married Anne, only surviving child of Dr. Samuel Bradstreet, of Jamaica, who was the oldest son of Governor Simon Bradstreet. Deacon Jonathan Williams of the First Church, who died in 1737, was the son of Deacon Robert Williams. He married Mary Hunlock, granddaughter of Samuel Sendall, and had sons Jonathan and Sendall; his second wife was the widow of James Townsend, by whom he had a daughter Rebecca, wife of Thaddeus Mason. The grandson of this latter was the late Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris of Dorchester; and *his* grandsons, Charles and Edward D., are well known to the present generation of Bostonians. Many other bearers of the name have lived here, but most of them are probably descendants of Robert Williams, of Roxbury.[2] That branch, indeed, has been prolific in distinguished scions, but their history is outside our limits.

75. Although much has been written about the Winslows, little can be found in print about the Boston line. John, brother of Governor Edward, married Mary Chilton; was a merchant in Boston, and died in 1674. His daughters married Robert Latham, Edward Gray, Miles Standish, Tobias Payne, and Richard Middlecott; his surviving sons were John, Edward, Joseph, Samuel, Isaac, and Benjamin. Of these, Edward married, first, Sarah Hilton, and secondly Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Hutchinson. He had sons John and Edward, the latter of whom married Hannah, daughter of the Rev. Joshua Moody. He was sheriff of Suffolk County, 1722–41, and judge C. C. P. His sons were Joshua, William, Samuel, Isaac, and John,

[1] [See Introduction, p. xxxv. — Ed.]

[2] [The genealogy of the Roxbury Williams family was one of the earliest traced out with minuteness in a volume, *The Genealogy and History of the Family of Williams*, by Stephen W. Williams, published at Greenfield in 1847.—Ed.]

all prominent citizens of Boston from 1740 to 1770. His son Isaac, a loyalist, was father of Isaac, who married Mary Davis; and had sons George, Benjamin, and Edward, all merchants in Boston within the memory of the present generation.[1] Many other branches of the family have been resident among us, and Rev. Hubbard Winslow and Rev. Miron Winslow are especially worthy of remembrance.

76. The Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of the Old South, died in 1707, having had by his two wives, Abigail Sherman and Eunice Tyng, twenty-one children. Yet of all this large family the only descendants of the name are to be traced to his son John Willard, of Jamaica, through *his* son the Rev. Samuel Willard of Biddeford, Me. Another son of Rev. Samuel was Josiah Willard, secretary of the province for many years, who married Katherine Allen and Hannah Clark, but left no sons. Daniel, brother of Rev. Samuel, had a son Edward of Jamaica, whose daughter Mary married Dr. Edward Ellis, of Boston; her sister married a Mr. Hope. Henry Hope, son of this last, having lost his parents, was placed in charge of his aunts here, and thence went to London and Amsterdam. He succeeded his uncle, Adrian Hope, in the great banking-house in the latter city, and died in London, unmarried, in 1811. His sister, Mrs. Harriet Goddard, left three daughters. The Rev. Samuel Willard of Biddeford, above-noted, married Abigail Wright, and died in 1741, leaving four children, — Rev. John, William, Rev. Joseph, and Eunice. Of these Rev. John had three sons, ministers, and William had one son, a minister; Rev. Joseph was President of Harvard, and had sons Augustus, Sidney, and Joseph, clerk of the superior court 1856–65. The son of the last was Major Sidney Willard, who fell at Fredericksburg, well known to and deeply lamented by our citizens.

77. The Rev. Thomas Walley, rector of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, London, came here in 1663 with sons John and Thomas. Of these, John was a councillor, and commanded the expedition against Quebec in 1690. He was afterward judge of the superior court, and died in 1712. He had daughters married to Charles Chauncy and the Rev. Joseph Sewall, and a son John. This last married Bethiah Eyre, and had sons Rev. John (who died *s. p.*) and Thomas, who was a merchant in Boston, who by wife Sarah Hurd had daughters married to J. Langdon and Mayor John Phillips. Thomas Walley had also sons Thomas (who had twelve children) and Samuel Hall Walley; this last named married Miriam Phillips, and had a son, Samuel Hurd Walley, who died a few years ago, a lawyer, a representative in Congress, and well known in the days of the Whig supremacy here.

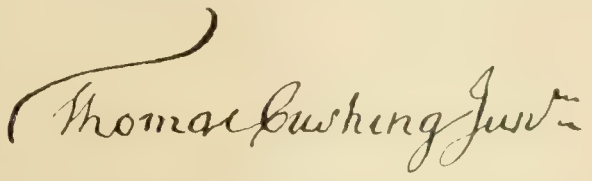
78. William Ballentine was one of the first settlers here, and by wife Hannah Holland had twelve children. His son, Captain John Ballentine, was a representative, and by wife Lydia had sons John and William. John Ballentine, Jr., his son, was of Harvard College, clerk C. C. P., and register of deeds for Suffolk. He married Mary, daughter of Adam Winthrop, and

[1] [See note in this volume, p. 124. — Ed.]

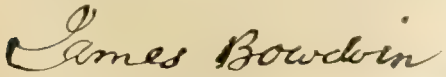
had sons John, Mary, and William. Of these, John was a minister at Westfield, and died in 1776; he married Mary, daughter of Luther Gay, and had three sons and two daughters. The name frequently occurs on our records.

79. A family of the very similar name of Valentine has long lived here. The founder was John Valentine, an Englishman, a lawyer, notary, etc., who died in 1724. He married Mary, only child of Samuel Lynde, and had seven children. The oldest son went to England, where he inherited an estate; his wife was a daughter of Jarvis Ballard. The sons of John were of Hopkinton and Fall River; but many of the descendants of the name have returned to Boston, and have been engaged in business here.

80. The Cushings are of a family which first settled at Hingham, beginning with Matthew Cushing. John, his youngest son, was an assistant, married Sarah Hawkes, and had a son Thomas, of Boston, who was a councillor. This last married Deborah Thaxter and Mary Wensley, and had several children. His son Thomas was speaker, and married a daughter of Edward Bromfield, by whom he had Thomas, speaker and lieutenant-governor, 1780–88. The family has been especially famous for the number of judges it has furnished, — three to our supreme court, one to the supreme court of the United States, and others to inferior courts. As their main home has been so near Boston, many of the name have been citizens here; and the present generation will remember the famous merchant John P. Cushing, son of Robert C. and grandson of John C. of Belle House, Scituate. All the bearers of the name here are probably descended from Matthew Cushing of Hingham.



81. The Huguenot element in Boston has furnished us with several prominent names.[1] The Bowdoins, Faneuils, Johonnots, Olivers, Sigourneys, Brimmers, Boutineaus, and Mascarenes have all filled an important place in our history. Pierre Baudouin came from Rochelle, in France, to Casco Bay in 1687. He had sons James and John, — the name becoming Bowdoin in this generation, — and daughters married to Robins and to Stephen Boutineau. His son John went to Virginia, where his descendants still live; James successively married Sarah Campbell, Hannah Portage, and Mehitable Lillie. His daughters married Balthazar Bayard, James Pitts, and Thomas Flucker; his oldest son, by wife Phebe Murdock, had a daughter who married her cousin. James, the youngest son of James, married Elizabeth Erving, and was Governor of this State. His only son left no issue; his daughter married Sir John Temple, baronet, and had a daughter who married Lieut.-Governor Thomas L. Winthrop. James



[1] [See also the chapter on "The French Protestants in Boston" in this volume. — Ed.]

Temple, son of Sir John, took the name of Bowdoin, as did his son; but this line is extinct. Bowdoin College, however, will remain as a testimony to the public spirit of this famous family.

82. The Faneuils — three brothers named Andrew, Benjamin, and John — were settled here as early as 1691. John returned to France; Andrew acquired a large fortune, and died in 1737–38, leaving it to his nephew Peter. This was the son of Benjamin, and he had a brother Benjamin, with sisters married to Gillam Phillips, Addington Davenport, James Boutineau, and John Jones. Peter lived in great splendor for five years, dying in 1742–43; and his gift of Faneuil Hall for a market-house and town hall has made his name a perpetual remembrance.[1] Benjamin, Jr., brother of Peter, inherited the estate, and died in 1785. By his wife Mary Cutler he had sons Benjamin and Peter, and a daughter Mary, wife of George Bethune. This last Benjamin married Jane, daughter of Addington Davenport, was a royalist, a consignee of the tea, a refugee, and died in England. Peter went to Montreal and the West Indies, and returned to Boston after his father's death.

83. Daniel Johonnot, one of the Huguenot church, died in 1748, leaving sons Zachary, Andrew, and Francis, and a daughter Marianne Boyer. Of these, Andrew married a daughter of Antoine Olivier; Daniel married Sarah Hood and Mary, widow of Thomas Edwards; Andrew married Mary Nichols; Susanna married Lazarus Le Barron; Margaret married Dimond Morton, and William married Sarah Bayley. Daniel Johonnot, son of Andrew, had sons Daniel, Andrew, Oliver, and William, and removed to Middletown, Conn., where he died. Oliver married his cousin Mary Edwards, served gallantly in the navy during the Revolution, and was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association. He died in 1847 aged 87, leaving children, — Andrew, Oliver, and Mary; and the name still continues.

84. Antoine Olivier, the Huguenot, had by wife Mary fifteen children born between 1712 and 1731, the last seven at Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia. Susanna married Andrew Johonnot. Daniel had a wife Bethiah, and was known by the name of Oliver. It has been found impossible to trace out this line satisfactorily, since the English name of Oliver is often found on our records; but the family was represented here in 1850 by George Stuart Johonnot Oliver.

85. Andrew Sigourney died here in 1727, aged 89; his wife was probably Marie, sister of Antoine Olivier. He had a son Andrew, who married Mary Germaine, and had daughters Susanna, wife of Martin Brimmer, Mary, married John Baker, and Hannah, married Samuel Dexter; also sons Andrew, Anthony, and Daniel. Andrew, 3d, married Mary Ronchon and had twelve children; Daniel, his brother, married Mary Varney and Joanna Tileston, and had ten children; Anthony married Mary Waters and Elizabeth Whittemore, and had five children. The name has been widely spread in this community, and we especially note Andrew Barker Sigourney, town

[1] [See his portrait, p. 260. — Ed.]

treasurer from 1814 to 1820. Samuel Dexter, who married Hannah Sigourney, was son of the Rev. Samuel Dexter, and a strong patriot. His son Samuel, who married Katherine Gordon (his sister married Judge Artemas Ward), was an eminent lawyer here, a Senator, and Secretary successively of War, the Treasury, and of State, under John Adams. He died in 1816.

86. Martin Brimmer, born at Asten, Germany, 1697, married here Susanna Sigourney, and had, with daughters married to Edward Sohier, Richard Green, and Henderson Inches, a son Martin, who married Sarah Watson. Their children were Susan, wife of Henderson Inches, Jr., and Martin, who married Harriet E. Wadsworth. This Martin was mayor of Boston in 1843 and 1844, and died April 25, 1847. Edward Sohier, born in the island of Jersey, married Susanna Brimmer, and left an only son Edward, who married Mary Davies. Their only son, William D., married Eliza Amory Dexter, and had sons Edward and William, now living here. Henderson Inches, born in Scotland, married Elizabeth Brimmer, and had Henderson, who married his cousin Susan Brimmer, and had Henderson, Charles, and Martin B. of the present generation.

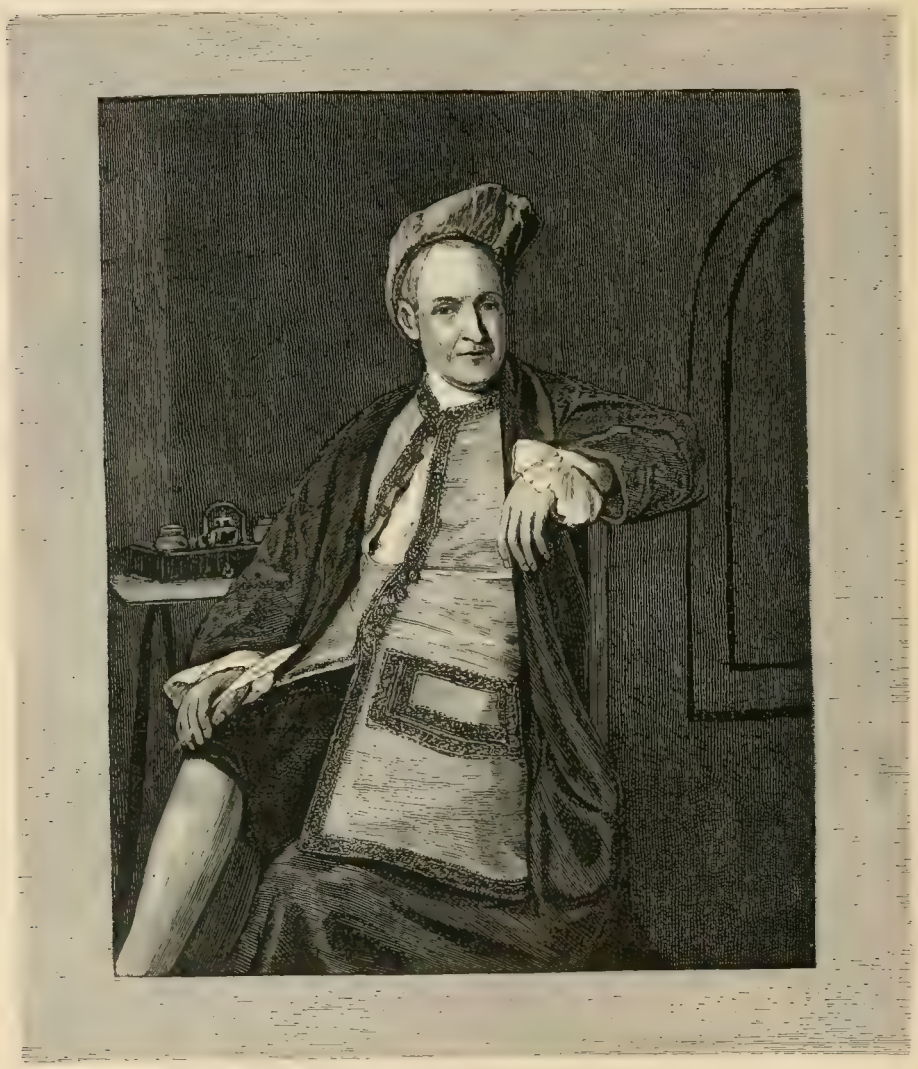
87. Jean Paul Mascarene was the son of a Huguenot gentleman of good position, near Castras in France. The father was one of those denounced after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but escaped to Geneva, where the son joined him; thence they went to England, where Jean Paul was naturalized in 1706, and joined the army. He married Elizabeth Perry and made Boston his home, though for years on service in Nova Scotia. He had an only son John, and daughters married to Thomas Perkins, James Perkins, and Foster Hutchinson. The son John was comptroller of customs, married Margaret Holyoke, and died in 1778, leaving an only son who was deficient in intellect, and who lived and died unmarried in Dorchester. James Perkins had a son Thomas, who married Anna Powell and had a son Powell Perkins, and a daughter who married William Hubbard, father of the late Samuel Hubbard, Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court.

88. George Bethune, who came here about A.D. 1724, was son of William and grandson of Robert Bethune, of Balfour. By the death of the senior representatives the heir of this line now is the head of the family. George Bethune married Miss Carey, and had George, who married Mary Faneuil. The issue was Nathaniel, Henry, and George, the latter of whom married Mary Amory, and had sons Dr. George Amory and John MacLean Bethune, of this city.

89. Another, but more prolific, race of Scotchmen sprang from Andrew Cunningham, who came here about 1680, and had sons Andrew, William, and David. Of these, William

married Elizabeth Wheeler, and had James, William, Benjamin, and John, besides daughters. This last James married Elizabeth Boylston, and had William, James, Peter, Benjamin, and Andrew. Andrew, last named, mar-

ried Mary Lewis, and had sons Joseph L., Andrew, John A., Charles, James, and Francis; of whom Andrew married Abby West, and had sons Andrew, Charles, William A., Edmund B., James H., Horace, and David W. Other lines have also been continued, and it will be seen that this family has contributed largely towards building up the town.



THOMAS BOYLSTON.[1]

90. Thomas Boylston, of Brookline, who died in 1653, had a son, Dr. Thomas Boylston, who married Mary Gardner and had Edward, of Boston; Richard, of Charlestown, who left issue; Abigail, wife of Ebenezer Brooks;

[1] [This cut follows a portrait hanging in Memorial Hall, at Cambridge. It was painted by Copley, as was the companion piece, representing Mrs. Boylston, hanging in the same hall. Perkins, *Copley's Life and Paintings*, p. 38. — ED.]

Peter, of Boston, whose children were Benjamin and daughters married to Ebenezer Adams, John Adams, Nathan Simpson, James Cunningham, Joseph Veazie, and John Potter; Dr. Zabdiel-Dudley, who left issue in Brookline; Thomas, and several daughters. Dr. Zabdiel Boylston married Jerusha Minot, and had Zabdiel, John, of London, and Thomas, with daughters married to Benjamin Fitch and Dr. Gillam Taylor. Thomas, son of Peter, married Sarah Morecock, and had Nicholas, who died in 1771, and who endowed a professorship at Harvard; Thomas, of London, and daughters married to Edward Robinson, Benjamin Hallowell, Timothy Rogers, and Lieut.-Governor Moses Gill. Mrs. Hallowell had fourteen children, one of whom took the name of Ward Nicholas Boylston, and was a wealthy merchant in London. His son, John L., married Sarah Brooks, and had two sons, one being Dr. Ward Nicholas Boylston, H. C. 1835, of Princeton, Mass. Boylston market was named for the first Ward Nicholas Boylston, who gave the clock.

91. John Trail and his brother George were resident here about 1750, and came from Rowsay in the Orkneys. Others of the name, perhaps relatives, were here at the same date, and probably left descendants. The whole subject of the Scotch colony in Boston, as distinct and foreign as the Huguenot element, presents an interesting problem to the genealogist. The Scots' Charitable Society, founded in 1657, still flourishes here, and now, of course, is reinforced by immigrants of late date. But the chain is unbroken from the beginning, though from 1775 for some twelve years the Society suspended its labors. The records of the old Scotch church here, as I am informed by one who has been allowed to examine them, are full of the necessary data for the history of the families worshipping there. The history of the Society gives a list of members from 1657, and contains the names of many of the most sturdy and patriotic citizens of the last century.

92. The Mountforts spring from three brothers, — Edmund, Henry, and Benjamin, — all merchants here about 1660. Edmund married Elizabeth Farnham, and had sons Edmund and John; the latter is buried at Copp's Hill in a tomb bearing the ancestral arms. He had sons Benjamin, Joseph, and others, of whom Joseph married Rhoda Lambert, and had a large family. Joseph, Jr., son of the last named, married Sarah Giles, and was the father of N. B. and George Mountfort, of New York and Boston respectively.

93. Nathaniel Greenwood, who died here in 1684, had sons Samuel and Isaac, of whom Samuel married Elizabeth Bronston, and had Samuel, Isaac, Miles, Nathaniel, and Joseph. Of these, Isaac was professor of mathematics at Harvard, married Sarah, daughter of Hon. John Clark, and had sons Isaac, John, and Thales. Isaac, Jr., was grandfather of the Rev. Francis W. P. Greenwood, pastor at the King's Chapel. Several other branches of the family resided here, and the name occurs repeatedly on our records.

94. Captain John Charnock, of Boston, in 1710 married, secondly, Han-

nah Holyoke, and left sons John and William; also daughters Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Lee, and Mary, married to Samuel Greenwood. The son John married Emma, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Blowers, and had three children, who died unmarried. Mrs. Greenwood had a son John, who died in England in 1792.

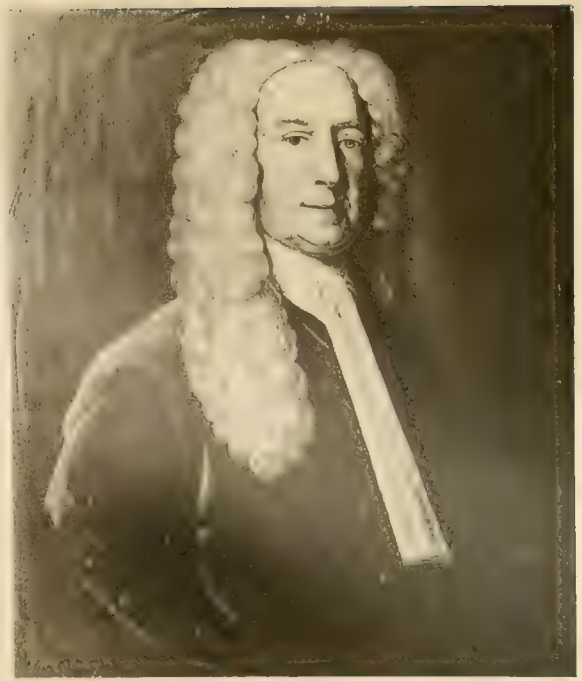
95. Michael Martyn, son of Richard M., of Piscataqua, died here in 1700. His sisters married Richard Cutt, Edward Kennard, and Richard Jose. His cousin was Edward M., of Boston, whose will of 1717 mentions sons Edward, Richard, John, and Nathaniel, and five daughters. This family, though the genealogy is not traced, has been continued here, and the name will be often encountered.

96. Thomas Cooper, of Boston, in 1678 was an apprentice to Richard Gawthorn, of London, sent here to learn business of James Lloyd. He married Mehitable Minot, a niece of Lieut.-Governor Stoughton, and had sons William and Thomas. His son Rev. William married Judith Sewall, and had Rev. Samuel, who married Judith Bulfinch, and William, the famous town clerk of Boston, an ardent patriot. This latter had sons Samuel, Richard, and John, of whom Samuel was judge C. C. P. 1800–9, married Margaret Phillips, and left issue; John went to Maine, was sheriff of Washington County, married Elizabeth Savage, and had a large family. Of another family of the name was Captain Samuel Cooper, born here in 1755, a soldier in the Revolution, who removed to New York, and died about 1839. He was the father of General Samuel Cooper, adjutant-general U. S. A., who resigned to join the South in the late Rebellion, and died in 1876.

97. Simon Lynde, of Boston, 1650, married Hannah, daughter of John Newdigate. He was the son of Enoch Lynde and Elizabeth Digby, and this family impaled the Digby arms. Of his sons, Samuel married Mary Ballard, and had an only daughter Mary, wife of John Valentine; Benjamin married Mary Browne, and had a daughter, married to Andrew Oliver, and the Rev. William Walter, and a son Benjamin. Both of these Benjamins were chief-justices of the province; the father from 1728 to 1746, and the son, who succeeded his father in 1746, from March 21, 1771, to Jan. 15, 1772.[1] The latter presided at the trial of Captain Preston in 1770 for the State-Street riot. There was a contemporary family of the name at Charlestown, descended from Deacon Thomas Lynde, whose son Joseph was on the provincial side in 1689, and was named as councillor in the second charter.

98. Dr. Sylvester Gardiner was the son of William G., whose grandfather was one of the first settlers of Narragansett. Sylvester was born in 1717 at South Kingstown, was educated abroad, and settled in Boston to practise as a physician. He was also a merchant, and bought largely of lands in Maine. He was a refugee,

[1] [By favor of Dr. F. E. Oliver, heliotypes of the two chief-justices are given herewith.— Ed.]



BENJAMIN LYNDE.

CHIEF JUSTICE. DIED 1745.

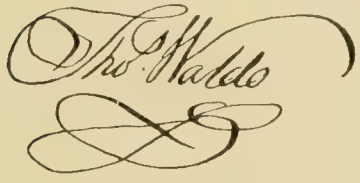
BENJAMIN LYNDE.

CHIEF JUSTICE. DIED 1771.

but returned after the war. He had three wives, and left issue, — John, Anna, wife of Hon. Arthur Browne, Hannah, wife of Robert Hallowell, Rebecca, wife of Philip Dumaresq, and Abigail, wife of Oliver Whipple. His son John studied law in London, and was a friend of Wilkes. He returned to Boston in 1783, and practised here. His son, Rev. John-Sylvester-John Gardiner, rector of Trinity Church, had a daughter married to John P. Cushing, and a son, William H. Gardiner, a distinguished lawyer. Robert Hallowell, a grandson of Sylvester Gardiner, took the name of Gardiner, and inherited the estates at Gardiner, Me.

99. Thomas Amory, born in Limerick, went with his father to South Carolina, and about 1721 settled in Boston. He had sons Thomas, Jonathan, and John. Thomas married Elizabeth Coffin, and had Rebecca, wife of Dr. Aaron Dexter, Thomas C., who married Hannah Rowe Linzee (parents of Colonel Thomas C., William, and Charles), Elizabeth, wife of Stephen Deblois, Jonathan (father of Thomas C., Jr., alderman, etc.), John, of Dorchester, Mary, wife of Jonathan Davis, William, and Nathaniel. John Amory, youngest son of the first Thomas, married Catherine, daughter of Rufus Greene, and had John, Rufus G., Thomas, Jonathan, William, Francis, Catherine, wife of John Codman, Rebecca, wife of John Lowell, Mary, wife of George Bethune, and Ann, wife of John McLean.

100. Cornelius Waldo, son of Daniel and grandson of Cornelius of Chelmsford, was of Boston in 1697, where he married Faith (Peek), widow of Jeremiah Jackson. His son Cornelius married Faith Savage, and had issue, — Cornelius, Elizabeth, wife of Benjamin Austin, Thomas (born 1718), and Lydia, wife of Timothy Austin. Jonathan Waldo, son of Daniel, also came to Boston with his brother Cornelius, married Hannah Mason, and had Samuel, Jonathan, Hannah, wife of Thomas Fayerweather, Mary, wife of Jeremiah Allen, and Anne, wife of Edward Tyng. Of these, Samuel was a brigadier-general, and a great owner of lands in Maine; he died in 1759. He married Lucy Wainwright, and had Samuel, who married Sarah Erving. Jonathan, Jr., brother of General Samuel Waldo, married Susanna Blague, and had issue.



We have thus run over the list of noted Boston families, touching on a few names which most strongly attracted our attention. It is useless to say that the result is unsatisfactory, for every one will recall names equally entitled to mention which do not appear in the list. As an excuse for all short-comings, the unfortunate writer of this chapter would urge the impossibility of making bricks not only without straw, but with only traces of clay. Without metaphor, he would urge again that the materials do not exist from which to construct a synopsis of the genealogies of families connected with Boston. The history of a single family for seven or

eight generations often takes a volume of three or four hundred pages. The classified record of a single town, confined strictly to persons who have lived therein, may require a volume of equal size. Boston, for so many years by far the largest town in the Province and State, would require several volumes to give proper scope to a careful summary of the available records. As yet no step has been taken towards the compilation of such genealogies, and but very few independent researches have been undertaken.

Savage's admirable *Dictionary of the First Settlers* was planned on so large a scale that he could give but little attention to the details of any portion. Besides, he stops with the third generation, and that is too often at a date so remote as to be of little service to the present generation. The old names crop out now-a-days, either here or in those Western communities more thoroughly New-Englandish than our home is; but the intermediate links are missing. The few family histories, the funeral sermons and memoirs, the fragmentary notices and biographies relating to Bostonians, which have appeared in print, only serve to show how great a proportion of the whole remains unpublished. The three books published by the late Thomas Bridgman, on the three grave-yards of Old Boston, contain a few valuable notes. The various biographical dictionaries give information concerning a few selected individuals. The volumes of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* and of the *Heraldic Journal* contain many interesting sketches of Boston families, but they are only such as have been compiled by persons especially interested in the names recorded.[1]

We still lack any comprehensive lists even of the citizens of the town at successive periods, until we reach the date of our first *Directory* in 1789; except, indeed, those invaluable tax-lists of the seventeenth century, printed in the *First Report of the Record Commissioners*. We are forced, therefore, to say that until sufficient progress has been made in completing the town records, the vital statistics from the church records and other sources, and until the detailed history of the acts of the town in its corporate capacity have been printed from the volumes in the custody of the city clerk, it is premature to undertake to point out the leading families of the Provincial Period. We can grasp the events of the Colonial Period, since we have an abundance of evidence which was lacking in the following century.

One list of names may be inserted here as showing a class of persons who were interested in an enterprise akin to the present work. These were the subscribers to Prince's *Chronological History of New England* in 1736. It is presumed that all of the following-named persons were Bostonians:

Governor Jonathan Belcher, Lieut.-Governor Spencer Phips, ex-Lieut.-Governor William Dummer, Moses Abbot, Abijah Adams, Jedediah Adams, M.A., Rev. John Adams, Matthew Adams, Samuel Adams, Esq., Rev. Benjamin Allen, Bozune Allen, Captain Jonathan Armitage, John Avery, M.A., Benjamin Babbidge, John

[1] [See Introduction, p. lvi. — ED.]

Ballentine, Esq., John Banks, Matthew Barnard, Thomas Baxter, Samuel Bayley, John Becham, Andrew Belcher, Esq., Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Jeremiah Belknap, Nathaniel Bethune, John Billings, Richard Billings, John Blake, Joshua Blanchard, Pyam Blower, M.A., William Bollan, Esq., Francis Borland, Esq., Stephen Boutineau, William Bowdoin, B.A., John Boydell, Esq., Thomas Boylston, Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, Zabdiel Boylston, Jr., James Bradford, Joseph Bradford, Joseph Brandon, John Breck, Ebenezer Bridge, B.A., Joseph Bridgham, M.A., Samuel Bridgham, Francis Brinley, Esq., John Brintnall, Thomas Brintnall, M.A., Edward Bromfield, Josiah Brown, B.A., Richard Buckley, Jeremiah Bumstead, Benjamin Bunker, John Burt, B.A., John Bushel, Rev. Matthew Byles, Hon. Thomas Cushing, Rev. Benjamin Colman, Rev. Elisha Callender, John Carnes, Josiah Chase, Stephen Chase, M.A., Rev. Charles Chauncy, Rev. Samuel Checkley, Captain Joshua Cheever, Benjamin Clarke, Dr. John Clarke, Jonas Clarke, Thomas Cobb, David Collson, Rev. William Cooper, Peter Cotta, Captain Elias Cotting, Roland Cotton, M.A., George Cradock, Esq., Josiah Crocker, Captain Nathaniel Cunningham, Nathaniel Cushing, B.A., Thomas Cushing, Jr., M.A., Ammi-Ruhamah Cutter, M.A., John Danill, John Darrell, Thomas Dawes, Jr., Samuel Deming, John Dennie, Michael Dennis, Benjamin Dolbeare, Captain William Downe, Jonathan Dwight, John Draper, Mrs. Lydia Draper, Joseph Dyar, John Eastwicke, Joseph Edwards, Andrew Eliot, Andrew Eliot, Jr., Benjamin Eliot, Samuel Eliot, John Ellery, Jr., M.A., Daniel Emerson, Edward Emerson, Jr., Jacob Emmons, Captain John Erving, William Fairfield, Jr., John Fayerweather, Esq., William Fenwick, Grafton Feveryear, Benjamin Fitch, Jr., M.A., John Fitch, M.A., Joseph Fitch, Thomas Fleet, James Fosdick, Hopestill Foster, Thomas Foster, Daniel Fowle, Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, William Foye, Esq., William Foye, Jr., Abraham Francis, John Franklin, Josiah Franklin, Gershom Frazer, Enoch Freeman, M.A., Simon Frost, M.A., Joseph Gale, John Gardner, M.A., Joseph Gardner, M.A., Samuel Gardner, Nathaniel Gardner, Francis Gatcombe, Bartholomew Gedney, John Gerrish, Jr., Henry Gibbs, Captain Daniel Goffe, Richard Goldsmith, Ezekiel Goldthwait, Thomas Goldthwait, Captain James Gooch, Jr., Nathaniel Goodwin, Samuel Grainger, Samuel Grant, Benjamin Gray, Ellis Gray, B.A., John Green, M.A., Joseph Green, M.A., Timothy Green, Stephen Greenleaf, M.A., Thomas Greenough, William Greenleaf, Nathaniel Greenwood, Samuel Greenwood, Jeremiah Gridley, M.A., William Griggs, Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, Hon. Edward Hutchinson, Hugh Hall, Esq., Benjamin Hallowell, Thomas Hancock, Charles Harrison, Nathaniel Hasey, Nathaniel Hayward, Israel Hearsey, John Helyer, Captain Daniel Henchman, Charles Henley, Daniel Henshaw, William Hickling, Thomas Hill, William Holberton, George Holmes, Nathaniel Holmes, John Holyoke, Samuel Holyoke, Richard Hubbard, Thomas Hubbard, M.A., Jabez Hunt, John Hunt, Esq., John Hunt, B.A., Jacob Hurd, Francis Hutchinson, B.A., Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., B.A., Hon. John Jeffries, Edward Jackson M.A., Joseph Jackson, Thomas Jackson, Jr., Leonard Jarvis, David Jeffries, M.A., Thomas Johnson, Gershom Keyes, Dudson Kilcup, John Kneeland, Jr., Samuel Kneeland, Hon. Ezekiel Lewis, Captain John Larrabee, Joseph Lee, M.A., Joseph Lewis, Theophilus Lillie, Henry Lloyd, Daniel Loring, Jonathan Loring, Nathaniel Loring, Jr., Michael Lowell, Edward Lutwyche, Byfield Lyde, Esq., Captain Caleb Lyman, John Munson, John Marshall, David Mason, Rev. Samuel Mather, John Maverick, Joseph Mayhew, M.A., John Maylem, M.A., Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, Alexander Middleton, George Minot, James Minot, Thomas Moffatt, Ephraim Mower, Nathaniel Newell, Israel Nichols, M.A., William Nichols, Belcher Noyes, M.A., Cornelius Nye, M.A.,

Hon. John Osborne, Andrew Oliver, M.A., Brattle Oliver, Nathaniel Oliver, Jr., M.A., Peter Oliver, M.A., William Owen, Thomas Oxnard, Hon. Thomas Palmer, Hon. John Peagram, Rev. Thomas Paine, Ebenezer Papillion, John Parker, William Parkman, Joseph Parsons, Richard Patteshall, B.A., John Payne, Joseph Payson, Captain David Pecker, Captain James Pecker, Josiah Peirce, B.A., Moses Peirce, Captain Edward Pell, Benjamin Pemberton, James Penniman, Dr. John Perkins, John Phillips, James Pitts, M.A., Thomas Plaisted, William Price, Captain Joseph Prince, Captain Moses Prince, John Proctor, Joseph Pynchon, M.A., William Rand, Phineas Rice, Gamaliel Rogers, George Rogers, Jacob Royal, Esq., John Ruck, Esq., Benjamin Russell, Joseph Russell, Thomas Russell, Anthony Stoddard, Esq., Rev. Joseph Sewall, John Savell, John Scollay, Joseph Scott, Simmons Seccombe, Jonathan Sewall, Samuel Sewall, Esq., Joseph Sherburn, Jr., William Shirley, Esq., John Simpson, Jonathan Simpson, Jonathan Simpson, Jr., John Staniford, Captain John Steel, Ebenezer Storer, John Symmes, Gershom Tenney, Oxenbridge Thatcher, M.A., Cornelius Thayer, Nathaniel Thayer, Nathaniel Thwing, Solomon Townsend, Samuel Tyley, Hugh Vans, Elijah Vinal, Hon. Adam Winthrop, Hon. Josiah Willard, Hon. Jacob Wendell, Hon. Samuel Welles, Cornelius Waldo, Isaac Walker, John Walley, Esq., Elihu Wardall, William Warner, Samuel Watts, Esq., Rev. John Webb, Joshua Webb, Rev. Nathan Webb, John Welch, Jonathan Welch, Rev. William Welsteed, John Wendell, Jr., Jeremiah Wheelwright, B.A., John Wheelwright, Ebenezer White, M.A., Samuel White, Sendall Williams, William Williams, M.A., Edward Winslow, Esq., Joshua Winslow, Esq., Peleg Wiswall, M.A., Daniel Witham, M.A., James Wright, William Young.[1]

Of many of the foregoing brief memoirs have been printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. But a contemplation of this one list, with the additions it suggests, will convince every one of the impossibility of doing justice to the subject of our prominent families in the limits of a chapter. In fact, wherever we touch upon the history of Boston we find materials for a further search into the history of families. The list of the clergymen of the eighteenth century will give us scores of families, most of which were influential then and since. The report on the *Nomenclature of Streets*, printed by the City in 1879, brings up the memory of numerous citizens who were sufficiently distinguished to be honored by the naming of streets for them. The utmost that can be done at the present

[1] The following is a list of Prince's subscribers in those towns which have since been annexed to Boston: —

In Charlestown. — Rev. Hull Abbot, Hon. John Alford, Joseph Austin, Jr., Stephen Badger, Simon Bradstreet, Jr., M.A., Ephraim Breed, Michael Brigden, Benjamin Bunker, Samuel Burr, Caleb Call, Samuel Cary, Ezekiel Cheever, John Codman, Daniel Collings, Peter Edes, Captain James Flucker, Richard Foster, Joseph Frost, John Frothingham, Captain Samuel Frothingham, Thomas Greaves, Stephen Hall, Samuel Henley, Joseph Hopkins, Jacob Hurd, Thomas Jenner, Isaac Johnson, Captain Ebenezer Kent, James Kettell, William Kettell, Joseph Lemmon, Thaddeus Mason, M.A., Richard Miller, Isaac Parker, Eleazer Phillips, *bookseller*, Henry Phillips (deceased), William Rand, *apothecary*, Chambers Russell, M.A., Daniel Russell, Captain Edward Sheaffe, Rev. Thomas Skinner, M.A., Richard Sutton, Seth Sweetser, M.A., Thomas Symmes, James Trumbull, Samuel Trumbull, Thomas Ward (deceased), Samuel Webb, and Captain William Wyer. William Hays, *apothecary*, is also credited to Charlestown in the printed list, but erroneously, as he was of Boston. Cf. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, p. 487.

In Dorchester. — James Blake, Hopestill Clap, Noah Clap, B.A., and Thomas Tilestone.

In Roxbury. — William Bosson, M.A., John Bowles, Hon. Paul Dudley, Richard Gardner, Joseph Heath, Rev. Ebenezer Thayer (deceased), Rev. Nehemiah Walter, and Henry Wilson.

time is to point out the need of continued investigation, in order that the history of the past may be collected while it is still obtainable.

One other list may be given, which explains the break which occurs in tracing the social history of the town. It contains the names of those who, in 1778, were proscribed as enemies of the new State. From Boston, the following persons were named: —

William Apthorp, Gibbs Atkins, John Atkinson, John Amory, James Anderson, Thomas Apthorp, David Black, William Burton, William Bowes, George Brinley, Robert Blair, Thomas Brinley, James Barrick, Thomas Brattle, Sampson Salter Blowers, James Bruce, Ebenezer Bridgham, Alexander Brymer, Edward Berry, William Burch, Mather Byles, Jr., William Codner, Edward Cox, Andrew Cazneau, Henry Caner, Thomas Courtney, Richard Clark, Isaac Clark, Benjamin Church, John Coffin, John Clark, William Coffin, Nathaniel Coffin, Jonathan Clark, Archibald Cunningham, Gilbert Deblois, Lewis Deblois, Philip Dumaresq, Benjamin Davis, John Erving, Jr., George Erving, Edward Foster, Edward Foster, Jr., Benjamin Faneuil, Jr., Thomas Flucker, Samuel Fitch, Wilfred Fisher, James Forrest, Lewis Gray, Francis Green, Joseph Green, Sylvester Gardiner, Harrison Gray, Harrison Gray, Jr., Joseph Goldthwait, Martin Gay, John Gore, Benjamin Hallowell, Robert Hallowell, Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., Benjamin Gridley, Frederick William Geyer, John Greenlaw, David Green, Elisha Hutchinson, James Hall, Foster Hutchinson, Benjamin Mulberry Holmes, Samuel Hodges, Henry Halson, Hawes Hatch, John Joy, Peter Johonnot, William Jackson, John Jeffries, Henry Laughton, James Henderson, John Hinston, Christopher Hatch, Robert Jarvis, Richard Lechmere, Edward Lyde, Henry Lloyd, George Leonard, Henry Leddle, Archibald McNeil, Christopher Minot, James Murray, William MacAlpine, Thomas Mitchell, William Martin, John Knutton, Thomas Knight, Samuel Prince, Adino Paddock, Charles Paxton, Sir William Pepperrell, John Powell, William Lee Perkins, Samuel Quincy, Nathaniel Perkins, Owen Richards, Samuel Rogers, Jonathan Simpson, George Spooner, Edward Stowe, Richard Smith, Jonathan Snelling, David Silsby, Samuel Sewall, Abraham Savage, Joseph Scott, Francis Skinner, William Simpson, Richard Sherwin, Henry Smith, John Semple, Robert Semple, Thomas Selkrig, Robert Service, Simon Tufts, Arodi Thayer, Nathaniel Taylor, John Troutbeck, Gregory Townsend, William Taylor, William Vassall, Joseph Taylor, Joshua Upham, William Walter, Samuel Waterhouse, Isaac Winslow, John Winslow, Jr., David Willis, Obadiah Whiston, Archibald Wilson, John White, William Warden, Nathaniel Mills, John Hicks, John Howe, and John Fleming.[1]

When it is considered that forty-five of the above were termed esquires, nine were ministers and doctors, and thirty-six were merchants, we can form some idea of the great social changes produced by the Revolution. Some of these royalists doubtless returned; but a far greater number left Boston quietly, and never arrived at the dangerous distinction of being publicly denounced. It can be easily seen, however, that this forced emigration must have had the effect to destroy the continuity of the social history of the

[1] [Compare this list with an enumeration of the inhabitants of Boston who went away with the British army, March, 1776, as given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, December, 1880, p. 266 This record of refugees shows two hundred and seventy-seven names, which with their families made a company of nine hundred and twenty-seven persons. — Ed.]

town. The persons who adhered to the Crown were naturally the wealthy and conservative classes. They composed the families which had prospered during the preceding century, and which had been gradually forming a local aristocracy. The history of the times which should omit these families would be fatally defective; and yet their departure has taken from us those family traditions which could best supply the deficiencies of the records.

William H. Whitmore

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